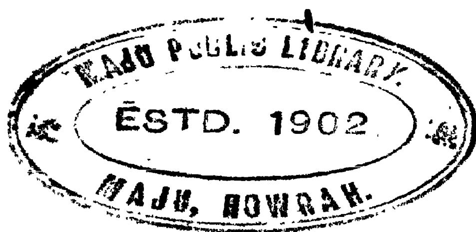


ANNALS OF MÁRWAR.

BY

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1905.

Calcutta:

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR,

10, NARKEL BAGAN.

ANNALS OF MARWAR.

CHAPTER I.

The various etymons of Marwar.—Authorities for its early history.—Yati genealogical roll.—The Rahtore race, who inhabit it, descended from the Yavan kings of Parlipur.—Second roll.—Nayn Pal.—His date.—Conquers Canouj.—Utility of Rajpoot genealogies.—The Surya Prakas, or poetic chronicle of the bard Kurnidhan.—The Raj Roopac Akheat, or chronicle of Ajit Sing's minority and reign.—The Beejy Velas.—The Kheat, a biographical treatise.—Other sources.—The Yavanas and Aswas, or Indo-Scythic tribes.—The thirteen Rahtore families, bearing the epithet Camdhuj.—Raja Jeichund, king of Canouj.—The extent and splendour of that state before the Mahomedan conquest of India.—His immense array.—Title of Mandalica.—Divine honours paid to him.—Rite of Soenair undertaken by Jeichund.—Its failure and consequences.—State of India at that period.—The four great Hindu monarchies.—Delhi.—Canouj.—Mewar.—Anhulwara.—Shabudin, king of Gor, invades India.—Overcomes the Chohan king of Delhi.—Attacks Canouj.—Destruction of that monarchy after seven centuries' duration.—Death of Jeichund.—Date of this event.

MARWAR is a corruption of *Maroo-war*, classically *Maroosthali* or *Maroosthan*, 'the region of death.' It is also called *Maroo-desa*, whence the unintelligible *Mardes* of the early Mahomedan writers. The bards frequently style it *Mordhur*, which is synonymous with *Maroo-desa*, or, when it suits their rhyme, simply *Maroo*. Though now restricted to the country subject to the Rahtore race, its ancient and appropriate application comprehended the entire 'desert,' from the Sutlej to the ocean.

A concise genealogical sketch of the Rahtore rulers of Marwar has already been given; we shall, therefore, briefly pass over those times when a genealogical tree would strike

root in any soil'; when the ambition of the Rahtores, whose branches (*sachæ*) spread rapidly over the '*the region of death*,' was easily gratified with a solar pedigree. As it is desirable, however, to record their own opinions regarding their origin, we shall make extracts from the chronicles (hereafter enumerated), instead of fusing the whole into one mass, as in the Annals of Mewar. The reader will occasionally be presented with simple translations of whatever is most interesting in the Rahtore records.

Let us begin with a treatment of the author's authorities; first, a genealogical roll of the Rahtores, furnished by a Yati or Jain priest, from the temple of Nadolaye.* This roll is about fifty feet in length, commencing, as usual, with a theogony, followed by the production of the 'first Rahtore from the spine (*raht*) of Indra,' the nominal father being "Yavanaswa, prince of Parlipur." Of the topography of Parlipur, the Rahtores have no other notion than that it was in the north; but in the declared race of their progenitor, a Yavan prince, of the Aswa or Asi tribe,† we have a proof of the Scythic origin of this Rajpoot family.

The chronicle proceeds with the foundation of Kanyacubja,‡ or Canouj, and the origin of Cama-dhwaja.§ (*vulgo* Camdhuj), the titular appellation of its princes, and concludes with the thirteen great *sachæ*, or ramifications of the Rahtores, and their *Gotra-acharya*, or genealogical creed.||

Another roll, of considerable antiquity, commences in the fabulous age, with a long string of names, without facts; its sole value consists in the esteem in which the tribe holds it. We may omit all that precedes Nayn Pal, who, in the year S. 526 (A. D. 470),¶ conquered Canouj, slaying its monarch Ajipal; from which period the race was termed Canoujea Rahtore. The genealogy proceeds to Jeichund, the last monarch of Canouj; relates the emigration of his nephew

* An ancient town in Marwar.

† One of the four tribes which overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria. The ancient Hindu cosmographers claim the Aswa as a grand branch of their early family, and doubtless the Indo-Scythic people, from the Oxus to the Ganges, were one race.

‡ From *Cubja* (spine) of the virgin (*Kanya*).

§ *Cama-dhwaja*, 'the banner of Cupid.'

|| *Gotama Gotra*, *Mardwandani Sacha*, *Sookracharya Guru*, *Garrapti Agni*, *Pankhani Devi*.

¶ It is a singular fact, that there is no available date beyond the fourth century for any of the great Rajpoot families, all of whom are brought from the north. This was the period of one of the grand irruptions of the Getic races from Central Asia, who established kingdoms in the Punjab and on the Indus. *Pal* or *Pali*, the universal adjunct to every proper name, indicates the pastoral race of these invaders.

Seoji, or Sevaji, and his establishment in the desert (*Maroowar*), with a handful of his brethren (a wreck of the mighty kingdom of Canouj); and terminates with the death of Raja Jeswunt Sing, S. 1735 (A.D. 1679), describing every branch and scion, until we see them spreading over Maroo.

Genealogy ceases to be an uninteresting pursuit, when it enables us to mark the progress of animal vegetation, from the germ to the complete development of the tree, until the land is overshadowed with its branches; and bare as is the chronicle to the moralist or historian, it exhibits to the observer of the powers of the animal economy, data, which the annals of no other people on earth can furnish. In A.D. 1193, we see the throne of Jeichund overturned; his nephew, with a handful of retainers, taking services with a petty chieftain in the Indian desert. In less than four centuries, we find the descendants of these exiles of the Ganges occupying nearly the whole of the desert; having founded three capitals, studded the land with the castles of its feudality, and bringing into the field fifty thousand men, *ek bap ca beta*, 'the sons of one father,' to co[illegible] emperor of Delhi. What a contrast does their unnotic[illegible]is period present to that of the Islamite conquerors of Canouj, [illegible]om five dynasties passed away in ignorance of the renovated existence of the Rahtore, until the ambition of Shere Shah brought him into contact with the descendants of Seoji, whose valour caused him to exclaim "he had nearly lost the crown of India for a handful of barley," in allusion to the poverty of their land!

What a sensation does it not excite, when we know that a sentiment of kindred pervades every individual of this immense affiliated body, who can point out, in the great tree, the branch of his origin, whilst not one is too remote from the main stem to forget its pristine connection with it! The moral sympathies, created by such a system, pass unheeded by the chronicler, who must deem it futile to describe what all sensibly feel, and which renders his page, albeit little more than a string of names, one of paramount interest to the 'sons of Seoji.'

The third authority is the *Sooraj Prakas* (*Surya Prakasa*), composed by the bard Kurnidhan, during the reign and by command of Raja Abhye Sing. This poetic history, comprised in 7,500 stanzas, was copied from the original manuscript, and sent to me by Raja Maun, in the year 1820.* As usual, the *kavi* (bard) commences with the origin of all things, tracing the Rahtores from the creation down to Soomitra; from whence is

* This manuscript is deposited in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

a blank until he recommences with the name of Camdhuj, which appears to have been the title assumed by Nayn Pal on his conquest of Canouj. Although Kurnidhan must have taken his facts from the royal records, they correspond very well with the roll from Nadolaye. The bard is, however, in a great hurry to bring the founder of the Rahtores into Marwar, and slurs over the defeat and death of Jeichund. Nor does he dwell long on his descendants, though he enumerates them all, and points out the leading events until he reaches the reign of Jeswunt Sing, grandfather of Abhye Sing, who "commanded the bard to write the *Sooraj Prakas*."

The next authority is the *Raj Roopac Akheat*, or 'the royal relations.' This work commences with a short account of the *Suryavansa*, from their cradle at Ayodhya; then takes up Seoji's migration, and in the same strain as the preceding work, rapidly passes over all events until the death of Raja Jeswunt; but it becomes a perfect chronicle of events during the minority of his successor, Ajit, his eventful reign, and that of Abhye Sing, to the conclusion of the war against Sirbolund Khan, viceroy of Guzerat. Throwing a[illegible] the [illegible] of lyrical introduction, it is professedly a chronic[illegible] [illegible]om S. 1735 (A.D. 1679), to S. 1787 (A.D. 1734), [illegible] to which the *Sooraj Prakas* is brought down.

A portion of the *Beejy Velas*, a poem of 100,000 couplets, also fell into my hands: it chiefly relates to the reign of the prince whose name it bears, Beejy Sing, the son of Bukht Sing. It details the civil wars waged by Beejy Sing, and his cousin, Ram Sing, (son of Abhye Sing), and the consequent introduction of the Mahrattas into Marwar.

From a biographical work named simply *Kheat*, or 'Story,' I obtained that portion which relates to the lives of Raja Oodi Sing, the friend of Akber, his son, Raja Guj, and grandson, Jeswunt Sing. These sketches exhibit in true colours the character of the Rahtores.

Besides these, I caused to be drawn up by an intelligent man, who had passed his life in office at Jodhpur, a memoir of transactions from the death of Ajit Sing, in A. D. 1629, down to the treaty with the English government in A. D. 1818. The ancestors of the narrator had filled offices of trust in the state, and he was a living chronicle both of the past and present.

From these sources, from conversations with the reigning sovereign, his nobles, his ambassadors, and subjects, materials were collected for this sketch of the Rahtores,—barren, indeed, of events at first, but redundant of them as we advance.

A genealogical table of the Rahtores is added, shewing the grand offsets, whose descendants constitute the feudal *frereage*

of the present day. A glance at this table will shew the claims of each house; and in its present distracted condition, owing to civil broils, will enable the paramount power to mediate, when necessary, with impartiality, in the conflicting claims of the prince and his feudatories.

We shall not attempt to solve the question, whether the Rahtores are, or are not *Rawud-vansa*, 'Children of the Sun'; nor shall we dispute either the birth or etymon of the first Rahtore (from the *raht* or spine of Indra), or search in the north for the kingdom of the nominal father; but be content to conclude that this celestial interference in the household concerns of the Parlipur prince was invented to cover some disgrace. The name of *Yavana*, with the adjunct *Aswa* or *Asi*, clearly indicates the Indo-Scythic 'barbarian' from beyond the Indus. In the genealogy of the Lunar races, descended of Budha and Ella (*Mercury* and the *Earth*—see Table I., Vol. I.), the five sons of BAJ-ASWA are made to people the countries on and beyond the Indus; and in the scanty records of Alexander's invasion, mention is made of many races, as the Asasenæ and Asacani, still dwelling in these regions.

This period was fruitful in change to the old established dynasties of the Hindu continent, when numerous races of *barbarians*, *viz.*, Huns, Parthians, and Getes, had fixed colonies on her western and northern frontiers.*

"In S. 526 (A. D. 470), Nyan Pal obtained Canouj, from which period the Rahtores assumed the title of Camdhuj. His son was Pudarut,† and his son Poonja, from whom sprang the thirteen great families, bearing the patronymic Camdhuj, *viz*:

"1st. Dhurma Bhumbo; his descendants styled *Danesra Camdhuj*.

"2nd. Bhanooda, who fought the Afghans at Kangra, and founded Abhipur; hence the *Abhipura Camdhuj*.

"3rd. Virachandra, who married the daughter of Hamira Chohan, of Anhulpur Pattun; he had fourteen sons, who emigrated to the Dekhan; his descendants called *Kuppolia Camdhuj*.

"4th. Umrabeejy, who married the daughter of the Pramara prince of Korahgurh on the Ganges;—slew 16,000 Pramaras, and took possession of Korah, whence the *Korah Camdhuj*.‡

"5th. Soojun Binode; his descendants *Jirkhaira Camdhuj*,

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* Comas. Annals of Mewar. Gete or Jit inscriptions. Appendix, Vol. i.

† Called *Bharat* in the Yati's roll; an error of one or other of the authorities, in transcribing from the more ancient records.

‡ An inscription given in the Transactions of the Roy. Asiatic Society vol. ix. p. 440). found at Korah, relates to a branch of the Canouj family.

"6th. Pudma, who conquered Orissa and also Bogilana, from Raja Tejmun Yadu.

"7th. Aihar, who took Bengal from the Yadus; hence *Aihara Camdhuj.*

"8th. Bardeo, his elder brother offered him in appanage Benares, and eighty-four townships; but he perferred founding a city, which he called Parukpur;* his descendants *Paruk Camdhuj.*

"9th. Oogra-Prebhoo, who made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Hinglaz Chandel,† who, pleased with the severity of his penance, caused a sword to ascend from the fountain, with which he conquered the southern countries touching the ocean ‡ his descendants *Chandaila Camdhuj.*

"10th. Mookta-Mun, who conquered possessions in the north from Bhan Tuar: his descendants *Beera Camdhuj.*

"11th. Bhurut, at the age of sixty-one, conquered Keneksir, under the northern hills, from Roodra-sen of the Birgoojur tribe; his descendants styled *Bhureau Camdhuj.*

"12th. Allunkul founded Khyroda; fought the Asuras (Moslems) on the banks of the Attok: his descendants *Khyrodea Camdhuj.*

"13th. Chand obtained Tarapoor in the north. He married a daughter of the Chohan of *Tahera,*§ a city well known to the world: with her he came to Benares.

"And thus the race of Surya multiplied.

"Bhumbo,|| or Dherma-Bhumbo, sovereign of Canouj, had a son, Ajy-Chund.¶ For twenty-one generations they bore the titles of *Rao*, afterwards that of *Raja*: Oodichund, Nirpati, Keneksen, Sehes-sal, Megsen, Birbhadra, Deosen, Bimulsen, Dansen, Mokund, Bhoodu, Rajsen, Tirpal, Srec-poonja, Beejychund,** his son Jeichund, who became the Naek of Canouj, with the surname Dul Pangla."

Nothing is related of the actions of these princes, from the conquest of Canouj by Nayn Pal in (A. D. 470), and the establishment of his thirteen grandsons in divers countries, until we reach Jeichund, in whose person (A. D. 1193) terminated

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* *Qu.* Parkur, towards the Indus?

† On the coast of Mekran.

‡ If we can credit these legends, we see the Rahtore Rajpoots spreading over all India. I give these bare facts *verbatim* as some traces may yet remain of the races in those countries.

§ A city often mentioned by Ferishta, in the early times of the Mahomedans.

|| Nayn Pal must have preceded Dherma-Bhumbo by five or six generations.

¶ Called Abhe-chand, in the *Sooraj Prakas*.

** Also styled *Beejy Pal*; classically *Vijy-pala*, 'Fosterer of Victory.'

of the Lodi kings of Delhi, preserved the sterile lands of Maroo from their cupidity; and a second dynasty, the Shere-shahi, intervened ere *'the sons of Joda'* were summoned to measure swords with the Imperialists. But in S. 1572 (A.D. 1516), a desultory band of Pathans made an incursion during the fair of the Teej,* held at the town of Peepar, and carried off one hundred and forty maidens of Maroo. The tidings of the rape of the virgin Rajpootnis were conveyed to Soojoh, who put himself at the head of such vassals as were in attendance, and pursued, overtook and redeemed them, with the loss of his own life, but not without a full measure of vengeance against the "northern barbarian." The subject is one chosen by the itinerant minstrel of Maroo, who, at the fair of the Teej, still sings the rape of the one hundred and forty virgins of Peepar, and their rescue by their cavalier prince at the price of his own blood.

Soojoh had five sons, *viz.*, 1. Bhago, who died in non-age: his son Ganga succeeded to the throne. 2. Oodoh, who had eleven sons: they formed the clan Oodawut, whose chief fiefs are Neemaj, Jytarum, Goondoche, Biratea, Raepur, &c., besides places in Mewar. 3. Saga, from whom descended the clan Sagawut; located at Burwoh. 4. Priag, who originated the Priagote clan. 5. Beerumdeo, whose son, Naroo, receives divine honours as the *putra of Maroo,* and whose statue is worshipped at Sojut. His descendants are styled Narawut Joda, of whom a branch is established at Puchpahar, in Harouti.

Ganga, grandson of Soojoh, succeeded his grandfather in S. 1572 (A.D. 1516); but his uncle, Saga, determined to contest his right to the *gadi,* invited the aid of Dowlut Khan Lodi, who had recently expelled the Rahtores from Nagore. With this auxiliary a civil strife commenced, and the sons of Joda were marshalled against each other. Ganga, confiding in the rectitude of his cause, and reckoning upon the support of the best swords of Maroo, spurned the offer of compromise made by the Pathan, of a partition of its lands between the claimants, and gave battle, in which his uncle Saga was slain, and his auxiliary, Dowlut Khan, ignominiously defeated.

Twelve years after the accession of Ganga, the sons of Joda were called on to unite their forces to Mewar to oppose the invasion of the Moguls from Turkistan. Sanga Rana, who had resumed the station of his ancestors amongst the princes of Hind, led the war, and the king of Maroo deemed it no degradation to acknowledge his supremacy, and send his quotas to fight under the standard of Mewar, whose chronicles do more justice to the Rahtores than those of their own bards. This,

* For a description of this festival, see Vol. I.

which was the last confederation made by the Rajpoots for national independence, was defeated as already related, in the fatal field of Biana, where, had treachery not aided the intrepid Baber, the Rahtore sword would have had its full share in rescuing the nation from the Mahomedan yoke. It is sufficient to state that a Rahtore was in the battle, to know that he would bear its brunt; and although we are ignorant of the actual position of the Rana, we may assume that their post was in the van. The young prince Raemul (grandson of Ganga), with the Mairtea chieftains, Khartoe and Rutna, and many others of note, fell against the Chagitai on this eventful day.

Ganga died* four years after this event, and was succeeded by Maldeo in S. 1588 (A.D. 1532), a name as distinguished as any of the noble princes in the chronicles of Maroo. The position of Marwar at this period was eminently excellent for the increase and consolidation of its resources. The emperor Baber found no temptation in her sterile lands to divert him from the rich plains of the Ganges, where he had abundant occupation; and the district and strongholds on the emperor's frontier of Maroo, still held by the officer of the preceding dynasty, were rapidly acquired by Maldeo, who planted his garrisons in the very heart of Dhoondar. The death of Sanga Rana, and the misfortunes of the house of Mewar, cursed with a succession of minor princes, and at once beset by the Moguls from the north, and the kings of Guzzerat, left Maldeo to the uncontrolled exercise of his power, which, like a true Rajpoot, he employed against friend and foe, and became, beyond a doubt, the first prince of Rajwarra, or, in fact, as styled by the Mahomedan historian Ferishta, "the most potent prince in Hindusthan."

The year of Maldeo's installation, he redeemed the two most important possessions of his house, Nagore and Ajmeer. In 1596 he captured Jhalore, Sewanoh, and Bhadrajoon from the Sindhils; and two years later dispossessed the sons of Beeka of supreme power in Bikaneer. Mehwo, and the tracts on the Looni, the earliest possessions of his house, which had thrown off all dependence, he once more subjugated, and compelled the ancient allodial tenantry to hold of him in chief, and serve with their quotas. He engaged in war with the Bhattis, and conquered Beekumpur, where a branch of his family remained, and are now incorporated with the Jessulmeer states, and under the name of Maldotes,† have the credit of being the

* The Yati's roll says, Ganga was poisoned; but this is not confirmed by any other authority.

† Mr. Elphinstone apprehended an attack from the Maldotes on his way to Cabul.

most daring robbers of the desert. He even established branches of his family in Mewar and Dhoondar, took, and fortified Chatsoo, not twenty miles south of the capital of the Cuchwahas. He captured and restored Serohi from the Deoras, from which house was his mother. But Maldeo not only acquired, but determined to retain, his conquests, and erected numerous fortifications throughout the country. He enclosed the city of Jodhpur with a strong wall, besides erecting a palace and adding other works to the fortress. The circumvallations of Mairtea and its fort which he called Malkote, cost him £24,000. He dismantled Satulmeer, and with the materials fortified Pokurn, which he took from the Bhattis transplanting the entire population, which comprehended the richest merchants of Rajasthan. He erected forts at Bhadrajoon, on the hill of Bheemlode, near Sewanoh, at Goondoche, at Reeah, Peepar, and Dhoonara. He made the Koondulkote at Sewanoh, and greatly added to that of Filodi, first made by Hamira Nirawut. He also erected that bastion in Gurh Beetli (the citadel of Ajmeer) called the Kote-boorj, and shewed his skill in hydraulics by the construction of a wheel to bring water into the fort. The chronicler adds that " by the wealth of Sumbur," meaning the resources of this salt lake, he was enabled to accomplish these works, and furnishes a list of the possessions of Jodhpur at this period, which we cannot exclude: Sojut, Sambur, Mairtea, Khatah, Bednore, Ladnoo, Raepur, Bhadrajoon, Nagore, Sewanoh, Lohagurh, Jykulgurh, Bikaneer, Beenmahl, Pokurn, Barmair, Kusoli, Rewasso, Jajawur, Jhalore, Baoli, Mular, Nadole, Filodi, Sanchore, Deedwana, Chatsoo, Lowain, Mularna, Deorah, Futtehpur, Umursir, Khawur, Baniapur, Tonk, Thoda, Ajmeer, Jehajpur and Pramar-ca-Oodipoor (in Shikhavati) ; in all thirty-eight districts, several of which, at Jhalore, Ajmeer Tonk, Thoda, and Bednore, comprehended each three hundred and sixty townships, and there were none which did not number eighty. But of those enumerated in Dhoondar, as Chatsoo, Lowain, Tonk, Thoda, and Jehajpur in Mewar, the possession was but transient ; and although Bednore and its three hundred and sixty townships were peopled by Rahtores, they were the descendants of the Mairteas under Jeimul, who became one of the great vassals of Mewar, and would, in its defence, at all times draw their swords against the land which gave them birth.* This branch of the house of Joda had for some time been too powerful for subjects, and Mairtea was resumed. To this act

* Such is the Rajpoot's notion of *swamdherma* or "fidelity to him whose salt they eat." their immediate lord, even against their king.

Mewar was indebted for the services of this heroic chief. At the same time the growing power of others of the great vassalage of Marwar was checked by resumptions, when Jytarun from the Oodawuts, and several other fiefs, were added to the fisc. The feudal allotments had never been regulated, but went on increasing with the energies of the state and the progeny of its princes, each having on his brith an appanage assigned to him, until the whole land of Maroo was split into innumerable portions. Maldeo saw the necessity for checking this sub-division, and he created a gradation of ranks, and established its perpetuity in certain branches of the sons of Rinmull and Joda, which has never been altered.

Ten years of undisturbed possession were granted Maldeo to perfect his designs, ere his cares were diverted from these to his own defence. Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, was dead, and his son and successor had been driven from his newly-conquered throne by his provincial lieutenant Shere Shah: so rapidly do revolutions crowd upon each other where the sword is the universal arbitrator. We have elsewhere related that the fugitive monarch sought the protection of Maldeo, and we stigmatized his conduct as unnational; but we omitted to state that Maldeo, then heir-apparent, lost his eldest, perhaps then only son Raemul in the battle of Biana, who led the aid of Marwar on that memorable day, and consequently the name of Chagitai, whether in fortune or in flight, had no great claims to his regard. But little did Maldeo dream how closely the fortunes of his house would be linked with those of the fugitive Hemayoon, and that the infant Akber, born in this emergency, was destined to revenge this breach of hospitality. Still less could the proud Rahtore, who traced his ancestry on the throne of Canouj one thousand years before the birth of the "barbarian" of Ferghana, deem it within the range of probability, that he should receive honours at such hands, or that the first title of *Raja, Rajeswar*, or 'raja, lord of rajas,' would be conferred on his own son by this infant, then rearing amidst the sand-hills at the extremity of his desert dominion! It is curious to indulge in the speculative inquiry, whether, when the great Akber girded Oodi Sing with the sword of honour, and marked his forehead with the unguent of Raja-shah, he brought to mind the conduct of Maldeo, which doomed his birth to take place in the dismal castle of Amerkote, instead of in the splendid halls of Delhi.

Maldeo derived no advantage from his inhospitality; for whether the usurper deemed his exertions insufficient to secure the royal fugitive, or felt his own power insecure with so potent a neighbour, he led an army of eighty thousand men into

Marwar. Maldeo allowed them to advance, and formed an army of fifty thousand Rajpoots to oppose him. The judgment and caution he exercised were so great, that Shere Shah, well versed in the art of war, was obliged to fortify his camp at every step. Instead of an easy conquest, he soon repented of his rashness when the admirable dispositions of the Rajpoots made him dread an action, and from a position whence he found it impossible to retreat. For a month the armies lay in the sight of each other, everyday the king's situation becoming more critical, and from which he saw not the slightest chance of extrication. In this exigence he had recourse to one of those stratagems which have often operated successfully on the Rajpoot, by sowing distrust in his mind as to the fidelity of his vassals. He penned a letter, as if in correspondence with them, which he contrived to have dropped, as by accident, by a messenger sent to negotiate. Perhaps the severity of the resumptions of estates seconded this scheme of Shere Shah; for when the stipulated period for the attack had arrived, the raja countermanded it. The reasons for this conduct, when success was apparent, were soon propagated; when one or two of the great leaders, in order to demonstrate their groundlessness, gave an instance of that devotion with which the annals of these states abound. At the head of twelve thousand, they attacked and forced the imperial entrenched camp, carrying destruction even to the quarters of the emperor; but multitudes prevailed, and the patriotic clans were almost annihilated. Maldeo, when too late, saw through the stratagem which had made him doubt the loyalty of his vassals. Superstition, and the reproaches of his chieftains for his unworthy suspicion, did the rest; and this first *levee en masse* of the descendants of Seoji, arrayed in defence of their national liberties, was defeated. With justice did the usurper pay homage to their gallantry, when he exclaimed, on his deliverance from this peril, "he had nearly lost the empire of Hindusthan for a handful of barley."*

Maldeo was destined to outlive the Shere-shahi dynasty, and to see the imperial crown of India once more encircle the brows of the fugitive Hemayoon.† It had been well for the Rahtores had his years been lengthened; for his mild

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* In allusion to the poverty of the soil, as unfitted to produce richer grains.

† There is a biographical account of this monarch, during his exile in Persia, written by his *abdar*, or 'cup-bearer,' in the library of Major W. Yule, of Edinburgh, and which, when translated, will complete the series of biography of the members of the house of Timour.

disposition and natural indolence of character gave them some chance that these qualities would be their best advocate. But he did not long survive the restoration. Whether the mother of his successor, prince Akber not yet fifteen, stimulated by the recollection of her misfortunes, nursed his young animosity against Maldeo for the miseries of Amerkote, or whether it was merely an act of cautionary policy to curb the Rajpoot power, which was inconsistent with his own, in S. 1617 (A.D. 1561) he invaded Marwar, and laid siege to Malkote or Mairtea, which he took after an obstinate and sanguinary defence, part of the garrison cutting their way through his host, and making good their retreat to their prince. The important castle of Nagore was also captured; and both these strongholds and their lands were conferred by Akber on the younger branch of the family, Rae Sing, prince of Bikaneer, now established in independence of the parent state, Jodhpur.

In 1625 (A.D. 1569), Maldeo succumbed to necessity; and in conformity with the times, sent his second son, Chundersen, with gifts to Akber, then at Ajmeer, which had become an integral part of the monarchy; but Akber was so dissatisfied with the disdainful bearing of the desert king, who refused personally to pay his court, that he not only guaranteed the free possession of Bikaneer to Rae Sing, but presented him with the *firman* for Jodhpur itself, with supremacy over his race. Chundersen appears to have possessed all the native pride of the Rahtore, and to have been prepared to contest his country's independence, in spite of Akber and the claims of his elder brother, Oodi Sing, who eventually was more supple in ingratiating himself into the monarch's favour. At the close of life, the old Rao had to stand a siege in his capital, and after a brave but fruitless resistance, was obliged to yield homage, and pay it in the person of his son, Oodi Sing, who, attending with a contingent, was enrolled amongst the commanders of 'one thousand;' and shortly after was invested with the title of *Mota Raja*, or 'the fat Raja,' by which epithet alone he is designated in the annals of that period.

Chundersen, with a considerable number of the brave vassals of Maroo, determined to cling to independence and the rude fare of the desert, rather than servilely follow in the train of the despot. When driven from Jodhpur, they took post in Sewanoh, in the western extremity of the state, and there held out to the death. For seventeen years he maintained his title to the *gadi*, and divided the allegiance of the Rahtores with his elder brother, Oodi Sing, (though supported by the king), and stood the storm in which he nobly fell, leaving three sons, Oogursen, Aiskurn, and Rae Sing, who fought a duel with Rao Soortan,

of Sirohi, and was slain, with twenty-four of his chiefs,* near the town of Duttani.

Maldeo, though he submitted to acknowledge the surpremacy of the emperor, was at least spared the degradation of seeing a daughter of his blood bestowed upon the opponent of his faith; he died soon after the title was conferred on his son, which sealed the dependence of Maroo. His latter days were a dismal contrast to those which witnessed his conquests in almost every part of Rajpootana, but he departed from this world in time to preserve his own honour untarnished, with the character of the most valiant and energetic Rajpoot of his time. Could he have added to his years and maintained their ancient vigour, he might, by a junction with Pertap of Mewar, who single-handed commenced his career just as Maldeo's closed, have maintained Rajpoot independence against the rising power of the Moguls†.

Maldeo, who died S. 1671 (A.D. 1615), had twelve sons:—

1. Ram Sing, who was banished, and found refuge with the Rana of Mewar; he had seven sons, the fifth of whom, Kesoodas, fixed at Chooly Maheswur.
2. Raemul, who was killed in the battle of Biana.
3. Oodi Sing, Raja of Marwar.
4. Chundersen, by a wife of the Jhala tribe; had three sons, the eldest, Oogursen, got BINAI; he had three sons, Kurrun, Kanji, and Kahun.
5. Aiskurn; descendants at Jooneah.
6. Gopaldas; killed at Eedur.
7. Pirthiraj; descendants at Jhalore.
8. Ruttunsi; descendants at Bhadrajoon.
9. Bhairaj; descendants at Ahari.
10. Bikramajeet } No notice of them.
11. Bhan } No notice of them.
12. —— } No notice of them.

* It was fought with a certain number on each side, Rahtores against Deoras, a branch of the Chohans, the two bravest of all the Rajpoot races. It reminds us of some of the duels related by Froissart.

† See Annals of Mewar.

CHAPTER IV.

Altered condition of the princes.—Installation of Raja Oodi Sing.—Not acknowledged by the most powerful clans until the death of Chundersen.—Historical retrospect.—The three chief epochs of Marwar history, from the conquest of its dependence on the empire.—Order of succession changed, with change of capital, in Mewar, Amber, and Marwar.—Branches to which the succession is confined.—Dangers of mistaking these.—Examples.—Joda regulates the fiefs.—The eight great nobles of Marwar.—These regulations maintained by Maldeo, who added to the secondary fiefs.—Fiefs perpetuated in the elder branches.—The brothers and sons of Joda.—Various descriptions of fiefs.—Antiquity of Rajpoot feudal system. Akber maintains it.—Paternity of Rajpoot sovereigns not a fiction, as in Europe.—The lowest Rajpoot claims kindered with the sovereign.—The name Oodi Sing, fatal to Rajpootana.—Bestows his sister Jod Bae on Akber.—Advantages to the Rahtores of this marriage.—Numerous progeny of Oodi Sing.—Established the fiefs of Govingurh and Pisangurh.—Kishengurh and Rutlam.—Remarkable death of Raja Oodi Sing.—Anecdotes.—Issue of Oodi Sing.—Table of descent.

The death of Maldeo formed an important epoch in the annals of the Rahtores. Up to this period, the will had waited upon the wish of the gallant descendants of Siva; but now the vassals of Maroo acknowledged one mightier than they. The banner of the empire floated pre-eminent over the '*panchranga*,' the five-coloured flag, which had led the Rahtores from victory to victory, and waved from the sand-hills of Amerkote to the salt-lake of Sambhur; from the desert bordering the Garah to the peaks of the Aravali. Henceforward, the Rahtore princes had, by their actions or subservience, to ascend by degrees the steps to royal favour. They were required to maintain a contingent of their proud vassals, headed by the heir, to serve at the Mogul's pleasure. Their deeds own them, not ignobly, the grace of the imperial court; but had slavish submission been the sole path to elevation, the Rahtore princes would never have attained a grade beyond the first '*munsub*,' conferred on Oodi Sing. Yet though streams of wealth enriched the barren plains of Maroo; although a portion of the spoils of Golconda and Beejipur augmented its treasures,

decorated its palaces, and embellished its edifices and mausoleums; although the desert kings took the 'right hand' of all the feudality of Hind, whether indigenous or foreign—a feudal assemblage of no less than seventy-six petty kingdoms—yet the Rahtore felt the sense of his now degraded condition, and it often burst forth even in the presence of the suzerain.

Maldeo's death occurred in S. 1625; but the chronicles do not admit of Oodi Sing's elevation until the death of his brother, Chundersen, from which period we may reckon that he was, though junior, the choice both of his father and the nobles, who did not approve of Oodi Sing's submission to Akber. In fact, the Raja led the royal forces against the most powerful of his vassals, and resumed almost all the possessions of the Mairteas, and weakened the others.

Before we proceed to trace the course pursued by Oodi Sing, who was seated upon the cushion of Maldeo in S. 1640 (A. D. 1584), let us cast a short retrospect over the annals of Maroo, since the migration of the grandson of the potentate of Canouj, which, compared with the ample page of western history, present little more than a chronicle of hard names, though not destitute of facts interesting to political science.

In the table before the reader, aided by the explanations in the text, he will see the whole process of the conquest, peopling, and settlement of an extensive region, with its partition or allotments amongst an innumerable *frerage* (*bhyad*), whose children continue to hold them as vassals of their king and brother, the descendant of their mutual ancestor Sivaji.

We may divide the annals of Marwar, from the migration of Sivaji from Canouj to the accession of Oodi Sing, into three distinct epochs:

1st. From the settlement of Seoji in the land of Kher, in A. D. 1212, to the conquest of Mundore by Chonda in A. D. 1381;

2nd. From the conquest of Mundore to the founding of Jodhpur, in A. D. 1459; and

3rd. From the founding of Jodhpur to the accession of Oodi Sing, in A. D. 1584, when the Rahtores acknowledged the supremacy of the empire.

The two first epochs were occupied in the subjugation of the western portion of the desert from the ancient allodiality; nor was it until Chonda conquered Mundore, on the decline of the Chohans of the east, that the fertile lands on either side the Looni were formed into fiefs for the children of Rinmull and Joda. A change of capital with the Rajpoot is always productive of change in the internal organization of

the state; and not unfrequently the race changes its appellation with its capital. The foundation of Jodhpur was a new era, and henceforth the throne of Maroo could only be occupied by the tribe of Joda, and from branches not constituting the vassals of the crown, who were cut off from succession. This is a peculiar feature in Rajpoot policy, and is common to the whole race, as will be hereafter more distinctly pointed out in the annals of Ajmeer.

Joda, with the ambition of the founder of a state, gave a new form to the feudal institutions of his country. Necessity, combined with pride, led him to promulgate a statute of limitation of the sub-infeudation of Maroo. The immense progeny of his father Rinmull, twenty-four sons, and his own, of fourteen, almost all of whom had numerous issue, rendered it requisite to fix the number and extent of the fiefs; and amongst them, henceforward constituting permanently the *frerage* of Maroo, the lands were partitioned, Kandul having emigrated and established his own numerous issue, the Kandulotes, in Bikaneer. The two brothers next to Joda, *viz.*, Champa, and Koompa, with his two sons, Doodo and Kurmsi, and his grandson, Oodoh, were declared the heads of the feudal association under their names, the Champawuts, Kampawuts Mairteas (sons of Doodo) Kurmsotes, and Oodawuts, continue to be "the pillars of Maroo." Eight great estates, called the *aght thacoorait*, or 'eight lordships' of Marwar, each of the nominal annual value of fifty thousand rupees (£, 5,000) were settled on these persons, and their immense influence has obtained many others for younger branches of their clans. The title of the first noble of Maroo was given to Champa and his issue, who have often made its princes tremble on their thrones. Besides these, inferior appanages were settled on the junior branches, brothers, sons, and grandsons of Joda, which were also deemed hereditary and irresumable; to use their own phrase, their *bath*,* or 'allotment,' to which they consider their title as sacred as that of their prince to his throne, of whom they say, "When our services are acceptable, then is he our lord, when not, we are again his brothers and kin, claimants, and laying claim to the land."†

Rao Maldeo confirmed this division of Joda, though he increased the secondary fiefs, and as the boundaries of Marwar were completed in his reign, it was essentially necessary to confirm the limitation. The feudal states of Marwar are,

* From *batna*, 'to divide, to partition.'

† See the remonstrance of the vassal descendants of these chiefs, expelled their patrimony by their prince, to the English enemy, Vol. I.

therefore, perpetuated in the offspring of the princes from Joda to Maldeo, and a distinction exists between them and those subsequently conferred; the first, being obtained by conquest, are deemed irrevocable, and must be perpetuated by adoption on the failure of lineal issue; whereas the other may, on lapses, be resumed and added to the fisc whence it emanated. The fiscal domain of the Rajpoot princes cannot, says their traditionary lore, be alienated for more than a life-interest; but this wise rule, though visible in anecdotes of past days, has been infringed with their general disorganization. These instances, it may be asserted, afford the distinctions of allodial and feudal lands. Of the numerous clans, the issue of Seoji to Joda, which are spread over the northern and western parts of the state, some, partly from the difficulty of their position, partly from a feeling of respect to their remote ancestry, enjoy almost entire independence. Yet they recognize the prince of Maroo as their liege lord when his crown is endangered, and render homage on his accession or any great family event. These clans hold without grant or fine, and may properly be called the allodial chieftains. Of this number we may enumerate the lordships of Barmair, Kotorah, Seo, Phulsoond, &c. Others there are who, though less independent, may also be styled the allodiality of Marwar, who are to furnish their quotas when demanded, and perform personal homage on all great days of rejoicing; of these are Mehwo, Sindri, &c. The ancient clans scattered over the land, or serving the more modern chieftains, are recognized by their patronymic distinctions, by those versed in the chronicles; though many hear the names of Doohurea, Mangulea, Oohur, and Dhandul, without knowing them to be Rahtore. The mystic page of the bard is always consulted previous to any marriage, in order to prevent a violation of the matrimonial canons of the Rajpoots, which are stricter than the Mosaic, and this keeps up the knowledge of the various branches of their own and other races, which would otherwise perish.

Whatever term may be applied to these institutions of a martial race, and which for the sake of being more readily understood we have elsewhere called, and shall continue to designate, 'feudal,' we have not a shadow of doubt that they were common to the Rajpoot races from the remotest ages, and that Seoji conveyed them from the seat of his ancestors, Canouj. A finer picture does not exist of the splendour of a feudal array than the camp of its last monarch, Jeichand, in the contest with the Chohan. The annals of each and every state bear evidence to a system strictly parallel to that of Europe; more especially Mewar, where, thirteen hundred

years ago, we see the entire feudatories of the state throwing up their grants, giving their liege lord defiance, and threatening him with their vengeance. Yet, having 'eaten his salt,' they forebore to proceed to hostilities till a whole year had elapsed, at the expiration of which they deposed him.* Akber, who was partial to Hindu institutions, borrowed much from them, in all that concerned his own regulations.

In contrasting these customs with analogous ones in the west, the reader should never lose sight of one point, which must influence the analogy, *viz.*, the patriarchal form which characterizes the feudal system in all countries; and as, amongst the Rajpoots, all their vassalage is of their own kin and blood (save a slight mixture of foreign nobles as a counterpoise), the *paternity* of the sovereign is no fiction, as in Europe; so that from the son of Champa, who takes the right hand of his prince, to the meanest vassal, who serves merely for his '*paiti*'† (rations), all are linked by the tie of consanguinity, of which it is difficult to say whether it is most productive of evil or good, since it has afforded examples as brilliant and as dark as any in the history of mankind. The devotion which made twelve thousand, out of the fifty thousand, "sons of Joda," prove their fidelity to Maldeo, has often been emulated even to the present day.

The chronicles, as before stated, are at variance with regard to the accession of Oodi Sing: some date it from the death of Maldeo, in S. 1625 (A. D. 1569); others from that of his elder brother, Chundersen, slain in the storm of Sewanoh. The name of Oodi appears one of evil portent in the annals of Rajasthan.‡ While "Oodi, *the fat*," was inhaling the breeze of imperial power, which spread a haze of prosperity over Maroo, Pertap of Mewar, the idol of the Rajpoots, was enduring every hardship in the attempt to work out his country's independence, which had been sacrificed by his father, Oodi Sing. In this he failed, but he left a name hallowed in the hearts of his countrymen, and immortalized in the imperishable verse of the bard.

On the union of the imperial house with that of Jodhpur, by the marriage of Jod Bae to Akber, the emperor not only restored all possessions he had wrested from Marwar, with

* See Vol. I.

† Literally, 'a bellyful.'

‡ Instead of being, as it imports, the "ascending,"(1) it should for ever, in both the houses of Maroo and Mewar, signify "setting;" the pusillanimity of the one sunk Mewar, that of the other Marwar.

(1) *Oodya*, is Sanskrit, (*Oodi*, in the dialect,) is tantamount to *Oriens*, the point of rising:—*ex. Udyaditya*, 'the rising sun.'

the exception of Ajmeer, but several rich districts in Malwa, whose revenues doubled the resources of his own fiscal domain. With the aid of his imperial brother-in-law, he greatly diminished the power of the feudal aristocracy, and clipped the wings of almost all the greater vassals, while he made numerous sequestrations of the lands of the ancient allodiality and lesser vassals; so that it is stated, that either by new settlement or confiscation, he added fourteen hundred villages to the fisc. He resumed almost all the lands of the sons of Doodoh, who, from their abode, were termed *Mairtea*; took Jaitarun from the Oodawuts, and other towns of less note from the sons of Champa and Koompo.

Oodi Sing was not ungrateful for the favours heaped upon him by the emperor, for whom his Rahtores performed many signal services: for the raja was latterly too unwieldy for any steed to bear him to battle. The 'king of the Desert' (the familiar epithet applied to him by Akber) had a numerous progeny; no less than thirty-four legitimate sons and daughters, who added new clans and new estates to the feudal association of Maroo: of these the most conspicuous are Govingurh and Pisangurh; while some obtained settlements beyond its limits which became independent and bear the name of the founders. Of these are Kishengurh and Rutlam in Malwa.

Oodi Sing died thirteen years after his inauguration on the cushion of Joda, and thirty-three after the death of Maldeo. The manner of his death, as related in the biographical sketches termed '*Kheat*,' affords such a specimen of superstition and of Rajpoot manners that it would be improper to omit it. The narrative is preceded by some reflections on the moral education of the Rahtore princes, and the wise restraints imposed upon them under the vigilant control of chiefs of approved worth and fidelity; so that, to use the words of the text, "they often passed their twentieth year, ignorant of woman." If the 'fat raja' had ever known this moral restraint, in his riper years he forgot it; for although he had no less than twenty-seven queens, he cast the eye of desire on the virgin-daughter of a subject, and that subject a Brahmin.

It was on the raja's return from court to his native land, that he beheld the damsel, and he determined, notwithstanding the sacred character of her father and his own obligations as the dispenser of law and justice, to enjoy the object of his admiration. The Brahmin was an '*Aya-punti*,' or votary of *Aya-Mata*, whose shrine is at Bai-Bhilara. These sectarians of Maroo, very different from the abstinent Brahmins of Bengal, eat flesh, drink wine, and share in all the common enjoyments of life with the martial spirits around them. Whether the

scruples of the daughter were likely to be easily overcome by her royal tempter, or whether the raja threatened force, the '*Kheat*' does not inform us; but as there was no other course by which the father could save her from pollution but by her death, he resolved to make it one of vengeance and horror. He dug a sacrificial pit, and having slain his daughter, cut her into fragments, and mingling therewith pieces of flesh from his own person, made the '*homa*,' or burnt sacrifice to Aya Mata, and as the smoke and flames ascended, he pronounced an imprecation on the raja: "Let peace be a stranger to him! and in three Pahars,* three days, and three years, let me have revenge!" Then exclaiming, "My future dwelling is the *Dabi Baori!*" sprung into the flaming pit. The horrid tale was related to the raja, whose imagination was haunted by the shade of the Brahmin; and he expired at the assigned period, a prey to unceasing remorse.

Superstition is sometimes made available for moral ends; and the shade of the *Aya-punti* Brahmin of Bhilara has been evoked, in subsequent ages, to restrain and lead unto virtue libidinous princes, when all other control has been unavailing. The celebrated Jeswunt Sing, the great grandson of Oodi, had an amour with the daughter of one of his civil officers and which he carried on at the *Dabi Baori*† But the avenging ghost of the Brahmin interposed between him and his wishes. A dreadful struggle ensued, in which Jeswunt lost his senses, and no effort could banish the impression from his mind. The ghost persecuted his fancy, and he was generally believed to be possessed with a wicked spirit, which, when exorcised, was made to say he would only depart on the self-sacrifice of a chief equal in dignity to Jeswunt. Nahur Khan, 'the tiger lord,' chief of the Koompawut clan, who led the van in all his battles, immediately offered his head in expiation for his prince; and he had no sooner expressed this loyal determination, than the holy men who exorcised the spirit, caused it to descend into a vessel of water, and having waved it thrice round his head, they presented it to Nahur Khan, who drank it off, and Jeswunt's senses were instantly restored. This miraculous transfer of the ghost is implicitly believed by every chief of Rajasthan, by whom Nahur was called 'the faithful of the faithful.' Previous to dying, he called his son, and imposed on him and his descendants, by the solemnity of an oath, the abjuration of the office of *Purdhan*, or hereditary premier of Marwar, whose dignity involved such a

* A pahar is a watch of the day, about three hours.
† A reservoir excavated by one of the Dabi tribe.

sacrifice; and from that day, the Champawuts of Ahwa succeeded the Koompawuts of Asope, who renounced the first seat on the right for that on the left of their princes.

We shall conclude the reign of Oodi Sing with the register of his issue from 'the Book of Kings.' It is by no means an unimportant document to such as are interested in these singular communities, and essentially useful to those who are called upon to interfere in their national concerns. Here we see the affinities of the branch (*sacha*) to the parent tree which, in one short century, has shaded the whole land; and to which the independents of Kishengurh, Roopnagurh, and Rutlam, as well as the feudal chiefs of Govingurh, Khyrwa, and Pisangurh, all issues from Oodi Sing, look for protection.

Issue of Raja Oodi Sing:—

1. Soor Sing, succeeded.
2. Akhiraj.
3. Bugwandas; had issue Bullo, Gopaldas, Govindas, who founded Govingurh.
4. Nururdas }
5. Sukut Sing } had no issue attaining eminence.
6. Bhoput }
7. Dilput had four sons; 1. Muhesdas, whose son, Rutna founded Rutlam;* 2. Jeswunt Sing; 3. Pertap Sing; 4. Kunirain.
8. Jaet had four sons; 1. Hur Sing; 2. Umra 3. Kunniram; 4. Praimraj, whose descendants held lands in the tract called Bullati and Khyrwa.
9. Kishen, in S. 1669 (A.D. 1613), founded Kishengurh; he had three sons, Sehesmul, Jugmul, Bharmul, who had Hari Sing, who had Roop Sing, who founded Roopnagurh.
10. Jeswunt, his son Maun founded Manpura, his issue called Manroopa Joda.
11. Kessoo founded Pisangurh.
12. Ramdas,
13. Poorunmul,
14. Madoodas,
15. Mohundas, No mention of them.
16. Keerut Sing.
17.

And seventeen daughters not registered in the chronicle.

* Rutlam, Kishengurh, and Roopnagurh, are independent, and all under the separate protection of the British Government.

CHAPTER V.

Accession of Raja Soor.—His military talents obtain him honours.—Reduce Rao Soortan of Sirohi.—Commands against the King of Guzerat.—Battle of Dhundoca gained by the Raja.—Wealth and honours acquired.—Gifts to the bards.—Commanded against Umra Balecha.—Battle of the Rewa.—Slays the Chohan.—Fresh honours.—Raja Soor and his son Guj Sing attend the court of Jehangir.—The heir of Marwar invested with the sword by the Emperor's own hands.—Escalade of Jhalore.—Raja Guj attends Prince Khoorm against the Rana of Mewar.—Death of Raja soor.—Maledictory pillar erected on the Nerbudda.—The Rahtor echiefs' dissatisfaction at their long detention from their native land.—Raja Soor embellishes Jodhpur.—His issue.—Accession of Raja Guj.—Invested with the Rajaship of Boorhanpur.—Made Viceroy of the Dekhan.—The compliment paid to his contingent.—His various actions.—Receives the title of Dul-thumna, or 'barrier of the host.'—Causes of Rajpoot influence on the Imperial succession.—The Sultan Purvez and Khoorm, sons of Rajpoot Princesses—Intrigues of the Queens to secure the succession to their immediate offspring.—Prince Khoorm plots against his brother.—Endeavours to gain Raja Guj, but fails.—The Prince causes the chief adviser of Raja Guj to be assassinated.—Raja Guj quits the royal army.—Prince Khoorm assassinates his brother Purvez.—Proceeds to depose his father Jehangir, who appeals to the fidelity of the Rajpoot Princes.—They rally round the throne, and encounter the rebel army near Benares.—The Emperor slights the Rahtore Prince, which proves nearly fatal to his cause.—The rebels defeated.—Flight of Prince Khoorm.—Raja Guj slain on the Guzerat frontier.—His second son, Raja Jeswunt, succeeds.—Reasons for occasional departure from the rules of primogeniture amongst the Rajpoots.—Umra the elder, excluded the succession.—Sentence of banishment pronounced against him.—Ceremony of des-vatu, or 'exile,' described.—Umra repairs to the Mogul court.—Honours conferred upon him.—His tragical death.

SOOR SING succeeded in S. 1651 (A. D. 1595). He was serving with the Imperial forces at Lahore, where he had commanded since S. 1648, when intelligence reached him of his

father's death. His exploits and services were of the most brilliant nature, and had obtained for him, even during his father's life, the title of 'Sowae Raja,' and a high grade amongst the dignitaries of the empire. He was commanded by Akber to reduce the arrogant prince of Sirohi, who, trusting to the natural strength of his mountainous country, still refused to acknowledge a liege lord. This service well accorded with his private views, for he had a feud (*wer*) with Rao Soortan, which, according to the chronicle, he completely revenged. "He avenged his feud with Soortan and plundered Sirohi. The Rao had not a pallet left to sleep upon, but was obliged to make a bed for his wives upon the earth." This appears to have humbled the Deora, "who, in his pride, shot his arrows at the sun for daring to shine upon him." Soortan accepted the Imperial firman in token of submission, and agreed to serve with a contingent of his hardy clansmen in the war then entrusted to Raja Soor against the king of Guzerat, whose success we shall relate in the simple language of the chronicle:—"The Raja took the *pan* against the king Mozuffur, with the title of viceroy of Guzerat. The armies met Dhundoca, where a terrible conflict ensued. The Rahtores lost many valiant men, but the Shah was defeated, and lost all the insignia of his greatness. He sent the spoil of seventeen thousand towns to the king, but kept a crore of *dribs* for himself, which he sent to Jodhpur, and therewith he enlarged the town and fort. For this service Akber increased his *munsub*, and sent him a sword, with a khelat, and a grant of fresh lands."

Raja Soor, it appears in the sequel, provided liberally for the bards; "for no less than 'six lords of verse,' whose names are given, had in gift £10,000 each of the spoils of Guzerat, as incentives to song."

On the conquest of Guzerat, Raja Soor was ordered to the Dekhan. "He obeyed, and with thirteen thousand horse, ten large guns, and twenty elephants, he fought three grand battles. On the Rewa (Nerbudda) he attacked Umra Balecha,* who had five thousand horse, whom he slew, and reduced all his country. For this service the king sent him a *nobut* (kettle-drum), and conferred on him Dhar and its domain."

On Akber's death and the accession of Jehangir, Soor Sing attended at court with his son and heir, Guj Sing, whom the king with his own hands invested with the sword, for his bravery in the escalade of Jhalore, which had been conquered by the monarch of Guzerat and added to his domain. The poet thus relates the event: "Guj † was commanded against

* Balecha is one of the Chohan tribes.
† *Guj*, 'the elephant.'

Behari Pathan ; his war-trump sounded ; Arabudha heard and trembled. What took Alla-o-din years, Guj accomplished in three months ; he escaladed Jhalindra * sword in hand ; many a Rahtore of fame was killed, but he put to the sword seven thousand Pathans, whose spoils were sent to the king,"

Raja Soor, it would appear, after the overthrow of the dynasty of Guzerat, remained at the capital, while his son and heir, Guj Sing, attended the king's commands, and soon after the taking of Jhalore, was ordered with the Marwar contingent against Rana Umra of Mewar : it was at the very moment of its expiring liberties, † for the chronicle merely adds, "Kurrun agreed to serve the king, and Guj Sing returned to Tarragurh.‡ The king increased both his own *munsub* (dignity) and that of his father, Raja Soor."

Thus the Rajpoot chronicler, solicitous only to record the fame of his own princes, does not deem it necessary to concern himself with the agents conjoined with them, so that a stranger to the events of the period would imagine, from the high relief given to their actions, that the Rahtore princes commanded in all the great events described ; for instance, that just mentioned, involving the submission of the Rana, when Raja Guj was merely one of the great leaders who accompanied the Mogul heir-apparent, Prince Khoorm, on this memorable occasion. In the Diary of Jehangir, the emperor, recording this event, does not even mention the Rahtore prince, though he does those of Kotah and Duttea, as the instruments by which Prince Khoorm carried on the negociation ;§ from which we conclude that Raja Guj merely acted a military part in the grand army which then invaded Mewar.

Raja Soor died in the Dekhan, in S. 1676 (A. D. 1620). He added greatly to the lustre of the Rahtore name, was esteemed by the emperor, and, as the bard expresses it, "His spear was frightful to the Southron." Whether Raja Soor disapproved of the exterminating warfare carried on in these regions, or was exasperated at the unlimited service he was doomed to, which detained him from his native land, he, in his last moments, commanded a pillar to be erected with a curse engraven thereon, imprecated upon any of his race who should once cross the Nerbudda. From his boyhood he had been almost an alien to his native land ; he had accompanied his father wherever he led the aid of Maroo, was serving at Lahore at the period of

* Classical appellation of Jhalore.

† The Chronicle says, "In S. 1669 (A.D. 1613), the king formed an army against the Rana :" which accords exactly with the date in the emperor's own memoirs.

‡ Ajmeer, of which the citadel is styled Tarragurh.

§ See Annals of Mewar, Vol. I.

his accession, and died far from the monuments of his fathers, in the heart of the peninsula. Although the emperor was not ungrateful in his estimate of these services,—for Raja Soor held by patent no less than "sixteen grand fiefs,"* of the empire, and with the title of *Sowae* raised above all the princes, his associates at court,—it was deemed no compensation for perpetual absence from the hereditary domain, thus abandoned to the management of servants. The great vassals, his clansmen, participated in this dissatisfaction, separated from their wives, families, and estates ; for to them the pomp of Imperial greatness, or the sunshine of court-favour, was as nothing when weighed against the exercise of their influence within their own cherished patrimony. The simple fare of the desert was dearer to the Rahtore than all the luxuries of the Imperial banquet, which he turned from with disgust to the recollection of 'the green pulse of Mundawur,' or his favourite *rabri*, or 'maize porridge' the prime dish with the Rahtore. These minor associations conjoined with greater evils to increase the *mal de pays*, of whose influence no human being is more susceptible than the brave Rajpoot.

Raja Soor greatly added to the beauty of his capital, and left several works which bear his name ; amongst them, not the least useful in that arid region, is the lake called the *Soor Sagur*, or 'Warrior's Sea,' which irrigates the gardens on its margin. He left six sons and seven daughters, of whose issue we have no account, *viz.*, Guj Sing, his successor ; Subbul Sing, Beerundeo, Bejoy Sing, Pertap Sing, and Jeswunt Sing.

Raja Guj, who succeeded his father in A. D. 1620, was born at Lahore, and the *teeka* of investiture found him in the royal camp at Boorhanpur. The bearer of it was Darab Khan, the son of the Khankhana, or premier noble of the emperor's court, who, as the Imperial proxy, girt Raja Guj with the sword. Besides the 'nine castle' (*Nokotee Marwar*), his patrimony, his patent contained a grant of 'seven divisions' of Guzerat, of the district of Jhulaye in Dhoondar ; and what was of more consequence to him, though of less intrinsic value, that of Musaoda in Ajmeer, the heir-loom of his house. Besides these marks of distinction, he received the highest proof of confidence in the elevated post of viceroy of the Dekhan ; and, as a special testimony of Imperial favour, the Rahtore cavaliers

* Of these, nine were the sub-divisions of his native dominions, styled "The Nine Castle of Maroo ;" for on becoming one of the great feudatories of the empire, he made a formal surrender of these, receiving them again by grant, renewed on every lapse, with all the ceremonies of investiture and relief. Five were in Guzerat, one in Malwa, and one in the Dekhan. We see that thirteen thousand horse was the contingent of Marwar for the lands thus held.

composing his contingent were exempted from the *dagh*, that is, having their steeds branded with the Imperial signet. His elder son, Umra Sing, served with his father in all his various battles, to the success of which his conspicuous gallantry on every occasion contributed. In the sieges and battles of Kirkigurh, Golconda, Kelena, Pernala, Gujungurh, Asair and Satarra, the Rahtores had their full share of glory, which obtained for their leader the title of *Dulthumna*, or 'barrier of the host.' We have already* remarked the direct influence which the Rajpoot princes had in the succession to the Imperial dignity, consequent upon the intermarriage of their daughters with the crown and the various interests arising therefrom. Sultan Purvez, the elder son, and heir of Jehangir, was the issue of a princess of Marwar, while the second son, Khoorm, as his name imports, was the son of a Cuchwaha † princess of Amber. Being the offspring of polygamy, and variously educated, these princes were little disposed to consider consanguinity as a bond of natural union; and their respective mothers, with all the ambition of their race, thought of nothing but obtaining the diadem for the head of their children. With either of these rival queens, the royal children who were not her own, had no affinity with her or hers, and these feelings were imparted from the birth to their issue, and thus it too often happened that the heir of the throne was looked upon with an envious eye, as a bar to be removed at all hazards. This evil almost neutralized the great advantages derived from intermarriage with the indigenous races of India; but it was one which would have ceased with polygamy. Khoorm felt his superiority over his elder brother, Purvez, in all but the accidental circumstance of birth. He was in every respect a better man, and a braver and more successful soldier; and, having his ambition thus early nurtured by the stimulants administered by Bheem of Mewar, and the intrepid Mohabet,‡ he determined to remove this barrier between him and the crown. His views were first developed whilst leading the armies in the Dekhan, and he communicated them to Raja Guj of Marwar, who held the post of honour next the prince, and solicited his aid to place him on the throne. Gratitude for the favours heaped upon him by the king, as well as the natural bias to Purvez, made the Raja turn a deaf ear to his application. The prince tried to gain his point through Govindas, a Rajpoot of the Bhatti tribe, one of the foreign nobles of Maroo, and confidential adviser of

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* See Vol. I.

† *Cuchwa* and *Khoorm* are synonimous terms for the race which rules Amber,—the *Tortoises* of Rajasthan.

‡ A Rajpoot of the Rana's house converted to *the faith*.

his prince; but, as the annals say, "Govindas reckoned no one but his master and the king." Frustrated in this, Khoorm saw no hopes of success but by disgusting the Rahtores, and he caused the faithful Govindas to be assassinated by Kishen Sing;* on which Raja Guj, in disgust, threw up his post, and marched to his native land. From the assassination of Purvez, which soon followed, the deposal of his father appeared but a step; and Khoorm had collected means, which he deemed adequate to the design, when Jehangir appealed to the fidelity of the Rajpoots, to support him against filial ingratitude and domestic treason: and, in their general obedience to the call, they afforded a distinguished proof of the operation of the first principle, *Gadi-ca-án*, allegiance to the throne, often obeyed without reference to the worth of its occupant. The princes of Marwar, Amber, Kotah and Boondi put themselves at the head of their household retainers, on this occasion, which furnishes a confirmation of a remark already made, that the respective annals of the states of Rajasthan so rarely embrace the contemporaneous events of the rest, as to lead to the conclusion, that by the single force of each state this rebellion was put down. This remark will be further exemplified from the annals of Boondi.

Jehangir was so pleased with the zeal of the Rahtore prince,—alarmed as he was at the advance of the rebels,—that he not only took him by the hand, but what is most unusual, kissed it. When the assembled princes came in sight of the rebels, near Benares, the emperor gave the *herole*, or vanguard, to the Cuchwaha prince, the Mirza Raja of Amber. Whether this was a point of policy to secure his acting against prince Khoorm, who was born of this race, or merely, as the Marwar annals state, because he brought the greater number into the field, is immaterial; but it was very nearly fatal in its consequences: for the proud Rahtore, indignant at the insult offered to him in thus bestowing the post of honour, which was his right, upon the rival race of Amber, furled his banners, separated from the royal army, and determined to be a quiet spectator of the result. But for the impetuous Bheem of Mewar, the adviser of Khoorm, he might that day have been emperor of India. He sent a taunting message to Raja Guj, either to join their cause or "draw their swords." The Rahtores overlooked the neglect of the king in the sarcasm of one of their own tribe; and Bheem was slain, Govindas avenged, the rebellion quelled, and Khoorm put to flight, chiefly by the Rahtores and Haras.

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* This was the founder of Kishengurh; for this iniquitous service he was made an independent Raja in the town which he erected. His descendant is now an ally by treaty with the British Government.

In S. 1694 (A. D. 1638), Raja Guj was slain in an expedition into Guzerat; but whether in the fulfilment of the king's commands, or in the chastisement of freebooters on his own southern frontier, the chronicles do not inform us. He left a distinguished name in the annals of his country, and two valiant sons, Umra and Jeswunt, to maintain it: another son, Achil, died in infancy.

The second son, Jeswunt, succeeded, and furnishes another of many instances in the annals of Rajpootana, of the rights of primogeniture being set aside. This proceeded from a variety of motives, sometimes merely paternal affection, sometimes incapacity in the child 'to head fifty thousand Rahtores,' and sometimes, as in the present instance, a dangerous turbulence and over-boiling impetuosity in the individual, which despised all restraints. While there was an enemy against whom to exert it, Umra was conspicuous for his gallantry, and in all his father's wars in the south, was ever foremost in the battle. His daring spirit collected around him those of his own race, alike in mind, as connected by blood, whose actions, in periods of peace, were the subjects of eternal complaint to his father, who was ultimately compelled to exclude Umra from his inheritance.

In the month of Bysack, S. 1690 (A. D. 1634), five years before the death of Raja Guj, in a convocation of all the feudality of Maroo, sentence of exclusion from the succession was pronounced upon Umra, accompanied by the solemn and seldom practised rite of *Des-vatoh* or exile. This ceremony, which is marked as a day of mourning in the calendar, was attended with all the circumstances of funeral pomp. As soon as the sentence was pronounced, that his birth-right was forfeited and assigned to his junior brother, and that he ceased to be a subject of Maroo, the *khelat* of banishment was brought forth, existing of sable vestments, in which he was clad; a sable shield was hung upon his back, and a sword of the same hue girded round him; a black horse was then led out, being mounted on which, he was commanded, though not in anger, to depart whither he listed beyond the limits of Maroo.

Umra went not alone; numbers of each clan, who had always regarded him as their future lord, voluntarily partook of his exile. He repaired to the imperial court; and although the emperor approved and sanctioned his banishment, he employed him. His gallantry soon won him the title of Rao and the *munsub* of a leader of three thousand, with the grant of Nagore as an independent domain, to be held directly from the crown. But the same arrogant and uncontrollable spirit which lost him his birth-right, brought his days to a tragical conclu-

sion. He absented himself for a fortnight from court, hunting the boar or the tiger, his only recreation. The emperor (Shah Jehan) reprimanded him for neglecting his duties, and threatened him with a fine. Umra proudly replied, that he had only gone to hunt, and as for a fine, he observed, putting his hand upon his sword, that was his sole wealth.

The little contrition which this reply evinced, determined the king to enforce the fine, and the paymaster-general, Sallabut Khan,* was sent to Umra's quarters to demand its payment. It was refused, and the observations made by the Syud not suiting the temper of Umra, he unceremoniously desired him to depart. The emperor, thus insulted in the person of his officer, issued a mandate for Umra's instant appearance. He obeyed; and having reached the *aum-khas*, or grand divan, beheld the king, "whose eyes were red with anger," with Sallabut in the act of addressing him. Inflamed with passion at the recollection of the injurious language he had just received, perhaps at the king's confirmation of his exclusion from Marwar, he unceremoniously passed the Omrahs of five and seven thousand, as if to address the king; when, with a dagger concealed in his sleeve, he stabbed Sallabut to the heart. Drawing his sword, he made a blow at the king, which descending on the pillar, shivered the weapon in pieces. The king abandoned his throne and fled to the interior apartment. All was uproar and confusion. Umra continued the work of death, indifferent upon whom his blows fell, and five Moghul chiefs of eminence had fallen, when his brother-in-law, Urjoon Gore, under pretence of cajoling him, inflicted a mortal wound, though he continued to ply his dagger until he expired. To avenge his death, his retainers, headed by Bulloo Champawut and Bhao Koompawut, put on their *saffron garments*, and a fresh carnage ensued within the *loll kellah*.† To use the words of their native bard, "The pillars of Agra bear testimony to their deeds, nor shall they ever be obliterated from the records of time; they made their obeisance to Umra in the mansions of the sun." The faithful band was cut to pieces; and his wife, the princess of Boondi, came in person and carried away the dead body of Umra, with which she committed herself to the

* Sallabut Khan Bukshee, he is called. The office of Bukshee is not only one of paymaster (as it implies), but of inspection and audit. We can readily imagine, with such levies as he had to muster and pay, his post was more honourable than secure, especially with such a band as was headed by Umra, ready to take offence if the wind but displaced their moustache. The annals declare that Umra had a feud (*wer*) with Sallabut; doubtless for no better reason than that he fulfilled the trust reposed in him by the emperor.

† The place within the citadel (*kellah*), built of red (*loll*) freestone.

flames. The Bokhara gate by which they gained admission was built up, and henceforward known only as "Umra Sing's gate;" and in proof of the strong impression made by this event,* it remained closed through centuries until opened in 1809 by Capt. Geo. Steell, of the Bengal engineers.†

* It may be useful to record such facts, by the way of contrast with the state policy of the west, and for the sake of observing that which would actuate the present paramount power of India should any of its tributary princes defy them as Umra did that of the universal potentate of that country. Even these despots borrowed a lesson of mercy from the Rajpoot system, which does not deem treason hereditary, nor attains a whole line for the fault of one unworthy link. Shah Jehan, instead of visiting the sins of the father on the son, installed him in his fief of Nagore. This son was Rae Sing; and it devolved to his children and grand-children, (1) until Indur Sing, the fourth in descent, was expelled by the head of the Rahtores, who, in the weakness of the empire, re-annexed Nagore to Jodhpur. But, perhaps, we have not hitherto dared to imitate the examples set us by the Moghul and even by the Mahratta; not having sufficient hold of the affections of the subjected to venture to be merciful; and thence our vengeance, like the bolt of heaven, sears the very heart of our enemies. Witness the many chieftains ejected from their possessions; from the unhallowed league against the Rohillas, to that last act of destruction at Bhurtpoor, where, as arbitrators, we acted the part of the lion in the fable. Our present attitude, however, is so commanding, that we can afford to display the attribute of mercy; and should unfortunately, its action be required in Rajpootana, let it be ample, for there its grateful influence is understood, and it will return, like the dews of heaven, upon ourselves. But if we are only to regulate our political action by the apprehension of danger, it must one day recoil upon us in awful retribution. Our system is filled with evil to the governed, where a fit of bile in ephemeral political agents, may engender a quarrel leading to the overthrow of a dominion of ages.

† Since these remarks were written, Captain Steell related to the author a singular anecdote connected with the above circumstance. While the works of demolition was proceeding, Capt. S. was urgently warned by the native of the danger he incurred in the operation, from a denunciation on the closing of the gate, that it should thenceforward be guarded by a huge serpent—when suddenly, the destruction of the gate being nearly completed, a large Cobra-di-capella rushed between his legs, as if in fulfilment of the anathema. Capt. S. fortunately escaped without injury.

(1) Namely, Hati Sing, his son Anop Sing, his son Indur Sing, his son Mokum Sing. This lineal descendant of Raja Guj, and the rightful heir to the 'cushion of Joda,' has dwindled into one of the petty *thakoors*, or lords of Marwar. The system is one of eternal vicissitudes, amidst which the germ of reproduction never perishes.

CHAPTER VI.

Raja Jeswunt mounts the gadi *of Marwar.—His mother a princess of Mewar.—He is a patron of science.—His first service in Gondwana.—Prince Dara appointed Regent of the empire by his father, Shah Jehan.—Appoints Jeswunt, Viceroy in Malwa.—Rebellion of Arungzebe, who aspires to the Crown.—Jeswunt appointed generalissimo of the army sent to oppose him.—Battle of Futtehabad, a drawn battle.—Jeswunt retreats.—Heroism of Rao Rutna of Rutlam.—Arungzebe proceeds towards Agra.—Battle of Jajow.—Rajpoots over-powered.—Shah Jehan deposed.—Arungzebe, now emperor, pardons Jeswunt, and summons him to the presence.—Commands him to join the army formed against Shuja.—Battle of Cudjwa.—Conduct of Jeswunt.—Betrays Arungzebe and plunders his camp.—Forms a junction with Dara.—This prince's inactivity.—Arungzebe invades Marwar.—Detaches Jeswunt from Dara.—Appointed Viceroy of Guzerat.—Sent to serve in the Dekhan.—Enters into Sevaji's designs.—Plans the death of Shaista Khan, the King's lieutenant.—Obtains his office.—Superseded by the Prince of Amber.—Re-appointed to the army of the Dekhan.—Stimulates Prince Moazzim to rebellion.—Superseded by Delire Khan.—Jeswunt tries to cut him off. Removed from the Dekhan to Guzerat.—Outwitted by the King.—Ordered against the rebellious Afghans of Cabul.—Jeswunt leaves his son, Prithwi Sing, in charge of Jodhpur.—Prithwi Sing commanded to the court by Arungzebe, who gives him a poisoned robe.—His death.—Character.—The tidings reach Jeswunt at Cabul, and cause his death.—Character of Jeswunt.—Ancedotes illustrative of Rahtore character.—Nahur Khan,—His exploits with the tiger, and against Soortan of Sarohi.*

RAJA Jeswunt, who obtained, by the banishment of Umra the 'cushion' of Marwar, was born of a princess of Mewar; and although this circumstance is not reported to have influenced the change of succession, it will be borne in mind that, throughout Rajpootana, its princes regarded a connection with the Rana's family as a primary honour.

"Jeswunt," says the Bardai, "was unequalled amongst the princes of his time. Stupidity and ignorance were banished;

and science flourished where he ruled: *many were the books composed under his auspices.*"

The south continued to be the arena in which the martial Rajpoot sought renown, and the emperor had only rightly to understand his character to turn the national emulation to account. Shah Jehan, in the language of the chronicler, "became a slave to the seraglio," and sent his sons, as viceroys, to govern the grand divisions of the empire. The first service of Jeswunt was in the war of Gondwana, when he led a body composed of "twenty-two different contingents" in the army under Arungzebe. In this and various other services (to enumerate which would be to go over the ground already passed),* the Rahtores were conspicuous. Jeswunt played a comparatively subordinate part, until the illness of the emperor, in A. D. 1658, when his elder son, Dara, was invested with the powers of regent. Prince Dara increased the *munsub* of Jeswunt to a leader of 'five thousand,' and nominated him his viceroy in Malwa.

In the struggle for empire amongst the sons of Shah Jehan, consequent upon this illness, the importance of the Rajpoot princes and the fidelity we have often had occasion to depict, were exhibited in the strongest light. While Raja Jey Sing was commanded to oppose prince Shuja, who advanced from his viceroyalty of Bengal, Jeswunt was entrusted with means to quash the designs of Arungzebe, then commanding in the south, who had long cloaked, under the garb of hypocrisy and religion, views upon the empire.

The Rahtore prince was declared generalissimo of the army destined to oppose Arungzebe, and he marched from Agra at the head of the united contingents of Rajpootana, besides the imperial guards, a force which, to use the hyperbole of the bard, "made Shesnag writhe in agony." Jeswunt, marched towards the Nerbudda, and had encamped his army in a position fifteen miles south of Oojein, when tidings reached him of his opponent's approach. In that field on which the emperor erected a town subsequently designated *Futtehabad*, or 'abode of victory,' Jeswunt awaited his foes. The battle which ensued, witnessed and so circumstantially related by Bernier, as has been already noticed in this work,† was lost by the temerity of the Rahtore commander-in-chief, who might have crushed the rebellious hopes of Arungzebe, to whom he purposely gave time to effect a junction with his brother, Morad,

* The new translation of Ferishta's History, by Lieut-Col. Briggs, a work much wanted, may be referred to by those who wish to see the opinion of the Mahomedan princes of their Rajpoot vassalage.

† See Vol. I.

from the vain-glorious desire "to conquer two princes at once." Dearly did he pay for his presumption; for he had given time to the wily prince to sow intrigues in his camp, which were disclosed as soon as the battle joined, when the Moghul horse deserted and left him at the head of his thirty thousand Rajpoots, deemed, however, by their leader and themselves, sufficient against any odds. "Jeswunt, spear in hand, mounted his steed, *Maboob*, and charged the imperial brothers; ten thousand Moslems fell in the onset, which cost seventeen hundred Rahtores besides Gehlots, Haras,* Gores, and some of every clan of Rajwarra. Arung and Morad only escaped because their days were not yet numbered. Maboob and his rider were covered with blood; Jesoh looked like a famished lion, and like one he relinquished his prey." The bard is fully confirmed in his relation of the day, both by the Moghul historian and by Bernier, who says, that notwithstanding the immense superiority of the imperial princes, aided by a numerous artillery served by Frenchmen, night alone put a stop to the contest of science, numbers, and artillery, against Rajpoot courage. Both armies remained on the field of battle, and though we have no notice of the anecdote related by the first translator of Ferishta, who makes Jeswunt "in bravado drive his car round the field," it is certain that Arungzebe was too politic to renew the combat, or molest the retreat which took place next day towards his native dominions. Although, for the sake of alliteration, the bard especially singles out the *Gehlotes* and *Gores*, the tribes of Mewar and Seopur, all and every tribe was engaged; and if the Rajpoot ever dared to mourn the fall of kindred in battle, this day should have covered every house with the emblems of grief; for it is stated by the Moghul historian that fifteen thousand fell, chiefly Rajpoots. This was one of the events glorious to the Rajpoot, shewing his devotion to whom fidelity (*swamdherma*) had been pledged,—the aged and enfeebled emperor Shah Jehan, whose "salt they ate,"—against all the temptations offered by youthful ambition. It is forcibly contrasted with the conduct of the immediate household troops of the emperor, who, even in the moment of battle, worshipped the rising sun, whilst the Rajpoot sealed his faith in his blood; and none more liberally than the brave Haras of Kotah and Boondi. The annals of no nation on earth can furnish such an example, as an entire family, six royal brothers, stretched on the field, and all but one in death.*

Of all the deeds of heroism performed on this day, those

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* See Kotah Annals, which state that, that prince and five brothers all fell in this field of carnage.

of Rutna of Rutlam, by universal consent, are pre-eminent, and "are wreathed into immortal rhyme by the bard" in the *Rasa Rao Rutna.** He also was a Rahtore, the great-grandson of Oodi Sing, the first Raja of Maroo; and nobly did he shew that the Rahtore blood had not degenerated on the fertile plans of Malwa. If aught were wanting to complete the fame of this memorable day, which gave empire to the scourge of Rajpootana, it is found in the conduct of Jeswunt's queen, who, as related,† shut the gates of his capital on her fugitive lord, though he "brought back his shield" and his honour.

Arungzebe, on Jeswunt's retreat, entered the capital of Malwa in triumph, whence, with all the celerity requisite to success, he pursued his march on the capital. At the village of Jajow, thirty miles south of Agra, the fidelity of the Rajpoots again formed a barrier between the aged king and the treason of his son; but it served no other purpose than to illustrate this fidelity. The Rajpoots were overpowered, Dara was driven from the regency, and the aged emperor deposed.

Arungzebe, soon after usurping the throne, sent, through the prince of Amber, his assurances of pardon to Jeswunt, and a summons to the presence, preparatory to joining the army forming against his brother, Shuja, advancing to vindicate his claims to empire. The Rahtore, deeming it a glorious occasion for revenge, obeyed, and communicated to Shuja his intentions. The hostile armies met at Kujwa, thirty miles north of Allahabad. On the first onset, Jeswunt, wheeling about with his Rahtore cavaliers, attacked the rear-ward of the army under prince Mohammed, which he cut to pieces, and plundering the imperial camp (left unprotected), he deliberately loaded his camels with the most valuable effects, which he despatched under part of the force, and leaving the brother to a contest, which he heartily wished might involve the destruction of both, he followed the *cortege* to Agra. Such was the panic on his appearance at that capital, joined to the rumours of Arungzebe's defeat, which had nearly happened, that the wavering garrison required only a summons to have surrendered, when he might have released Shah Jehah from confinement, and with this "tower of strength" have rallied an opposition fatal to the prince.

That this plan suggested itself to Jeswunt's sagacity we cannot doubt; but besides the manifest danger of locking of his army within the precincts of a capital, if victory was given to Arungzebe, he had other reasons for not halting at Agra.

* Amongst the MSS. presented by the Author to the Royal Asiatic Society, is this work, the *Rasa Rao Rutna.*

† See Vol. I.

All his designs were in concert with prince Dara, the rightful heir to the throne, whom he had instructed to hasten to the scene of action; but while Jeswunt remained hovering in the rear of Arungzebe, momentarily expecting the junction of the prince, the latter loitered on the southern frontier of Marwar, and thus lost, for ever, the crown within his grasp. Jeswunt continued his route to his native dominions, and had at least the gratification of housing the spoils, even to the regal tents, in the castle of Joda. Dara tardily formed a junction at Mairta; but the critical moment was lost, and Arungzebe, who had crushed Shuja's force, rapidly advanced, now joined by many of the Rajpoot princes, to overwhelm this last remnant of opposition. The crafty Arungzebe, however, who always preferred stratagem to the precarious issue of arms, addressed a letter to Jeswunt, not only assuring him of his entire forgiveness, but offering the viceroyalty of Guzerat, if he would withdraw his support from Dara, and remain neuter in the contest. Jeswunt accepted the condition, and agreed to lead the Rajpoot contingents, under prince Moazzim in the war against Sevaji, bent on reviving the independence of Mahrashtra. From the conduct again pursued by the Rahtore, we have a right to infer that he only abandoned Dara because, though possessed of many qualities which endeared him to the Rajpoot, besides his title to the throne, he wanted these virtues necessary to ensure success against his energetic brother. Scarcely had Jeswunt reached the Dekhan when he opened a communication with Sevaji, planned the death of the king's lieutenant, Shaista Khan, on which he hoped to have the guidance of the army and the young viceroy. Arungzebe received authentic intelligence of this plot, and the share Jeswunt had in it; but he temporized, and even sent letters of congratulation on his succeeding to the command-in-chief. But he soon superseded him by Raja Jey Sing of Amber, who brought the war to a conclusion by the capture of Sevaji. The honour attending this exploit was, however, soon exchanged for disgrace; for when the Amber prince found that the tyrant had designs upon the life of his prisoner, for whose safety he had pledged himself, he connived at his escape. Upon this, Jeswunt was once more declared the emperor's lieutenant, and soon inspired prince Moazzim with designs, which again compelled the king to supersede him, and Delire Khan was declared general-in-chief. He reached Arungabad, and the night of his arrival would have been his last, but he received intimation and rapidly retreated, pursued by the prince and Jeswunt to the Nerbudda. The emperor saw the necessity of removing Jeswunt from this dangerous post, and he sent him the *firman* as viceroy

of Guzerat, to which he commanded him to repair without delay. He obeyed, reached Ahmedabad, and found the king had outwitted him and his successor in command; he, therefore, continued his course to his native dominions, where he arrived in S. 1726 (A. D. 1670.)

The wily tyrant had, in all these changes, used every endeavour to circumvent Jeswunt, and, if the annals are correct, was little scrupulous as to the means. But the Raja was protected by the fidelity of his kindred vassalage. In the words of the bardic chronicler, "The *Aswapati*,* Arung, finding treachery in vain, put the collar of simulated friendship round his neck, and sent him beyond the Attok to die."

The emperor saw that the only chance of counteracting Jeswunt's inveterate hostility was to employ him where he would be least dangerous. He gladly availed himself of a rebellion amongst the Afghans of Cabul; and with many promises of favour to himself and his family, appointed him to the chief command, to lead his turbulent Rajpoots against the equally turbulent and almost savage Afghans. Leaving his elder son, Pirthwi Sing, in charge of his ancestral domains, with his wives, family, and the chosen bands of Maroo, Jeswunt departed for the land of the 'barbarian,' from which he was destined never to return.

It is related, in the chronicles of Maroo, that Arungzebe having commanded the attendance at court of Jeswunt's heir, he obeyed, and was received not only with the distinctions which were his due, but with the most specious courtesy: that one day, with unusual familiarity, the king desired him to advance, and grasping firmly his folded hands (the usual attitude of deference) in one of his own, said, "Well, Rahtore, it is told me you possess as nervous an arm as your father; what can you do now?" "God preserve your majesty," replied the Rajpoot prince, "when the sovereign of mankind lays the hand of protection on the meanest of his subjects, all his hopes are realized; but when he condescends to take both of mine, I feel as if I could conquer the world." His vehement and animated gesture gave full force to his words, and Arungzebe quickly exclaimed, "Ah! here is another Khootun," (the term he always applied to Jeswunt); yet, affecting to be pleased with the frank boldness of his speech, he ordered him a splendid dress, which, as customary, he put on, and, having made his obeisance, left the presence in the certain assurance of exaltation.

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* The common epithet of the Islamite emperors, in the dialect of the bard, is *Asput*, classically *Aswapati*, 'lord of horses.'

That day was his last!—he was taken ill soon after reaching his quarters, and expired in great torture, and to this hour his death is attributed to the poisoned robe of honour presented by the king.*

Pirthwi Sing was the staff of his father's age, and endowed with all the qualities required to lead the swords of Maroo. His death, thus reported, cast a blight on the remaining days of Jeswunt, who, in this cruel stroke, saw that his mortal foe had gone beyond him in revenge. The sacrifice of Pirthwi Sing was followed by the death of his only remaining sons, Juggut Sing and Dulthumun, from the ungenial climate of Cabul, and grief soon closed the existence of the veteran Rahtore. He expired amidst the mountain of the north, without an heir to his revenge, in S. 1737 (A. D. 1681), having ruled the tribes of Maroo for two and forty years. In this year, death released Arungzebe from the greatest terrors of his life; for the illustrious Sevaji and Jeswunt paid the debt to nature within a few months of each other. Of the Rahtore, we may use the words of the biographer of his contemporary, Rana Raj Sing of Mewar: "Sighs never ceased flowing from Arung's heart while Jeswunt lived."

The life of Jeswunt Sing is one of the most extraordinary in the annals of Rajpootana, and a full narrative of it would afford a perfect and deeply interesting picture of the history and manners of the period. Had his abilities, which were far above mediocrity, been commensurate with his power, credit, and courage, he might, with the concurrent aid of the many powerful enemies of Arungzebe, have overturned the Moghul throne. Throughout the long period of two and forty years, events of magnitude crowded upon each other, from the period of his first contest with Arungzebe, in the battle of the Nerbudda, to his conflicts with the Afghans amidst the snows of Caucasus. Although the Rahtore had a preference amongst the sons of Shah Jehan, esteeming the frank Dara above the crafty Arungzebe, yet he detested the whole race as inimical to the religion and the independence of his own; and he only fed

* This mode of being rid of enemies is firmly believed by the Rajpoots, and several other instances of it are recorded in this work. Of course, it must be by porous absorption; and in a hot climate, where only a thin tunic is worn next the skin, much mischief might be done, though it is difficult to understand how death could be accomplished. That the belief is of ancient date, we have only to recall the story of Hercules put into doggerel by Pope:

"He whom Dejanira
Wrapp'd in the envenomed shirt, and set on fire."

the hopes of any of the brothers, in their struggles for empire, expecting that they would end in the ruin of all. His blind arrogance lost him the battle of the Nerbudda, and the supineness of Dara prevented his reaping the fruit of his treachery at Kujwa. The former event, as it reduced the means and lesssened the fame of Jeswunt, redoubled his hatred to the conqueror. Jeswunt neglected no opportunity which gave a chance of revenge. Impelled by this motive, more than by ambition, he never declined situations of trust, and in each he disclosed the ruling passion of his mind. His overture to Sevaji (like himself the implacable foe of the Moghul), against whom he was sent to act; his daring attempt to remove the imperial lieutenants, one by assassination, the other by open force; his inciting Moazzim, whose inexperience he was sent to guide, to revolt against his father, are some among the many signal instances of Jeswunt's thirst for vengeance. The emperor, fully aware of this hatred, yet compelled from the force of circumstances to dissemble, was always on the watch to counteract it, and the artifices this mighty king had recourse to in order to conciliate Jeswunt, perhaps to throw him off his guard, best attest the dread in which he held him. Alternately he held the viceroyalty of Guzerat, of the Dekhan, of Malwa, Ajmeer, and Cabul (where he died), either directly of the king, or as the king's lieutenant, and second in command under one of the princes. But he used all these favours merely as stepping-stones to the sole object of his life. Accordingly, if Jeswunt's character had been drawn by a biographer of the court, viewed merely in the light of a great vassal of the empire, it would have reached us marked with the stigma of treachery in every trust reposed in him; but, on the other hand, when we reflect on the character of the king, the avowed enemy of the Hindu faith, we only see in Jeswunt a prince putting all to hazard in its support. He had to deal with one who placed him in these offices, not from personal regard, but because he deemed a hollow submission better than avowed hostility, and the Raja, therefore, only opposed fraud to hypocrisy, and treachery to superior strength. Doubtless the Rahtore was sometimes dazzled by the baits which the politic king administered to his vanity; and when all his brother princes eagerly contended for royal favour, it was something to be singled out as the first amongst his peer in Rajpootana. By such conflicting impulses were both parties actuated in their mutual conduct throughout a period in duration nearly equal to the life of a man; and it is no slight testimony to Arungzebe's skill in managing such a subject, that he was able to neutralize the hatred and the power of Jeswunt throughout this lengthened period. But it was this vanity, and

the immense power wielded by the kings who could reward service by the addition of vice-royalty to their hereditary domains, that made the Rajpoot princes slaves; for, had all the princely contemporaries of Jeswunt,—Jey Sing of Amber, the Rana Raj of Marwar, and Sevaji,—coalesced against their national foe, the Moghul power must have been extinct. Could Jeswunt, however, have been satisfied with the mental wounds he inflicted upon the tyrant, he would have had ample revenge; for the image of the Rahtore crossed all his visions of aggrandizement. The cruel sacrifice of his heir, and the still more barbarous and unrelenting ferocity with which he pursued Jeswunt's innocent family are the surest proofs of the dread which the Rahtore prince inspired while alive.

Previous, however, to entering on this and the eventful period which followed Jeswunt's death, we may record a few anecdotes illustrative of the character and manner of the vassal chieftains, by whose aid he was thus enabled to brave Arungzebe. Nor can we do better than allow Nahur Khan, chief of the Koompawuts and premier noble, to be the representative portrait of the clans of Maroo. It was by the vigilance of this chief, and his daring intrepidity, that the many plots laid for Jeswunt's life were defeated; and, in the anecdote already given, when in order to restore his prince from a fit of mental delusion, he braved the superstitions of his race, his devotion was put to a severer test than any which could result from personal peril. The anecdote connected with his *nom de guerre* of Nahur (*tiger*) Khan, exemplifies his personal, as the other does his mental intrepidity. The real name of this individual, the head of the Koompawut clan, was Mokundas. He had personally incurred the displeasure of the emperor, by a reply which was deemed disrespectful to a message sent by royal *ahdy*, for which the tyrant condemned him to enter a tiger's den, and contend for his life unarmed. Without a sign of fear, he entered the arena, where the savage beast was pacing, and thus contemptuously accosted him: "Oh tiger of the *meah*, * face the tiger of Jeswunt;" exhibiting to the king of forest a pair of eyes, which anger and opium had rendered little less inflamed than his own. The animal, startled by so unaccustomed a salutation, for a moment looked at his visitor, put down his head, turned round and stalked from him. "You see," exclaimed the Rahtore, "that he dare not face me, and it is contrary to the creed of a true Rajpoot to attack an enemy who dare not confront him." Even the tyrant, who

* *Meah* is a term used by the Hindu to a Mooslim, who himself generally applies it to a pedagogue: the village-schoolmaster has always the honourable epithet of *Meah-ji!*

beheld the scene, was surprised into admiration, presented him with gifts, and asked if he had any children to inherit his prowess. His reply, "how can we get children, when you keep us from our wives beyond the Attok?" fully shews that the Rahtore and fear were strangers to each other. From this singular encounter, he bore the name of Nahur Khan, 'the tiger lord.'

On another occasion, from the same freedom of speech, he incurred the displeasure of the Shahzada, or prince-royal who, with youthful levity, commanded the 'tiger lord' to attempt a feat which he deemed inconsistent with his dignity, namely, gallop at speed under a horizontal branch of a tree and cling to it while the steed passed on. This feat, requiring both agility and strength, appears to have been a common amusement, and it is related, in the annals of Mewar, that the chief of Bunera broke his spine in the attempt; and there were few who did not come off with bruises and falls, in which consisted the sport. When Nahur heard the command, he indignantly replied, he "was not a monkey;" that "if the prince wished to see his feats, it must be where his sword had play;" on which he was ordered against Soortan, the Deorah prince of Sirohi, for which service he had the whole Rahtore contingent at his disposal. The Deorah prince, who could not attempt to cope against it in the field, took to his native hills; but while he deemed himself secure, Mokund, with a chosen band, in the dead of night, entered the glen where the Sirohi prince reposed, stabbed the solitary sentinel, bound the prince with his own turban to his pallet, while, environing him with his clansmen, he gave the alarm. The Deorahs starting from their rocky beds, collected round their prince, and were preparing for the rescue, when Nahur called aloud, "You see his life is in my hands; be assured it is safe if you are wise; but he dies on the least opposition to my determination to convey him to my prince. My sole object in giving the alarm, was that you might behold me carry off my prize." He conveyed Soortan to Jeswunt, who said he must introduce him to the king. The Deorah prince was carried to court, and being led between the proper officers to the palace, he was instructed to perform that profound obeisance, from which none were exempted. But the haughty Deorah replied, "His life was in the king's hands, his honour in his own; he had never bowed the head to mortal man, and never would." As Jeswunt had pledged himself for his honourable treatment, the officers of the ceremonies endeavoured by stratagem to obtain a constrained obeisance, and instead of introducing him as usual, they shewed him a wicket, knee high, and very low overhead, by which to enter, but putting his feet

foremost, his head was the last part to appear. This stubborn ingenuity, his noble bearing, and his long-protracted resistance, added to Jeswunt's pledge, won the king's favour ; and he not only proffered him pardon, but whatever lands he might desire. Though the king did not name the return, Soortan was well aware of the terms, but he boldly and quickly replied, " What can your Majesty bestow equal to Achilgurh ? Let me return to it is all I ask." The king had the magnanimity to comply with his request ; Soortan was allowed to retire to the castle of Aboo,* nor did he or any of the Deorahs ever rank themselves amongst the vassals of the empire ; but they have continued to the present hour a life of almost savage independence.

From such anecdotes we learn the character of the tiger lord of Asope, and his brother Rahtores of Marwar ; men reckless of life when put in competition with distinction and fidelity to their prince, as will be abundantly illustrated in the reign we are about to describe.

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* *Achilgurh*, or 'the immovable castle,' is the name of the fortress of the Deorah princes of Aboo and Sirohi, of which wonderful spot I purpose in another work to give a detailed account.

CHAPTER VII.

The pregnant queen of Jeswunt prevented from becoming Sati.—Seven concubines and one Rani burn with him.—The Chundravati Rani mounts the pyre at Mundore.—General grief for the loss of Jeswunt.—Posthumous birth of Ajit.—Jeswunt's family and contingent return from Cabul to Marwar.—Intercepted by Arungzebe, who demands the surrender of the infant Ajit.—The chiefs destroy the females and defend themselves.—Preservation of the infant prince.—The Eendos take Mundore—Expelled—Arungzebe invades Marwar, takes and plunders Jodhpur, and sacks all the large towns.—Destroys the Hindu temples, and commands the conversion of the Rahtore race.—Impolicy of the measure.—Establishes the Jezeya, or tax on infidels.—The Rahtores and Seesodias unite against the king.—Events of the war from the Chronicle.—The Mairtea clan oppose the entire royal army, but are cut to pieces.—The combined Rajpoots fight the imperialists at Nadole.—Bheem, the son of the Rana, slain.—Prince Akber disapproves the war against the Rajpoots.—Makes overtures.—Coalition.—The Rajpoots declare Akber emperor.—Treachery and death of Tyber Khan.—Akber escapes, and claims protection from the Rajpoots.—Doorga conducts Prince Akber to the Dekhan.—Soning, brother of Doorga, leads the Rahtores.—Conflict at Jodhpur.—Affair at Sojut.—The cholera morbus appears.—Arungzebe offers peace.—The conditions accepted by Soning.—Soning's death.—Arungzebe annuls the treaty.—Prince Azim left to carry on the war.—Mooslem garrisons throughout Marwar.—The Rahtores take post in the Aravali hills.—Numerous encounters.—Affairs of Sojut.—Cheraie.—Jytarun.—Rainpur.—Palli.—Immense sacrifice of lives.—The Bhatties join the Rahtores.—The Mairtea chief assassinated during a truce.—Further encounters.—Sewanoh assaulted.—The Mooslem garrison put to the sword.—Noor Alli abducts the Assani damsels.—Is pursued and killed.—Mooslem garrison of Sambhur destroyed.—Jhalore capitulates to the Rajpoots.

"WHEN Jeswunt died beyond the Attok, his wife, the (future) mother of Ajit, determined to burn with her lord, but being in the seventh month of her pregnancy, she was forcibly prevented by Ooda Koompawut. His other queen and seven

patras (concubines) mounted the pyre; and as soon as the tidings reached Jodhpur, the Chundravati queen, taking a turban of her late lord, ascended the pile at Mundore. The Hindu race was in despair at the loss of the support of their faith. The bells of the temple were mute; the sacred shell no longer sounded at sun-rise; the Brahmins vitiated their doctrines and learned the Mooslem creed."

The queen was delivered of a boy, who received the name of Ajit. As soon as she was able to travel, the Rahtore contingent, with their infant prince, his mother, the daughters, and establishment of their late sovereign, prepared to return to their native land. But the unrelenting tyrant, carrying his vengeance towards Jeswunt even beyond the grave, as soon they reached Delhi, commanded that the infant should be surrendered to his custody. "Arung offered to divide Maroo amongst them if they would surrender their prince; but they replied, 'Our country is with our sinews, and these can defend both it and our lord.' With eyes red with rage, they left the *Aum-khâs*. Their abode was surrounded by the host of the Shah. In a basket of sweetmeats they sent away the young prince, and prepared to defend their honour, they made oblations to gods, took a double portion of opium, and mounted their steeds. Then spoke Rinchor, and Govind, the son of Joda, and Chundurbhan the Darawut, and the son of Raghoo, on whose shoulder the sword had been married at Oojein, with the fearless Bharmul the Oodawut, and the Soojawut, Raghoonath. 'Let us swim,' they exclaimed, 'in the ocean of fight. Let us root up these Asuras, and be carried by the Apsaras to the mansions of the sun.' As thus each spoke, Soojah, the bard, took the word: 'for a day like this,' said he, 'you enjoy your fiefs (*puttas*), to give in your lord's cause your bodies to the sword, and in one mass to gain *swarga* (heaven). As for me, who enjoyed his friendship and his gifts, this day will I make his salt resplendent. My father's fame will I uphold, and lead the death in this day's fight, that future bards may hymn my praise.' Then spake Doorga, son of Assoh: 'the teeth of the Yavans are whetted, but by the lightning emitted from our swords, Delhi shall witness our deeds; and the flame of our anger shall consume the troops of the Shah.' As thus the chiefs communed and the troops of the king approached, the *Raj-loca** of their late lord was sent to inhabit *swarga*. Lance in hand, with faces resembling Yama,† the Rahtores rushed upon the foe. Then

* A delicate mode of naming the female part of Jeswunt's family; the '*royal abode*' included his young daughters, sent to inhabit heaven (*swarga*).

† Pluto.

the music of swords and shields commenced. Wave followed wave in the field of blood. Sankara * completed his chaplet in the battle fought by the children of Doohur in the streets of Delhi. Rutna contended with nine thousand of the foe; but his sword failed, and as he fell, Reembha† carried him away. Dilloh the Darawut made a gift of his life; ‡ the salt of his lord he mixed with the water of the field.§ Chundurbhan was conveyed by the Apsaras to Chandrapur.|| The Bhatti was cut piece-meal and lay on the field beside the son of Soortan. The faithful Oodawut appeared like the crimson lotos; he journeyed to Swarga to visit Jeswunt. Sandoh the bard, with a sword in either hand, was in the front of the battle, and gained the mansion of the moon.¶ Every tribe and every clan performed its duty in this day's pilgrimage to the stream of the sword, in which Doorgadas ground the foe and saved his honour.**

When these brave men saw that nothing short of the surrender of all that was dear to a Rajpoot was intended by the fiend-like spirit of the king, their first thought was the preservation of their prince; the next to secure their own honour and that of their late master. The means by which they accomplished this were terrific. The females of the deceased together with their own wives and daughters, were placed in an apartment filled with gunpowder, and the torch applied—all was soon over! This sacrifice accomplished, their sole thought was to secure a niche in that immortal temple, which the Rajpoot bard, as well as the great minstrel of the west, peoples with "youths who died, to be by poets sung." For this, the Rajpoot's anxiety has in all ages been so great, as often to defeat even the purpose of revenge, his object being to die gloriously rather than to inflict death; assured that his name would never perish, but, preserved in "immortal rhyme" by the bard, would serve as the incentive to similar

* 'The lord of the shell,' an epithet of Siva, as the god of war; his war-trump being *a shell (sankh)*; his chaplet *(mala)*, which the Rahtore bard says was incomplete until this fight, being of human sculls.

† Queen of the Apsaras, or celestial nymphs.

‡ Pope makes Sarpedon say:

> The life that others pay, let us bestow,
> And give to fame what we to nature owe.

§ i. e., *blood.*

|| 'The city of the moon.'

¶ The *lunar abode* seems that allotted for all bards who never mention *Bhanuloca*, or the 'mansion of the sun,' as a place of reward for them. Doubtless they could assign a reason for such a distinction.

** This is but a short transcript of the poetic account of this battle in which the deeds, name, and tribe of every warrior who fell, are related. The heroes of Thermopylæ had not a more brilliant theme for the bard.

deeds. Accordingly, "the battle fought by the sons of Doohurea* in the streets of Delhi," is one of the many themes of everlasting eulogy to the Rahtores: and the seventh of Sravan, S. 1736 (the second month of the Monsoon of A. D. 1680), is a sacred day in the calendar of Maroo.

In the midst of this furious contest, the infant prince was saved. To avoid suspicion the heir of Maroo, concealed in a basket of sweetmeats, was entrusted to a Mooslem, who religiously executed his trust and conveyed him to the appointed spot, where he was joined by the gallant Doorgadas with the survivors who had cut their way through all opposition, and who were doomed often to bleed for the prince thus miraculously preserved. It is pleasing to find that, if to "the leader of the faithful," the bigoted Arungzebe, they owed so much misery, to one (and he of humble life), of the same faith, they owed the preservation of their line. The preserver of Ajit lived to witness his manhood and the redemption of his birth-right, and to find that princes are not always ungrateful; for he was distinguished at court, was never addressed but as *Kaka*, or uncle, by the prince; and to the honour of his successors be it told, the lands then settled upon him are still enjoyed by his descendants.

With the sole surviving scion of Jeswunt, the faithful Doorga and a few chosen friends repaired to the isolated rock of Aboo, and placed him in a monastery of recluses. There the heir of Maroo was reared in entire ignorance of his birth. Still rumours prevailed, that a son of Jeswunt lived; that Doorga and a few associates were his guardians; and this was enough for the loyal Rajpoot, who, confiding in the chieftain of Droonara, allowed the mere name of '*Dhunni*' (lord) to be his rallying word in the defence of his rights. These were soon threatened by a host of enemies, amongst whom were the Eendos, the ancient sovereigns of Maroo, who saw an opening for the redemption of their birth-right, and for a short time displayed the flag of the Purihars on the walls of Mundore. While the Eendos were rejoicing at the recovery of their ancient capital, endeared to them by tradition, an attempt was made by Rutna, the son of Umra Sing (whose tragical death has been related), to obtain the seat of power, Jodhpur. This attempt, instigated by the king, proved futile; and the clans, faithful to the memory of Jeswunt and the name of Ajit, soon expelled the Eendos from Mundore, and drove

* Here is another instance of the ancient patronymic being brought in by the bards, and it is thus they preserve the names and deeds of the worthies of past days. Rao Doohur was one of the earliest Rahtore kings of Marwar.

the son of Umra to his castle of Nagore. It was then that Arungzebe, in person, led his army into Maroo; the capital was invested; it fell and was pillaged, and all the great towns in the plains of Mairtea, Deedwana, and Rohit, shared a similar fate. The emblems of religion were trampled under foot, the temples thrown down, mosques were erected on their site, and nothing short of the compulsory conversion to the tenets of Islam of every Rajpoot in Marwar, would satisfy his revenge. The consequences of this fanatical and impolitic conduct recoiled not only upon the emperor, but his whole race, for it roused an opposition to this iron yoke, which ultimately broke it in pieces. The emperor promulgated that famous edict, the 'Jezeya,' against the whole Hindu race, which cemented into one compact union all who cherished either patriotism or religion. It was at this period of time, when the Rahtores and Seesodias united against the tyrant, that Rana Raj Sing indited that celebrated epistle, which is given in a preceding part of this work.*

"Seventy thousand men," says the bard,† "under Tyber Khan, were commanded to destroy the Rajpoot, and Arung

* Vol. I.

† It may be well to exhibit the manner in which the poetic annalist of Rajpootana narrates such events, and to give them in his own language rather than in an epitome, by which not only the pith of the original would be lost, but the events themselves deprived of half their interest. The character of historic fidelity will thus be preserved from suspicion, which could scarcely be withheld if the narrative were exhibited in any but its native garb. This will also serve to sustain the Annals of Marwar, formed from a combination of such materials, and dispose the reader to acknowledge the impossibility of reducing such animated chronicles to the severe style of history. But more than all, it is with the design to prove what in the preface of this work, the reader was compelled to take on credit; that the Rajpoot kingdoms were in no ages without such chronicles; and if we may not compare them with Froissart, or with Monstrelet, they may be allowed to compete with the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, and they certainly surpass those of Ulster. But we have stronger motives than even legitimate curiosity in allowing the bard to tell his own tale of the thirty years' war of Rajpootna; the desire which has animated this task from its commencement, to give a correct idea of the importance of these events, and to hold them up as a beacon to the present governors of these brave men. How well that elegant historian, Orme, appreciates their importance, as bearing on our own conduct in power, the reader will perceive by reference to his Fragments where he says, "There are no states or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation has either connetion or concern, which do not owe the origin of their present condition to the reign of Arungzebe, or its influence on the reigns of his successors." It behoves us, therefore, to make ourselves acquainted with the causes, as well as the characters of those who occasioned the downfall of our predecessors in the sovereignty of India. With this object in view, the bard shall tell his own tale from the birth of Ajit, in S. 1737 to 1767, when he had vanquished all opposition to Arungzebe, and regained the throne of Maroo.

followed in person to Ajmeer. The Mairtea clan assembled, and advanced to Pooshkur to oppose him. The battle was in front of the temple of Varaha, where the swords of the Mairteas, always first in the fight, played the game of destruction on the heads of the Asuras. Here the Mairteas were all slain on the 11th Bhadoon, S. 1736.

"Tyber continued to advance. The inhabitants of Moordhur fled to the mountains. At Goorah the brothers Roopa and Koombo took post with their clan to oppose him; but they fell with twenty-five of their brethren. As the cloud pours water upon the earth, so did Arung pour his barbarians over the land. He remained but five days at Ajidoorg (Ajmeer), and marched against Cheetore. It fell! it appeared as if the heavens had fallen. Ajit was protected by the Rana, and the Rahtores led the van in the host of the Seesodias. Seeing the strength of the Yavans, they shut up the young prince, like a flame confined in a vessel. Delhi-pat (the king of Delhi) came to Debarri,* at whose pass he was opposed by Koombo, Oogursen, and Oodoh, all Rahtores. While Arungzebe attacked Oodipur, Azim was left at Cheetore. Then the king learned that Doorgadas had invaded Jhalore; he abandoned his conquest, and returned to Ajmeer, sending Mokurra Khan to aid Beharri at Jhalore; but Doorga had raised contributions (*dind*), and passed to Jodhpur, alike forced to contribute; for the son of Indur Sing, on the part of the king, now commanded in Tricuta (*triple-peaked mount*). Arung Shah measured the heavens; he determined to have but one faith in the land. Prince Akber was sent to join Tyber Khan. Rapine and conflagration spread over the land. The country became a waste; fear stalked triumphant. Providence had willed this affliction. The Eendos were put in possession of Jodhpur; but were encountered at Kaitapur and put to the sword by the Champawuts. Once more they lost the title of Raos of Moordurdes, and thus the king's intentions of bestowing sovereignty on the Purihars were frustrated on the 13th day of Jeit, S. 1736.

"The Aravali gave shelter to the Rahtores. From its fastnesses they issued, and mowed down entire harvests of the Mooslem, piling them in *kullas*.† Arung had no repose. Jhalore was invaded by one body, Sewanoh by another of the faithful chiefs of Ajit, whose *an*‡ daily increased, while Arung's

* The Cenotaph of these warriors still marks the spot where they fell, on the right on entering the portals.

† The heaps of grain thrashed in the open field, preparatory to being divided and housed are termed *kullas*.

‡ Oath of allegiance.

was seldom invoked. The king gave up the war against the Rana to send all his troops into Maroo; but the Rana, who provoked the rage of Arung from granting refuge to Ajit, sent his troops under his own son, Bheem, who joined the Rahtores, led by Indurbhan and Doorgadas in Godwar. Prince Akber and Tyber Khan advanced upon them, and a battle took place at Nadole. The Seesodias had the right. The combat was long and bloody. Prince Bheem fell at the head of Mewarees; he was a noble bulwark to the Rahtores.* Indurbhan was slain, with Jait the Oodawut, performing noble deeds; and Soning Doorga did wonders on that day, the 14th Asoj, S. 1737" (the winter of A. D. 1681.)

The gallant bearing of the Rajpoots in this unequal combat, their desperate devotion to their country and prince, touched the soul of prince Akber, who had the magnanimity to commiserate the sufferings he was compelled to inflict, and to question the policy of his father towards these gallant vassals. Ambition came to the aid of compassion for the suffering of the Rahtores, and the persecution of the minor son of Jeswunt. He opened his mind to Tyber Khan, and exposed the disgrace of bearing arms in so unholy a warfare, and in severing from the crown such devoted and brave vassals as the Rahtores. Tyber was gained over, and an embassy sent to Doorgadas offering peace, and expressing a wish for a conference. Doorga convened the chiefs, and disclosed the overture; but some suspected treachery in the prince, others, selfish views on the part of Doorga. To prevent the injurious operation of such suspicions, Doorga observed, that if assent were not given to the meeting, it would be attributed to the base motive of fear. "Let us proceed in a body," said he, "to this conference; who ever heard of a cloud being caught?" They met; mutual views were developed; a treaty was concluded, and the meeting ended by Akber waving the umbrella of regality over his head. He coined in his own name; he established his own weights and measures. The poisoned intelligence was poured into Arung's ear at Ajmeer; his soul was troubled; he had no rest; he plucked his beard in grief when he heard that Doorga and Akber had united. Every Rahtore in the land flocked to Akber's standard. The house of Delhi was divided, and Govind† again supported the Hindu faith.

* The Mewar chronicle claims a victory for the combined Rajpoot army, and relates a singular stratagem by which they gained it; but either I have overlooked it, or the *Raj Vilas* does not specify that Prince Bheem, son of the heroic Rana Raj, fell on this day, so glorious in the annals of both states.—See Vol. I.

† Crishna.

The dethronement of the tyrant appeared inevitable. The scourge of Rajpoots was in their power, for he was almost alone and without the hope of succour. But his energies never forsook him; he knew the character of his foes, and that on an emergency his grand auxiliary stratagem was equal to an army. As there is some variation both in the Moghul historian's account of his momentous transaction, and in the annals of Mewar and Marwar, we present the latter *verbatim* from the chronicle.

"Akber, with multitudes of Rajpoots, advanced upon Ajmeer. But while Arung prepared for the storm, the prince gave himself up to the women and the song, placing everything in hands of Tyber Khan. We are the slaves of fate; puppets that dance as it pulls the strings. Tyber allowed himself to dream of treason; it was whispered in his ear that if he could deliver Akber to his father, high rewards would follow. At night he went privily to Arungzebe, and thence wrote to the Rahtores: 'I was the bond of union betwixt you and Akber, but the dam which separated the waters has broken down. Father and son again are one. Consider the pledges, given and received, as restored, and depart for your own lands.' Having sealed this with his signet, and despatched a messenger to the Rahtores, he appeared before Arungzebe to receive the fruit of his service. But his treason met its reward, and before he could say, the imperial orders were obeyed, *a blow of the mace from the hand of the monarch sent his soul to hell.* At midnight the Derveish messenger reached the Rahtore camp; he put the letter into their hand, which stated father and son were united; and added from himself that Tyber Khan was slain. All was confusion; the Rahtores saddled and mounted, and moved a coss from Akber's camp. The panic spread to his troops, who fled like the dried leaves of the sugar-cane when carried up in a whirlwind, while the prince was attending to the song and the wiles of the wanton."

This narrative exemplifies most strongly the hasty unreflecting character of the Rajpoot, who always acts from the impulse of the moment. They did not even send to Akber's camp, although close to their own, to inquire the truth or falsehood of the report, but saddled and did not halt until they were twenty miles asunder. It is true, that in these times of peril, they did not know in whom to confide; and being headed by one of their own body, they could not tell how far he might be implicated in the treachery.

The next day they were undeceived by the junction of the prince, who, when made acquainted with the departure of his allies, and the treason and death of Tyber Khan, could scarcely collect a thousand men to abide by his fortunes. With

these he followed his panic-struck allies, and threw himself and his family upon their hospitality and protection :—an appeal never be made in vain to the Rajpoot. The poetic account, by the bard Kurnidhan, of the reception of the prince by the chivalry of Maroo, is remarkably minute and spirited :—the warriors and senators enter into a solemn debate as to the conduct to be pursued to the prince now claiming *sirna* (sanctuary), when the bard takes occasion to relate the pedigree and renown of the chiefs of every clan. Each chief delivers his sentiments in a speech full of information respecting their national customs and manners. It also displays a good picture of "the power of the *swans*, and the necessity of *feeding them with pearls*," to enable them sing with advantage. The council breaks of with the declaration of its determination to protect Akber at all hazards, and Jaita, the brother of the head of the Champawuts, is nominated to the charge of protector of Akber's family. The gallant Doorga, the Ulysses of the Rahtores, is the manager of this dramatic convention, the details of which are wound up with an eulogy, in true oriental hyperbole, in the Doric accents of Maroo :—

> "*Eh! Mata poot esa jin*
> *Jessa Doorga-das*
> *Band Moordra rakheo*
> *Bin thamba akhas.*

"Oh, mother! produce such sons as Doorga-das who first supported the dam of Moordra, and then propped the heavens."

This model of a Rajpoot, as wise as he was brave, was the saviour of his country. To his suggestion it owed the preservation of its prince, and to a series of heroic deeds, his subsequent, and more difficult salvation. Many anecdotes are extant recording the dread Arungzebe had of this leader of the Rahtores, one of which is amusing. The tyrant had commanded pictures to be drawn of two of the most mortal foes to his repose, Sevaji and Doorga: "Seva was drawn seated on a couch; Doorga in his ordinary position, on horseback, toasting *bhawties*, or barley-cakes, with the point of his lance, on a fire of maize-stalks. Arungzebe, at the first glance, exclaimed, 'I may entrap that fellow (meaning Sevaji), but this dog is born to be my bane.'"

Doorga at the head of his bands, together with young Akber, moved towards the western extremity of the state, in hopes that they might lead the emperor in pursuit amongst the sand-hills of the Looni; but the wily monarch tried other arts, and first attempted to corrupt Doorga. He sent him eight

thousand gold mohurs,* which the Rajpoot instantly applied to the necessities of Akber, who was deeply affected at this proof of devotion, and distributed a portion of it amongst Doorga's retainers. Arungzebe, seeing the futility of this plan, sent a force in pursuit of his son, who, knowing he had no hope of mercy if he fell into his father's hands, was anxious to place distance between them. Doorga pledged himself for his safety, and relinquished all to ensure it. Making over the guardianship of young Ajit to his elder brother, Soning, and placing himself at the head of one thousand chosen men, he turned towards the south. The bard enumerates the names and families of all the chieftains of note who formed the body-guard of prince Akber in this desperate undertaking. The Champawuts were the most numerous, but he specifies several of the home clans, as the Joda and Mairtea, and amongst the foreign Rajpoots, the Jadoon, Chohan, Bhatti, Deorah, Sonigurra and Mangulea.

"The king followed their retreat: his troops surrounded the Rahtores; but Doorga with one thousand chosen men left the north on their backs, and with the speed of the winged quitted the camp. Arung continued the pursuit to Jhalore, when he found he had led on a wrong scent; and that Doorga, with the prince, keeping Guzerat on his right, and Chuppun on his left, had made good his retreat to the Nerbudda. Rage so far got the better of his religion, that *he threw the Koran at the head of the Almighty.* In wrath, he commanded Azim to exterminate the Rahtores, but to leave Oodipur on one side,† and every other design, and first secure his brother. The deeds of Camunda‡ removed the troubles of Mewar, as the wind disperses the clouds which shade the brightness of the moon. In ten days after Azim marched, the emperor himself moved, leaving his garrison in Jodhpur and Ajmeer, Doorga's name was the charm which made the hosts of locusts quit their ground.§ Doorga was the sea-serpent; Akber the mountain with which they churned the ocean Arung, and made him yield the fourteen gems, one of which our religion regained, which is Lakshmi, and our faith, which is Dhunnuntari the sage.

"In fidelity who excelled the Kheechees Seo Sing and Mokund, who never left the person of Ajit, when his infancy was concealed in the mountains of Arbood? to them alone, and the faithful Sonigurra, did Doorga confide the secret of

* The Mewar chronicle says forty thousand.

† That is, dropped all schemes against it at that moment.

‡ Camdhuj; epithet of the Rahtores.

§ Charms and incantations, with music, are had recourse to, in order to cause the flight of these destructive insects from the fields they light on.

his retreat. The vassals of the *Nine Castles of Maroo* knew that he was concealed; but where or in whose custody all were ignorant. Some thought he was at Jessulmeer; others at Beekumpur; others at Sirohi. The eight divisions nobly supported the days of their exile; their sinews sustained the land of Mordhur. Raos, Rajas, and Ranas applauded their deeds, for all were alike enveloped in the net of destruction. In all the nine thousand [towns] of Mordhur, and the ten thousand of Mewar,* inhabitants there were none. Enayet Khan was left with ten thousand men to preserve Jodhpur; but the Champawut is the Soomer of Maroo, and without fear was Doorga's brother, Soning. With Khemkurn the Kurnote, and Subhul the Joda, Beejmul the Mahecha, Jaitmal Soojote, Kesuri Kurnote, and the Joda brethren Seodan and Bheem, and many more collected their clans and kin, and as soon as they heard that the king was within four coss of Ajmeer, they blockaded the Khan in the city of Joda; but twenty thousand Moghuls came to the rescue. Another dreadful conflict ensued at the gates of Jodhpur, in which the Jadoon Kesore, who led the battle, and many other chiefs were slain, yet not without many hundreds of the foe; the 9th Asar, S. 1737.

"Soning carried the sword and the flame into every quarter. Arung could neither advance nor retreat. He was like the serpent seizing the musk-rat, which, if liberated, caused blindness; but if swallowed, was like poison. Hurnat and Kana Sing took the road to Sojut. They surrounded and drove away the cattle, which brought the Asoors to the rescue. A dreadful strife ensued; the chief of the Asoors was slain, but the brothers and all their kin bedewed the land with their blood. This the *saca* of Sojat was when 1737 ended and 1738 commenced, when the sword and the pestilence (*murri* †) united to clear the land.

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* The number of towns and villages formerly constituting the arrondissement of each state.

† *Murri*, or '*death*' personified, is the name for that fearful scourge the spasmodic *cholera morbus* which has caused the loss of so many lives for the last thirteen years throughout India. It appears to have visited India often, of which we have given a frightful record in the Annals of Mewar in the reign of Rana Raj-Sing (See Vol. I.), in S. 1717 or A. D. 1661 (twenty years prior to the period we treat of), and Orme describes it as raging in the Dekhan in A. D. 1684. They had likewise a visitation of it within the memory of many individuals now living.

Regarding the nature of this disease, whether epidemic, or contagious, and its cure, we are as ignorant now as the first day of our experience. There have been hundreds of conflicting opinions and hypotheses, but none satisfactory. In India, nine medical men out of ten, as well as those non-professional, deny its being contagious. At Oodipur, the Rana's only son, hermetically sealed in the palace against contact, was the first seized with

"Soning was the Roodra of the field; Agra and Delhi trembled at his deeds; he looked on Arung as the waning moon. The king sent an embassy to Soning; it was peace he desired. He offered the munsub of *Sath Hazari* for Ajit, and what dignities he might demand for his brethren—the restoration of Ajmeer, and to make Soning its governor. To the engagement was added, 'the *punja* is affixed in ratification of this treaty, witnessed by God Almighty.'* The Dewan. Assud Khan, was the negociator, and the *Aremdi*,† who was with him, solemnly swore to its maintenance. The treaty concluded, the king, whose thoughts could not be diverted from Akber, departed for the Dekhan. Assud Khan was left at Ajmeer. and Soning at Mairta. But Soning was a thorn in the side of Arungzebe; he bribed the Brahmins, who threw pepper into the *homa* (burnt sacrifice) and secure for Soning a place in *Sooraj Mandala* (the mansion of the sun). The day following the treaty, by the incantations of Arung, Soning was no more.‡ Asoj the 6th, S. 1738.

"Assud sent the news to the king. This terror being removed, the king withdrew his *punja* from his treaty, and in joy departed for the Dekhan. The death of Soning shed gloom and grief over the land. Then Mokund Sing Mairtea, son of Kulian, abandoned his *munsub* and joined his country's cause. A desperate encounter soon followed with the troops of Assud Khan near Mairta, in which Ajit, the son of Beetuldas, who led the fight, was slain, with many of each clan, which gave joy to the Asoors, but grief to the faithful Rajpoot; on the second day of the bright half of the moon of Kartik, S. 1738.

"Prince Azim was left with Assud Khan; Enayet at Jodhpur; and their garrisons were scattered over the land, as their tombs

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the disorder: a pretty strong proof that it was from atmospheric communication. He was also the last man in his father's dominions likely, from predisposition, to be attacked, being one of the most athletic and prudent of his subjects. I saw him through the disorder. We were afraid to administer remedies to the last heir of Bappa Rawul, but I hinted to Amurji, who was both bard and doctor, that strong doses of musk (12 grs. each) might be beneficial. These he had, and I prevented his having cold water to drink, and also checking the insensible perspiration by throwing off the head-clothes. Nothing but his robust frame and youth made him resist this tremendous assailant.

* See Vol. I., for an explanation of the *punja*—and the treaty which preceded this, made by Rana Raj Sing, the fourth article of which stipulates for term, to the minor son of Jeswunt.

† I know not what officer is meant by the *Aremdi*, sent to swear to the good faith of the king.

‡ His death was said to be effected by incantations, most probably poison.

(*ghor*) everywhere attest. The lord of Chunpawut, Simboo Koompawut, now led the Rahtores with Oodung Sing Bukshee, and Tejsi, the young son of Doorga, *the bracelet on the arm of Mahadeva*, with Futteh Sing and Ram Sing, just return from placing Akber safety in the Dekhan, and many other valiant Rahtores.* They spread over the country even Mewar, sacked Poor-Mandil, and slew the governor Kasim Khan."

These desultory and bloody affrays, though they kept the king's troops in perpetual alarm and lost them myriads of men, thinned the ranks of the defenders of Maroo, who again took refuge in the Aravali. From hence, watching every opportunity, they darted on their prey. On one occasion, they fell upon the garrison of Jytarun, which they routed and expelled, or as the chronicle quaintly says, "with the year 1739 they also fled." At the same time, the post of Sojut was carried by Beejo Champawut, while the Jodawuts, under Ram Sing, kept their foes in play to the northward, and led by Oodi-bhan, attacked the Mirza Noor Alli at Cheraie: "the contest lasted for three hours; the dead bodies of the Yavans lay in the heaps in the Akhara; who even abandoned their Nakarras."

"After the affair of Jytarun, when Oodi Sing Champawut, and Mokhim Sing Mairtea were the leaders, they made a push for Guzerat, and had penetrated to Kheiraloo, when they were attacked, pursued, and surrounded in the hills at Rainpur, by Syed Mohammed, the Hakim of Guzerat. All night they stood to their arms. In the morning the sword rained and filled the cars of the Apsaras. Kurrun and Kesuri were slain, with Gokuldas Bhatti, with all their civil officers, and Ram Sing himself renounced life on this day.† But the Asoors pulled up the reins, having lost many men. Palli was also attacked in the month of Bhadoon this year 1739; then the game of destruction was played with Noor Alli, three hundred Rahtores against five hundred of the king's troops, which were routed, losing their leader, Ufzul Khan, after a desperate struggle.

"Balla was hero who drove the Yavan from this post. Oodya attacked the Sidi at Sojut. Jytarun was again reinforced. In Bysak, Mokhim Sing Mairtea attacked the royal post at Mairta, slew Syed Ali, and drove out the king's troops."

The year 1739 was one of the perpetual conflict, of captures and recaptures, in which many parties of twenty and thirty on each side fell. They afford numerous examples of heroic

* Many were enumerated by the bardic chronicler, who would deem it sacrilege to omit a single name in the page of fame.

† He was one of the gallant chiefs who, with Doorga, conveyed prince Akber to the sanctuary with the Mahrattas.

patriotism, in which Rahtore blood was lavishly shed; but while to them each warrior was a loss not to be re-placed, the despot continued to feed the war with fresh troops. The Bhattis of Jeesulmeer came forward this year, and nobly shed their blood in seconding the effort of the Rahtores in this patriotic warfare.

"In S. 1740, Azim and Assud Khan joined the emperor in the Dekhan, and Enayet Khan was left in command at Ajmeer —being enjoined not to relax the war in Marwar, even with setting in of the rains. Mairwarra afforded a place of rendezvous for the Rahtores, and security for their families. Here eleven thousand of best troops of Enayet invaded the hills to attack the united Jodas and Champawuts, who retaliated on Palli, Sojut, and Godwar. The ancient Mundore, which was occupied by a garrison under Khwaja Saleh, was attacked by the Mandaicha Bhatti and driven out. At Bagrie, a desperate encounter took place in the month of Bysak, when Ram Sing and Samunt Sing, both Bhatti chiefs, fell with two hundred of their vassals, slaying one thousand of the Moghuls. The Kurumsotes and Koompawuts, under Anop Sing, scoured the banks of the Looni, and put to the sword the garrisons of Oosturroh and Gangani. Mokhim, with his Mairteas, made a descent on his patrimonial lands, and drew upon him the whole force of its governor, Mohammed Alli. The Mairteas met him on their own native plans. The Yavan proposed a truce, and at the interview assassinated the head of the Mairteas, tidings of whose death rejoiced the Shah in the Dekhan.

"At the beginning of 1741, neither strife nor fear had abated. Soojan Sing led the Rahtores in the south, while Lakha Champawut and Kesar Koompawut aided by the Bhattis and Chohans, kept the garrison of Jodhpur in alarm. When Soojan was slain, the bard was sent to Singram, who held a munsub and lands from the king; he was implored to join his brethren; he obeyed, and all collected around Singram.* Sewancha† was attacked, and with Bhalotra and Panchbadra were plundered; while the blockaded garrisons were unable to aid. An hour before sunset, every gate of Maroo was shut. The Asoors had the strongholds in their power; but the plains resounded with the *An*‡ of Ajit. Oodibhan, with his Jodawuts, appeared before Bhadrajoon; he assaulted the foe and captured his guns and treasure. An attempt from Jodhpur made to recapture the trophies, added to the triumph of the Joda.

* We are not informed of what clan he was, or his rank, which must have been high.

† The track so called, of which Sewanoh is the capital.

‡ Oath of allegiance.

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"Poordil Khan* held Sewanoh; and Nahur Khan Mewatti, Kunari. To attack them, the Champawuts convened at Mokul-sir. Their thirst for vengeance redoubled at the tidings that Noor Alli had abducted two young women of the tribe of Assani. Rutna led the Rahtores; they reached Kunari and engaged Poordil Khan, who was put to the sword with six hundred of his men. The Rahtores left one hundred in the field that day, the ninth of Cheyt. The Mirza† no sooner heard of this defeat than he fled towards Thoda, with the Assani damsels, *gazing on the mangoes as they ripened*, and having reached Koochal, he encamped. Subhul Sing, the son of Aiskurn, heard it, he took his opium, and though the Mirza was surrounded by pillars, the dagger of Aiskurn's son reached his heart; but the Bhatti‡ was cut in pieces. The roads were now impassable; the *Thanas*§ of the Yavans were reduced to great straits.

"The year [illegible]742 commenced with the slaughter of the king's garrison at Sa[illegible]hur by the Lakhawuts and Assawuts;|| while from Godwa[illegible] chiefs made incursions to the gates of Ajmeer. A battle took [illegible]ace at Mairta, where the Rahtores were defeated and dispersed, but in revenge Singram burned the suburbs of Jodhpur, and then came to Dhoonara, where once more the clans assembled. They marched, invested Jhalore, when Beharri, left without succour, was compelled to capitulate, and the gate of honour (*Dhermadwara*) was left open to him. And thus ended 1742."

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* It is almost superfluous to remark, even to the mere English reader, that whenever he meets the title *Khan*, it indicates a Mahomedan; and that of *Sing* (lion) a Rajpoot.

† Noor Alli. Mirza is a title only applied to Moghul.

‡ As a Bhatti revenged this disgrace, it is probable the Assani damsels, thus abducted by the Mirza, were of his own race.

§ Garrisons and military posts.

|| These are of the most ancient vassalage of Maroo.

CHAPTER VIII.

The clans petition to see the young Raja.—Doorjun Sal of Kotah joins the Rahtore cause.—They proceed to Aboo.—Are introduced to Ajit, who is conveyed to Ahwa, and makes a tour to all the chieftainships.—Consternation of Arungzebe.—He sets up a pretender to Jodhpur.—The Rahtores and Haras drive the Imperialists from Marwar.—They carry the war abroad.—Storm of Poor Mandil.—The Hara prince slain.—Doorgadas returns from the Dekhan.—Defeats Sefi Khan, governor of Ajmeer, who is disgraced by the king.—Sefi Khan attempts to circumvent Ajit by negociation.—His failure and disgrace.—Rebellion in Mewar.—The Rahtores support the Rana.—Arungzebe negociates for the daughter of prince Akber left in Marwar.—Ajit again driven for refuge into the hills.—Affair at Beejipur.—Success of the Rahtores.—Arungzebe's apprehension for his grand-daughter.—The Rana sends the coconut to Ajit, who proceeds to Oodipur, and marries the Rana's niece.—Nogotiations for peace renewed.—Terminate.—The surrender of the princess.—Jodhpur restored.—Magnanimity of Doorgadas.—Ajit takes possession.—Ajit again driven from his capital.—Afflictions of the Hindoo race.—A son born to Ajit, named Abhye Sing.—His horoscope.—Battle of Droonara.—The viceroy of Lahore passes through Marwar to Guzerat.—Death of Arungzebe.—Diffuses joy.—Ajit attacks Jodhpur.—Capitulation.—Dispersion and massacre of the king's troops.—Ajit resumes his dominions.—Azim, with the title of Bahadur Shah, mounts the throne.—Battle of Agra.—The king prepares to invade Marwar.—Arrives at Ajmeer.—Proceeds to Bai Bilaru.—Sends an embassy to Ajit, who repairs to the imperial camp.—Reception.—Treacherous conduct of the emperor.—Jodhpur surprised.—Ajit forced to accompany the emperor to the Dekhan.—Discontent of the Rajas.—They abandon the king, and join Rana Umra at Oodipur.—Triple alliance.—Ajit appears before Jodhpur, which capitulates on honourable terms.—Ajit undertakes to replace Raja Jey Sing on the gadi *of Amber.—Battle of Sambhur, Ajit victorious.—Amber abandoned to Jey Sing.—Ajit attacks Bikaneer.—Redeems Nagore.—The Rajas threatened by the king.—Again unite.—The king repairs to Ajmeer.—The Rajas join him.—Receive firmans for their dominions.—Ajit makes a pilgri-*

mage to Curu-khetra.—*Reflections on the thirty years' war waged by the R[illegible]es against the empire for independence —Eulogium on Doorgadas.*

"In the year 1743, the Champawuts, Koompawuts, Oodawuts, Mairteas, Jodas, Kurumsotes and all the assembled clans of Maroo, became impatient to see their sovereign. They sent for the Kheechie Mokund, and prayed that they might but behold [h]im; but the faithful to his trust replied: 'He,* who confided [h]im to me, is yet in the Dekhan.'—'Without the sight of our [illegible]ad and water have no flavour.' Mokund could not withstand their suit. The Hara prince Doorjun Sal, having come to their aid with one thousand horse from Kotah,† they repaired to the hill of Aboo, when on the last day of Cheyt 1743, they saw their prince. 'As the lotos expands at the sunbeam, so did the heart of each Rahtore at the sight of their infant sovereign; they drank his looks, even as the *papiya* in the month Asoj sips drops of amrita (*ambrosia*) from the *Champa*.‡ There were present, Oodi Sing, Beeji-Pal, Tej Sing, Mokund Sing, and Nahur, son of Huree, all Champawuts, Raj Sing, Juggut Sing, Jeit Sing, Samunt Sing of the Oodawuts;—Ram Sing, Futteh Sing, and Kesuri, Koompawuts. There was also the Oohur chief of pure descent,§ besides the Kheechi Mokund, the Purahit, the Purihar, and the Jain priest, Yati Gyan, Beejy. In a fortunate hour, Ajit became known to the world. The Hara Rao first made his salutation; he was followed by all Marwar with offerings of gold, pearls, and horses.

"Enayet conveyed the tidings to Arung Shah; the Asoor chief said to the king, 'if without a head, so long they had combated him, what could now be expected?' he demanded reinforcements."

"In triumph they conveyed the young Raja to Ahwa, whose chief made the *badhoo*‖ with pearls, and presented him with horses; here he was entertained, and here they prepared the *teeka dour*. Thence, taking Raepur, Bilara, and Baroonda

* Meaning Doorgadas.

† His principal object was to marry the daughter of Sujaun Sing Champawut, the sister of the brave Mokund Sing, often mentioned in the chronicle. The Kotah prince dared not, according to every Rajpoot maxim of gallantry, use his aid on such occasion; but the natural bravery and high mind of Doorjun Sal required no stimulus.

‡ The Hindoo poet says the Papiya bird becomes intoxicated with the flowers.

§ A name now lost.

‖ Waving a brass vessel, filled with pearls, round his head.

in way, and receiving the homage and nuzurs of their chiefs, he repaired to Asope, where he was entertained by the head of the Koompawuts. From Asope, he went to the Bhatti fief of Lowairoh; thence to Keah, the chief abode of the Mairteas; thence to Kewnsir, of the Kurmsotes. Each chief entertained their young lord, around whom all the clans gathered. Then he repaired to Kaloo, the abode of Pabhoo Rao Dhandul,* who came forth with all his bands; and at length he reached Pokurn, where he was joined by Doorgadas from the Dekhan, the 10th of Bhadoon 1744.

"Enayet Khan was alarmed. He assembled a numerous array to quell this fresh tumult, but death pounced upon him. The king was afflicted thereat. He tried another stratagem, and set up a pretended son of Jeswunt, styled Mohammed Shah, and offered Ajit the munsub of five thousand to submit to his authority. The pretender also died as he set out for Jodhpur, and Sujait Khan was made the governor of Marwar in the place of Enayet. Now the Rahtores and Haras united, having cleared Maroo of their foes, attacked them in a foreign land. The garrisons of Maldoora and Poor Mandil were put to the sword, and here the Hara prince was killed by a cannon shot, in leading the storm. Here they levied eight thousand mohurs in contribution and returned to Marwar, while the civil officers and Purohits made collections in his country; and thus passed 1744.

"The year 1745 commenced with proposals from Sujait Khan to hold Marwar in farm; he promised one-fourth of all transit duties if the Rahtores would respect foreign commerce; to this they agreed. The son of Enayet left Jodhpur for Delhi; he had reached Rainwal, but was overtaken by the Joda Hurnat, who released him both of wives and wealth. The Khan fled to the Cuchwahas for shelter. Sujah Beg, who left Ajmeer to release him, fared no better: he was attacked, defeated, and plundered by Mokundas Champawut.

"In 1747, Sefi Khan was Hakim of Ajmeer; Doorga determined to attack him. The Hakim took post in the pass which defends the road; there Doorga assailed him, and made him fly to Ajmeer. The tidings reached the king; he wrote to the Khan, if he discomfited Doorgadas, he would raise him over all the Khans of the empire; if he failed, he should send him bracelets,† and order Sujait from Jodhpur to supersede him. Sefi, before abandoning his trust, tried to retain his

* Pabhoo Rao Rahtore is immortalized by the aid of his lance on this occasion; he was of the ancient chivalry of Maroo, and still held his allodial domain.

† A mark of contempt.

honours by the circumvention of Ajit. He addressed a letter to him, saying he held the imperial sunnud for the restoration of his paternal domains, but that, as the king's representative, he must come and receive it. Ajit marched at the head of twenty thousand Rahtores, sending in advance Mokund Champawut to observe whether any treachery was contemplated. The snare was discovered and reported to Ajit, as he arrived at the foot of the pass beyond the mountains. [illegible] , have a sight of Ajidoorg as we [illegible] so near,' said the young [illegible] 'and receive the compliments of the Khan.' They moved on towards the city, and Sefi Khan had no alternative but to pay his obeisance to Ajit. To enjoy his distress, one said, 'let us fire the city.' The Hakim sat trembling for its safety and his own; he brought forth jewels and horses, which he presented to Ajit.

"In 1743, the troubles re-commenced in Mewar. Prince Umra rebelled against his father, Rana Jey Sing, and was joined by all his chiefs. The Rana fled to Godwar, and at Ganorah collected a force, which Umra prepared to attack. The Rana demanded succour of the Rahtores, and all the Mairteas hastened to relieve him; and soon after Ajit sent Doorgadas and Bugwan, with Rinmull Joda, and 'the eight ranks of Rahtores' to espouse the father's cause. But the Chondawuts and Suktawuts, the Jhalas and Chohans, rather than admit foreign interference in their quarrel, thought it better to effect a reconciliation between father and son; and thus the Rana was indebted to Marwar for the support of his throne.

"The year 1749 passed in negotiation to obtain the daughter of prince Akber, left in charge of Doorgadas, for whose honour Arungzebe was alarmed, as Ajit was reaching manhood; Narayndas Koolmbi was the medium of negotiation, and Sefi Khan caused all hostilities to cease while it lasted.

"In 1750, the Mooslem governors of Jodhpur, Jhalore, and Sewanoh, combined their forces against Ajit, who was again compelled to retreat to the mountains. Akho, the Balla, received their attack, but was defeated in the month of Magh. Another combat was hastened by the wanton slaughter of a *sandh*,* when the Hakim of Chank, with all his train, were made prisoners at Mokulsir by the Champawut Mokundas.

"To such straits were the Mooslems put in 1751, that [illegible] districts paid *chouth*, others tribute, and many tired of [illegible] warfare, and unable to conquer their [illegible] took

* One of those pampered bulls, allowed to wander at liberty and fed by every one.

service with the Rahtores. This year Kasim Khan and Lushkur Khan marched against Ajit, who took post at Beejipur. Doorga's son led the onset, and the Khan was defeated. With each year of Ajit grew the hopes of the Rahtores; while Aurungzebe was afflicted at each month's growth of his grand-daughter. He wrote to Sujait, the Hakim of Jodhpur, to secure his honour at whatever cost; his applications for Akber's daughter were unwearied.

"This year the *coconut studded with gems,** two elephants and ten steeds, all richly caparisoned, were sent by the Rana to affiance the daughter of his younger brother, Guj Sing, to Ajit. The present was accepted, and in the month of Jeit, the prince of the Rahtores repaired to Oodipur, where the nuptials were solemnized. In Asar he again married at Deolah.†

"In 1753, negotiations were renewed through Doorgadas, and the protracted restoration of the *Sultani* obtained the seat of his ancestors for the *Jodani*. Doorga was offered for himself the munsub of five thousand, which he refused; he preferred that Jhalore, Sewanchi, Sanchore, and Theraud, should revert to his country. Even Arung admired the honourable and distinguished treatment of his grand-daughter.

"In Pos 1757,‡ Ajit regained possession of his ancestral abode: on his reaching Jodhpur he slew a buffalo at each of its five gates. The Shahzada Sooltan led the way, Sujait being dead.§

"In 1759, Azim Shah again seized on Jodhpur, and Ajit made Jhalore his abode. Some of his chiefs now served the foe, some the Rana whose hopes were on Eklinga alone; while the lord of Amber served the king in the Dekhan. The enormities of the Asoors had reached their height; the sacred kine were sacrificed even at Mathoora, Pryag, and Okamandel; the Jogis and Byragis invoked heaven for protection, but iniquity prevailed as the Hindu strength decayed. Prayers were everywhere offered up to heaven to cleanse the land from the iniqui-

* The coco, the symbol of a marriage offer.

† Pertabgurh Deolah, a small principality grown out of Mewar.

‡ I cannot now call to mind whether this break of four years in the chronicle of the bard Kurnidhan occurs in the original, or that in translating I left the hiatus from there being nothing interesting therein. The tyrant was now fully occupied in the Dekhan wars, and the Rajpoots had time.

§ This Shahzada must have been prince Azim, who was nominated viceroy of Guzerat and Marwar.

ties of the barbarians.* In this year, the month of Magh 1759, the *Mittun Laggun* (the sun in Gemini), a son was born of the Chohani, who was called Abhye Sing. (See end of this chapter, for the Horoscope of Abhye Sing.)

"In 1761, Eusoph was superseded by Murshid Kuli as Hakim of Jodhpur. On his arrival he presented the royal for the restoration of Mairta to Ajit. Koosul Sing, the *mor*, with the Dhandul Gobindas, were ordered to take the charge, which incensed the son of Indur, (Mohkum Sing), his faithful service during his minority overlooked He wrote to the king to nominate him to the command of Marwar, and that he would fulfil his charge to the satisfaction both of Hindu and Moslem.

"In 1761, the star of the foe began to decline. Moorshid Kuli, the Moghul, was relieved by Jaffier Khan. Mohkim's letter was intercepted. He had turned traitor to his prince, and joined the king's troops. Ajit marched against them; he fought them at Droonara; the king's troops were defeated, and the rebel Eendawut was slain. This was in 1762.

"In 1763, Ibrahim Khan, the king's lieutenant† at Lahore, passed through Marwar to relieve Azim in the vice-royalty of Guzerat. On the second day of Cheit, the obscure half of the moon, the joyful tidings arrived of the death of the king.‡ On the fifth, Ajit took to horse; he reached the town of Joda, and sacrificed to the gates, but the Asoors feared to face him. Some hid their faces in fear, while others fled. The Mirza came down, and Ajit ascended to the halls of his ancestors. The wretched Yavans, now abandoned to the infuriated Rajpoots smarting under twenty-six years of misery, found no mercy. In hopeless despair they fled, and the wealth which they had amassed by extortion and oppression, returned to enrich the proprietor. The barbarians, in turn, were made captive; they fought, were slaughtered and dispersed. Some sought *sirna* (sanctuary), and found it; even the barbarian leader himself threw fear to the winds in the unconcealed sanctuary of the Koompawut. But the triumph of the Hindu was complete, when, to escape from perdition, their flying foes invoked Seeta-Ram and Hur-govind, begging their bread in the day, and taking to their heels at night. The chaplet of the Moolla served to count the name of Rana, and a handful of gold was

* This record of the manifold injuries, civil and r[illegible] the Hindoo nation groaned, is quite akin to the sentim[illegible] remonstrance addressed by Rana Raj Sing to Arungzebe.—See Vol. I.

† He is called the *sumdi*, or 'son-in-law of the king.'

‡ 5th Cheit S. 1763. The 28th Zekaud.

given to have their beards removed.* Nothing but the despair and flight of the 'Mletchas' was heard throughout Moordhur. Mairta was evacuated, and the wounded Mohkim fled to Nagore. Sojut and Palli were regained, and the land returned to the Jodani. Jodgurh was purified from the contaminations of the barbarian with the water of the Ganges and the sacred Toolsi, and Ajit received the tiluk of sovereignty.

Then Azim marched from the south and Moazim from the north. At Agra a mighty battle for empire took place between the two Asoors, but Allum † prevailed and got the throne. The tidings soon reached the king, that Ajit had plundered his armies in Maroo and taken possession of the '*cushion*' of his fathers.

"The rainy season of 1764 had vanished, the king had no repose; he formed an army and came to Ajmeer. Then Huridas, the son of Bugwan, with the Oohur and Mangalea chiefs, ‡ and Rutna the leader of the Oodawuts, with eight hundred of their clan, entered the castle and swore to Ajit, that whatever might be his intentions, they were resolved to maintain the castle to the death. The royal army encamped at Bai Bilara, and Ajit prepared for the storm; but the king was advised to try peaceful arts, and an overture was made, and the messenger was sent back to the king accompanied by Nahur Khan. The embassy returned bearing the royal firman to Ajit; but before he would accept it, he said he would view the royal army, and on the first day of Phalgoon he left the hill of Joda and reached Beesilpur. Here he was received by a deputation from the king, headed by Sujait Khan, son of the Khankhanan, accompanied by the Raja of Badoria and Rao Boodh Sing of Boondi:—the place of meeting was Peeper. That night passed in adjusting the terms of the treaty. The ensuing morn he marched forward at the head of all the men of Maroo; and at Anundpur the eyes of the king of the barbarians (*Mletcha*) fell on those of the lord of the earth. He gave him the title of *Tej Bahadur*.§ But fate decreed that the city of Joda was coveted by the king; by stealth he sent Mairab Khan to take possession, accompanied by the traitor Mohkim. Ajit burned with rage when he heard of this treachery, but he was compelled to dissimulate and accompany

* The Rajpoots gave up beards the better to distinguish them from the Mooslems.

† Shah Allum, who assumed the title of Bahadur Shah, on the throne.

‡ The Mangalea is a branch of the Ghelotes, severed from the original stem in the reign of Bappa Rawul eleven centuries ago.

§ 'The warrior's sword.'

Album to the Dekhan, and to serve under Kambuksh. Jey Sing of Amber* was also with the king, and had a like cause for discontent, a royal garrison being placed in Amber, and the gadi of the Raja bestowed on his younger brother, Beejoy Sing. Now the army rolled on like a sea overflowing its bounds. As soon as the king crossed the Nerbudda,† the Rajas executed their designs, and, without saying a word, at the head of their vassals retrograded to Rajwarra. They repaired to Oodipur, and were received by Rana Umra with rejoicing and distinction who advanced to conduct them to his capital. Seated together, the *Chaori* waving over their heads, they appeared like the *Triuna*,‡ Bramha, Vishnu and Mahesa. From this hour the fortunes of the Asoors sunk, and virtue again began to shew herself.§ From Oodipur the two Rajas passed to Marwar, They reached Ahwa, and here the Champawut Singram, son of Oodibhan, spread the foot-carpet (*pugmoonda*) for his lord.

"The month of Sawan 1765 set in, and the hopes of the Asoor expired. Mairab was in consternation when he heard that Ajit had returned to his native land. On the 7th the hall of Joda was surrounded by thirty thousand Rahtores. On the 12th the gate of honour was thrown open to Mairab; he had to thank the son of Aiskurn || for his life. He was allowed an honourable retreat, and Ajit once more entered the capital of Maru.

"Jey Sing encamped upon the banks of the Soor Sagur; but a prince without a country, he was unhappy. But as soon as the rains were passed, Ajmal, the sanctuary of the Cuchwaha, proposed to reinstate him in Amber. When conjoined they had reached Mairta, Agra and Delhi trembled. When they arrived at Ajmeer, its governor sought *sirna* with the saint,¶ and paid the contributions demanded. Then, like the falcon, Ajit darted upon Sambhur; and here the vassals of Amber repaired from all quarters to the standard of their lord. With twelve thousand men, the Syed advanced along the edge of the salt lake, to encounter Ajmal. The Koompawut led the charge; a desperate battle ensued; Hussein, with

* This is the *Mirza Raja*, Jey Sing;—the posterior Jey Sing had epithet Sowae.

† The Moslem historian mentions in Vol. I. that Bahadur was then *en route* to Lahore.

‡ Tri-anga, the *triple-bodied, or tri-murti.*

§ The bard of Maroo passes over the important fact of the intermarriage which took place on this occasion of the Rajpoot triple alliance.—See Vol. I.

|| Doorgadas, who recommended the acceptance of the proffered capitulation.

¶ The shrine of Khwaja Kootub.

six thousand men, lay on the field, while the rest took to flight and sought refuge in the castle.* His lieutenant, the Purihar, *chief pundoo*,† here fell into the hands of Ajit; he then felt he had recovered Mundore. On intelligence of this history, the Ascurs abandoned Amber, and having placed a garrison in Sambhur, in the month of Megsir, Ajit restored Jey Sing to Amber, and having prepared to attack Bikaneer, Ajit committed the administration of all civil affairs to the faithful Raghonath Bindarri, with the title of Dewan. He w[illegible] qualified, both from his experience in civil affairs [illegible] his valour as a soldier.

"In Bhadoon of the year 1766, Arungzebe put to death Kambuksh‡ and Jey Sing entered into negotiations with the

without resource, came forth and embraced Ajit's feet, who bestowed Ladnoo upon him as a heritage. But this satisfied not him who had been the lord of Nagore, and Indur carried his complaints to Delhi.§ The king was enraged—his threats reached the Rajas, who deemed it safe again to re-unite. They met at Koleo near Didwanah, and the king soon after reached Ajmeer. Thence he sent his firmans and the *punja* as terms of friendship to the Rajas: Nahur Khan, *chelah* of the king, was the bearer. They were accepted, and on the 1st Asar both the Rajas repaired to Ajmeer. Here the king received them graciously; in the face of the world; to Ajit he presented the sunnud of the *Nine Castles* of Maroo, and to Jey Sing that of Amber. Having taken leave of the king, the two Rajas went on the *purbh* to the sacred lake of Pooshkur. Here they separated for their respective domains, and Ajit reached Jodhpur in Sawun 1767. In this year he married a Gor Rani, and thus quenched the fued caused by Arjoon. who slew Umra Sing in the Aum-khas.|| Then he went on a pilgrimage to Curukhet,

* Although the Marwar chronicler takes all the credit of this action, it was fought by the combined Rajpoots of the alliance. Vol. I.

† Pandoo is the squire, the shield-bearer, of Rajpoots.

‡ Kambuksh was the child of the old age of the tyrant Arungzebe by a Rajpoot princess. He appears to have held him in more affection than any of his other sons, as his letter on his death-bed to him testifies.—See Vol. I.

§ Indur Sing was the son of Umra, the eldest brother of Jeswunt, and the father of Mohkim, who, being disappointed of the government of Mairta, deserted to the king.

|| This is another of the numerous instances of contradictory feelings in the Rajpoot character. Umra, elder brother of Jeswunt, was banished from Marwar, lost his birth-right, and was afterwards slain at court, as already related. His son, Indur Sing, and grandson Mohkim, from Nagore which they held in separate grants from the king, never forgot their title as elder branch of the family, and eternally contested their claim against Ajit.

the field of battle of the Mahabharat, and made his ablutions in the fountain of Bhisma.* Thus 1767 passed away.

Here let us, for a while, suspend the narrative of the chronicler, and take a retrospective glance at the transactions of the Rahtores, from the year 1737, the period of Raja Jeswunt's death at Kabul, to the restoration of Ajit, presenting a conti- thirty years' duration. In vain might we search the annals of any other nation for such inflexible de-

Still, as a Rahtore, he was bound to avenge the injuries of a Rahtore, even though his personal foe.—Singular inconsistency!

* There is an anecdote regarding the fountain of this classic field of strife, the Troad of Rajasthan, which well exemplifies the superstitious belief of the warlike Rajpoot. The emperor Bahadur Shah was desirous to visit this scene of the exploits of the heroes of antiquity, stimulated, no doubt, by his Rajpootni queen, or his mother, also of this race. He was seated under a tree which shaded the sacred fount, named after the great leaders of the *Curus*, his queen by his side, surrounded by *kanats* to hide them from profane eyes, when a vulture perched upon the tree with a bone in its beak, which falling in the fountain, the bird set up a scream of laughter. The king looked up in astonishment, which was greatly increased, when the vulture addressed him in human accents, saying, "that in a former birth she was a *Jogini*, and was in the field of slaughter of the *great war*, whence she flew away with the dissevered arm of one of its mighty warriors, with which she alighted on that very tree, that the arm was encumbered with a ponderous golden bracelet, in which, as an amulet, were set thirteen brilliant symbols of Siva, and that after devouring the flesh, she dropped the bracelet, which fell into the fountain, and it was this awakened coincidence which had caused the scream of laughter." We must suppose that this the *pulchara* of the field of slaughter, spoke Sanskrit or its dialect, interpreted by his Rajpoot queen. Instantly the pioneers were commanded to clear the fountain, and behold the relic of the Mahabharat, with the symbolic emblems of the god all-perfect! and so large were they, that the emperor remarked they would answer excellently well for 'slaves of the carpet'. The Hindu princes then present, among whom were the Rajas Ajit and Jey Sing, were shocked at this levity, and each entreated of the king one of the phallic symbols. The Mirza Raja obtained two, and both are yet at Jeypur, one in the Temple of Silla Devi, (1) the other in that of Govinda. Ajit had one, still preserved and worshipped at the shrine of *Girdhari* at Jodhpur. My old tutor and friend, the Yati Gyanchandra, who told the story while he read the chronicles as I translated them, has often seen and made homage to all the three relics. There is one, he believed, at Boondi or Kotah, and the Rana by some means obtained another. They are of pure rock crystal, and as each weighs some pounds, there must have been giants in the days of the Bharat, to have supported thirteen in one armlet. Homer's heroes were pigmies to the Curus, whose bracelet we may doubt if Ajax could have lifted. My venerable tutor, though liberal in his opinions, did not chose to dissent from the general belief, for man, he said, had, beyond a doubt, greatly degenerated since the heroic ages, and was rapidly approximating to the period, the immediate forerunner of a universal renovation, when only dwarfs would creep over the land.

(1) The goddess of arms, their Pallas.

votion as marked the Rahtore character through this period of strife, during which, to use their own phrase, "hardly a chieftain died on his pallet." Let those who deem the Hindoo warrior void of patriotism read the rude chronicle of this thirty years' war; let them compare it with that of any other country, and do justice to the magnanimous Rajpoot. This narrative, the simplicity of which is the best voucher for its authenticity, presents an uninterrupted record of patriotism and disinterested loyalty. It was a period when the sacrifice of these principles was rewarded by the tyrant king with the highest honour of the state; nor are we without instances of the temptation being too strong to be withstood: but they are rare, and serve only to exhibit, in more pleasing colours, the virtues of the tribe which spurned the attempts at seduction. What a splendid example is the heroic Doorgadas of all that constitutes the glory of the Rajpoot! Valour, loyalty, integrity, combined with prudence in all the difficulties which surrounded him, are qualities which entitle him to the admiration which his memory continues to enjoy. The temptations held out to him were almost irresistible: not merely the gold, which he and thousands of his brethren would alike have spurned, but the splendid offer of power in the proffered 'munsub of five thousand,' which would at once have lifted him from his vassal condition to an equality with the princes and chief nobles of the land. Doorga had, indeed but to name his reward; but, as the bard justly says, he was '*amolac*,' beyond all price, '*unoko*' unique. Not even revenge, so dear to the Rajpoot, turned him aside from the dictates of true honour. The foul assassination of his brother, the brave Soning, effected through his enemies, made no alteration in his humanity whenever the chance of war placed his foe in his power; and in this, his policy seconded his virtue. His chivalrous conduct, in the extrication of prince Akber from inevitable destruction, had he fallen into his father's hands, was only surpassed by his generous and delicate behaviour towards the prince's family, which was left in his care, forming a marked contrast to that of the enemies of his faith on similar occasions. The virtue of the grand-daughter of Arungzebe, in the sanctuary (*sirna*) of Droonara,* was in far better keeping than in the trebly-walled harem of Agra. Of his energetic mind, and the control he exerted over those of his confiding brethren, what a proof is given, in his preserving the secret of the abode of his prince throughout the six first years of his infancy! But, to conclude our eulogy in the words of their bard: he has reaped the immortality destined for good deeds; his memory

* Doorga's fief on the Looni.

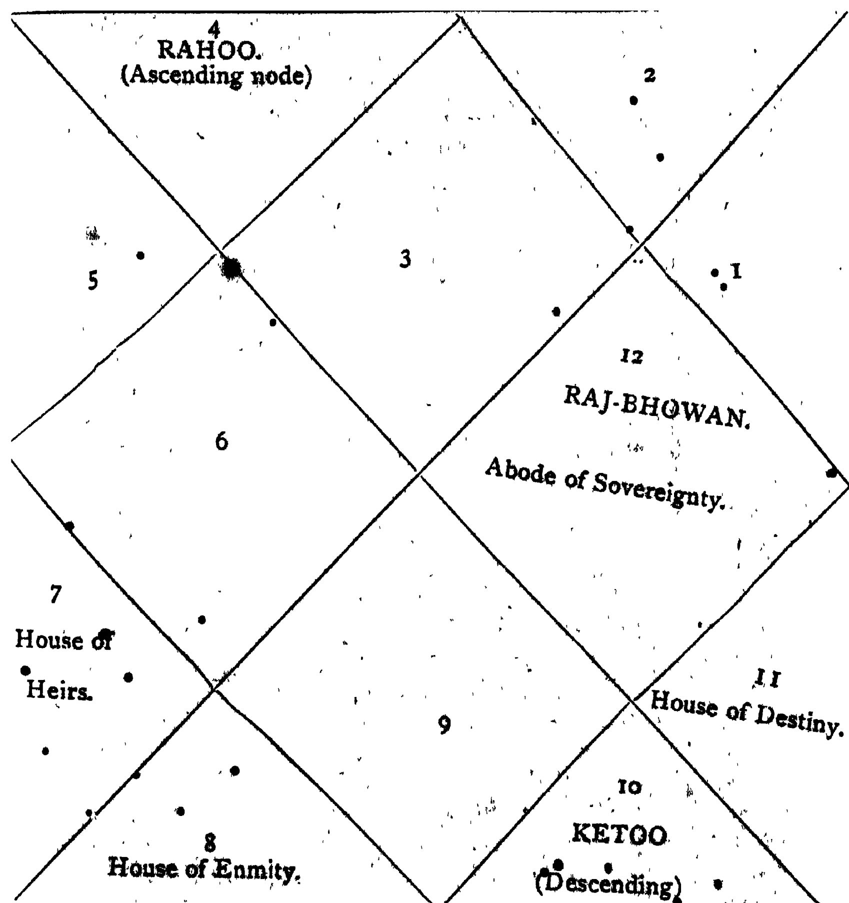
is cherished, his actions are the theme of constant praise, and his picture on his white horse, old, yet in vigour, is familiar amongst the collections of portraits of Rajpootana.*

But there was not a clan, or family, that did not produce men of worth in this protracted warfare, which incited constant emulation; and the bards of each had abundant materials to emblazon the pages of their chronicles. To the recollection of these, their expatriated descendants allude in the memorial † of their hardships from the cruel policy of the reigning chief, the last lineal descendant of the prince, whose history has just been narrated. We now resume the narrative in the language of the chronicle.

* See Vol. I.
† See Vol. I.

HOROSCOPE OF RAJA ABHYE SING.

In the *janam-patri*, or horoscope of Abhye Sing (referred to in p. 904) the 4th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th and 12th houses denote the destinies of the heir of Ajit. In the 4th we have the monster *Rahoo*, the author of eclipses. Of the 7th, or house of heirs, the Moon and Venus have taken possession; of the 8th, or house of strife, the Sun and Mercury. In the 10th is *Ketoo*, brother of *Rahoo*, both signs of evil portent. Mars rides in the house of fate, while Saturn and Jupiter are together in the abode of sovereignty. Like that of every man living, the horoscope of the heir of Maroo is filled wfth good and evil: could the *Jotishi*, or astrological seer, have put the parricidal sign in the house of destiny, he might have claimed some merit for superior intelligence. Those who have ever consulted any works on this foolish persuit, will observe that the diagrams of the European astrologers are exact copies of the Hindu, in proof of which I have inserted this: to trace darkness as well as light from the East!



CHAPTER IX.

commanded to reduce Nahn and the rebels of the Sewaluc mountains.—The emperor dies.—Civil wars.—Ajit nomi-

—Ajit commanded

son to court.—Daring attack on the chief of Nagore, who is slain.—Retaliated.—The king's army invades Marwar. —Jodhpur invested.—Terms.—Abhye Sing sent to court.—Ajit proceeds to Delhi.—Coalesces with the Syed ministry of the king.—Gives a daughter in marriage to the emperor. —Returns to Jodhpur.—Repeal of the Jezeya.—Ajit proceeds to his vice-royalty of Guzerat.—Settles the province.—Worships at Dwarica.—Returns to Jodhpur.—The Syeds summon him to court.—The splendour of his train.—Leagues with the Syeds.—The emperor visits Ajit.—Portents. —Husein Alli arrives from the Dekhan.—Consternation of the opponents of the Syeds and Ajit.—Ajit blockades the palace with his Rahtores.—The emperor put to death.—Successors.—Mohammed Shah.—He marches against Amber.—Its Raja claims sanctuary with Ajit.—Obtains the grant of Ahmedabad.—Returns to Jodhpur.—Ajit unites his daughter to the prince of Amber.—The Syeds assassinated.—Ajit warned of his danger.—Seizes on Ajmeer. —Slays the governor.—Destroys the mosques and re-establishes the Hindu rites.—Ajit declares his independence.—Coins in his own name.—Establishes weights and measures, and his own courts of justice.—Fixes the gradations of rank amongst his chiefs.—The Imperialists invade Marwar.—Abhye Sing heads thirty thousand Rahtores to oppose them.—The king's forces decline battle.—The Rahtores ravage the Imperial provinces.—Abhye Sing obtains the surname of 'Dhonkul,' *or exterminator.—Returns to Jodhpur.—Battle of Sambhur.—Ajit gives sanctuary to Choramun Jat, founder of Bharatpur.—The emperor put himself at the head of all his forces to avenge the defeat of Sambhur.—Ajmeer invested.—Its defence.—Ajit agrees to surrender Ajmeer.—Abhye Sing proceeds to the imperial camp.—His reception.—His arrogant bearing.—Murder of Ajit by his son.—Infidelity of the bard. Blank leaf of the Raj Roopaca, indicative of this event.—Extract from that chronicle.—Funeral rites.—Six queens and fifty-eight concubines determine to become* Satis.—*Expostulations of the Nazir, bards and purohits.—They fail.—Procession.—Rite concluded.—Reflections on Ajit's life and history.*

"In 1768, Ajit was sent [illegible] of the snowy mountains, whom he reduced to obedience. Thence he went to the Ganges, where he performed his ablutions, and in the spring he returned to Jodhpur.

"In 1769, Shah Allum went to heaven. The torch of discord was lighted by his sons, [illegible] which they fired their own dwelling. Azim Ooshawn was slain, and the umbrella [illegible] ty waved over the head of Moiz-oo-deen. [illegible] darri Kaimsi to the presence, who returned with the sunnud of the vice-royalty of Guzerat. In the month of Megsir 1769, he [illegible] an army to take possession of the *Satra-sches*,* when fresh dissensions broke out in the house of the Chagitai. The Syeds slew Moiz-oo-deen, and Ferochsear became king. Zoolfecar Khan was put to death, and with him departed the strength of the Moghuls. Then the Syeds became headstrong. Ajit was commanded to send his son, Abhye Sing, now seventeen years of age, with his contingent, to court; but Ajit having learned that the traitor Mokund was there and in great favour, sent a trusty band, who slew him even in the middle of Delhi. This daring act brought the Syed with an army to Jodhpur. Ajit sent off the men of wealth to Sewanoh, and his son and family to the desert of Rardurroh.† The capital was invested, and Abhye Sing demanded as a hostage for the conduct of Ajit, who was also commanded to court. To neither was the Raja inclined, but the advice of the Dewan, and still more of Kesar the bard, who gave as a precedent the instance of Rao Ganga when invaded by the Lodi, Dowlut Khan, who entrusted his affairs to his son, Maldeo, was unanimously approved.‡ Abhye Sing was recalled from Rardurroh, and marched with Hosein Alli to Delhi, the end of Asar 1770. The heir of Maroo received the munsub of five thousand from the king.

"Ajit followed his son to the court, then held at Delhi. There the sight of the altars raised over the ashes of chiefs who had perished to preserve him in his infancy, kindled all his wrath, and he meditated revenge on the whole house of Timoor. Four distinct causes for displeasure had Ajmal:—

"1st. The *Norosa*; §

"2nd. The compulsory marriage of their daughters with the king;

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* The 'seventeen thousand' towns of Guzerat.

† The tract west of the Looni.

‡ They slur over the most important demand—a daughter to wife to the king—it is at this Ajit hesitates, and for which the precedent is given.

§ See Vol. I.

"3rd. The killing of kine;

"4th. The *Jezeya*, or capitation tax."*

Here we must interrupt the narrative, in order to supply an important omission of the bard, who slurs over the hardest of the conditions demanded of Ajit on the invasion of the Syed, *viz*., the giving a daughter to Ferochsear, the important political results of which are already related in the first part of this work.† This compulsory marriage only aggravated Ajit's desire of vengeance, and he entered into the views of the Syeds with the true spirit of his father; obtaining meanwhile, as the price of coalition, the compliance with the specified demands, besides others of less moment, such as "that the bell for prayer should be allowed to toll in the quarters of the city allotted to the Rajpoots, and that their temples should be held sacred; and last, but not least, the aggrandisement of his hereditary dominions." Let us again recur to the chronicle.

"In Jeit 1771, having secured all his wishes, Ajit left the court, and with the renewed patent as viceroy of Guzerat, returned to Jodhpur. Through Kaimsi, his minister, the *Jezeya* was repealed. The Hindoo race owed eternal obligation to the Mor (*crown*) of Mordhur, the sanctuary of princes in distress.

"In 1772, Ajit prepared to visit his government: Abhye Sing accompanied his father. He first proceeded to Jhalore, where he passed the rainy season. Thence he attacked the '*Mewasso*:'‡ first Neemuj, which he took, when the Deoras paid him tribute. Feeroz Khan advanced from Palhanpur to meet him. The Ran of Therad paid a lack of rupees. Cambay was invested and paid; and the Koli chief, Kemkurn, was reduced. From Patun, Sukta the Champawut, with Beejo Bindarri, sent the year preceding to manage the province, came forth to meet him.

"In 1773, Ajit reduced the Jhala of Hulwud, and Jam of Noanuggur, who paid as tribute three lacks of rupees, with twenty-five choice steeds; and having settled the province, he worshipped at Dwarica, and bathed in the Gomtee.§ Thence he

* Described in Vol. I.

† Vol. I.

‡ *Mewasso* is a term given to the fastnesses in the mountains, which the aboriginal tribes, Kolis, Meenas, and Mairs, and not unfrequently the Rajpoots, make their retreats; and in the present instance the bard alludes to the 'Mewasso' of the Deoras of Sirohi and Aboo, which has annoyed the descendants of Ajit to this hour, and has served to maintain the independence of this Chohan tribe.

§ This is all in the district of Oka (*Oka-mandala*), where the Badhails fixed themselves on the migration of Sevaji from Canouj. It would have been instructive had the bard deigned to have given us any account of the

returned to Jodhpur, where he learned that Indur Sing had regained Nagore; but he stood not before Ajit.

"The year 1774 had now arrived. The Syeds and their opponents were engaged in civil strife. Hosein Alli was in the Dekhan, and the mind of Abdoolla was alienated from the king. Paper on paper came, inviting Ajit. He marched by Nagore, Mairta, Poshkur, Marote, and Sambhur, whose garrisons he strengthened, to Delhi. From Marote he sent Abhye Sing back to take care of Jodhpur. The Syed advanced from Delhi to meet the *Bhunni* (lord) of Marwar, who alighted at Aliverdi's serai. Here the Syed and Ajit formed a league, to oppose Jey Sing and the Moghuls, while the king remained like a snake coiled up in a closed vessel. To get rid of their chief opponent, Zoolfecar Khan, was first determined.

"When the king heard that Ajit had reached Delhi, he sent the Hara Rao Bheem of Kotah, and Khandowran Khan to introduce him to the presence. Ajit obeyed. Besides his own Rahtores, he was accompanied by Rao Bishen Sing of Jessulmeer, and Puddum Sing of Derawul, with Futteh Sing, a noble of Mewar, Maun Sing Rahtore, chief of Seeta Mhow, and the Chunderawut, Gopal of Rampura, besides Oodi Sing of Kundaila, Sukut Sing of Munohurpur, Kishen of Kulchipur, and many others.* The meeting took place at the Moti Bagh. The king bestowed the *Munsub of Heft Hezari* (seven thousand horse) on Ajit, and added a crore of *dams* to his rent-roll. He presented him with the insignia of the *Mahi Moratib*, with elephants and horses, a sword and dagger, a diamond aigrette (*Sirpech*) and plume, and a double string of pearls. Having left the presence, Ajit went to visit Abdoolla Khan. The Syed advanced to meet him, and his reception, with his attendants, was distinguished. They renewed their determination to stand or fall together. Their conference caused dismay to the Moghuls, who lay in ambush to put Ajit to death.

"On the second day of the bright moon of Pos, 1775, the king honoured Ajit with a visit. Ajit seated the king on a throne formed of bags of rupees to the amount of one lack,† and presented elephants, horses, and all that was precious. In the month of Falgoon, Ajit and the Syed went to visit the king; and after the conference wrote to Hosein Alli revealing their

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recognition which this visit occasioned, and which beyond a doubt caused the 'books of Chronicles and Kings' to be opened and referred to.

* This list well exemplifies the tone now assumed by the Rahtores; but this grand feudal assemblage was in virtue of his office of viceroy of Guzerat. Each and all of these chieftainships the author is as familiar with as with the pen he now holds.

† £10,000 to £12,000.

plans, and desiring his rapid march to unite with them from the Dekhan. Now the heavens assumed portentous appearances; the desa* was red and fiery; jackasses brayed unusually; dogs barked; thunder rolled without a cloud; the court, late so gay, was now sad and gloomy; all were forebodings of change at Delhi. In twenty days, Hosein reached Delhi; his countenance was terrific; his drum, which now beat close to the palace, was the knell of falling greatness. He was accompanied by myriads of horse. Delhi was enveloped in the dust raised by his hostile steeds. They encamped in the north of the city, ...n joined Ajit and his brother. The trembling king sent congratulations and gifts; the Moghul chiefs kept aloof in their abodes; even as the quail cowers in the grass when the falcon hovers over it, so did the Moghuls when Hosein reached Delhi. The lord of Amber was like a lamp left without oil. 'On the second day, all convened at Ajit's tents, on the banks of the Jumna to execute the plans now determined upon. Ajit mounted his steed; at the head of his Rahtores, he marched direct to the palace, and at every post he placed his own men: he looked like the fire destined to cause *pralaya*.† When the sun appears, darkness flies; when the oil fails, the lamp goes out: so is it with crowns and kings, when good faith and justice, the oil that feeds their power, is wanting. The crash which shivered the umbrella of Delhi reverberated throughout the land. The royal treasuries were plundered. None amidst the Moghuls came forward to rescue their king (Ferochsear), and Jey Sing fled from the scene of destruction. Another king was set up, but in four months he was seized with a distemper and died. Then Dowlah ‡ was placed on the throne. But the Moghuls at Delhi set up Neko Shah at Agra, and Hosein marched against them, leaving Ajit and Abdoolla with the king.' §

"In 1776, Ajit and the Syed moved from Delhi; but the M[illegible]uls surrendered Neko Shah, who was confined in Selimgurh. At [illegible]is time the king died, and Ajit and the Syeds made ... and placed Mahomed Shah on the throne. Many were destroyed, and many were made to flourish, ...nement of kings by Ajit. With the death of

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...uarter.

...

...[illegible] Dowla.

§ This is both minutely and faithfully related, and fully as much so as the Mahomedan record of this black deed. We have already (Vol. I.) described it, and given a translation of an autograph letter of the prince of Amber, written on this memorable day. The importance of the transaction, as well as the desire to shew the Bardic version, will justify its repetition.

Ferochsear Jey Sing's views were crushed, and the Syeds determined to punish him. The lord of Amber was like water carried in a platter.* The king reached the Durgah at Sikri, in progress to Amber, and here the chieftains sought the sirna (sanctuary) of Ajit. They said the Khoorm was lost if he protected them not against the Syeds. Even as Krishna saved Arjoon in the Bharat, so did Ajit take Jey Sing under his protection. He sent the chiefs of the Champawuts and his minister to [illegible] his fears; they returned with the lord of Amber, who [illegible] like one who had escaped the doom (*pralaya*). [illegible] on the throne, and saved another from destruction. The king bestowed upon him the grant of Ahmedabad, and gave him permission to visit his home. With Jey Sing of Amber, and Bood Sing Hara of Boondi he marched for Jodhpur, and in the way contracted a marriage with the daughter of the Shekhawut chief of Munohurpur. In the month of Ashin, he reached Jodagir, when the lord of Amber encamped at Soor Sagur, and the Hara Rao north of the town.

"The cold season had fled; the spring (*bussunt*) approached. The peacock was intoxicated with the nectar-drops distilled from the sweet blossomed *ama* (mango); the rich sap exuded; the humming-bees clustered round the flowers; new leaves budded forth; songs of joy resounded; the hearts of gods, men, and women expanded with mirth. It was then the lord of Amber was bedecked in saffron robes, to espouse the 'virgin of the sun' (*Surya Kumari*), the child of Ajit. On this he had consulted the Champawuts, and according to ancient usage, the *Ad-Purdhan*, or chief minister, the Koompawut: likewise the Bindarri Dewan, and the Guru. But were I to dwell on these festivities, this book would become too large; I therefore say but little!

"The rains of 1777 set in, and Jey Sing and Bood Sing remained with Ajit, when a messenger arrived with tidings that the Moghuls had assassinated the Syeds, and were now on the watch for Ajit. He drew his sword, and swore he would possess himself of Ajmeer. He dismissed the lord of Amber. In twelve days after Ajit reached Mairta. In the face of day he drove the Mooslem from Ajmeer and made it his own. He slew the king's governor and seized on Tarragurh.† Once more the bell of prayers was heard in the temple, while the *bang*‡ of the Mesjid was silent. Where the *Koran* was

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* In allusion to his vacillation, for which the 'Mirza Raja' was notorious.

† The *Star Fort*, the castle of Ajmeer.

‡ The call to prayer of the Mooslem.

was now heard, and the Mandira took the place of the Mosque. The Kazi made way for the Brahmin, and the pit of burnt sacrifice (*homa*)* was dug, where the sacred kine were slain. He took possession of the salt lakes of Sambhur and Didwanoh, and the records were always moist with inserting fresh conquests. Ajit ascended his own throne; the umbrella of supre- l over his head. He coined in his own name, own *gus* (measure), and *seer* (weight), his own and a new scale of rank for his chiefs, with nalkees and mace-bearers, nobuts and standards, and every emblem of sovereign rule. Ajmal in Ajmeer was equal to Aspati in Delhi.* The intelligence spread over the land; it reached even Mecca and Iran, that Ajit had exalted his own faith, while the rites of Islam were prohibited throughout the land of Maroo.

"In 1778, the king determined to regain Ajmeer. He gave the command to Mozuffur, who in the rains advanced towards Marwar. Ajit entrusted the conduct of this war to his son, the 'shield of Maroo,' the 'fearless' (*Abhye*), with the eight great vassals, and thirty thousand horse; the Champawuts on the right, the Koompawuts on the left, while the Kurumsotes, Mairteas, Jodas, Eendos, Bhattis, Sonigurras, Deoras, Kheechies, Dhonduls and Gogawuts,† composed the main body. At Amber, the Rahtores and imperialists came in sight; but Mozuffur disgraced himself, and retired within that city without risking an encounter. Abhye Sing, exasperated at this display of pusillanimous bravado, determined to punish the king. He attacked Shahjehanpur, sacked Narnol, levied contributions on Patun (*Tuarvati*) and Rewari. He gave the villages to the flames, and spread conflagration and consternation even to Aliverdi's serai. Delhi d Agra trembled with affright; the Asoors fled without ir shoes at the deeds of Abhye, whom they styled *Dhonkul*,

* This exact imitation of the manners of the imperial court is still strictly maintained at Jodhpur. The account of the measures which followed the possession of Ajmeer is taken from the chronicle *Surya Prakas*; the only part not entirely translated from the *Raj Roopac Akheat*. Ajmal is a license of the poet, where it suits his rhyme for Ajit. Aspati, 'lord of steeds,' is the common epithet applied to the emperors of Delhi. It is, however, but the second degree of paramount power—Gujpati 'lord of elephants,' is the first.

† The two latter tribes are amongst the most ancient of the allodial chieftains of the desert; the Dhonduls being descendants of Rao Gango: the Gogawuts, of the famous Goga, the Chohan, who defended the Sutleje in the earliest Mooslem invasion recorded. Both Goga and his steed *Jowadia* are immortal in Rajasthan. The author had a chesnut Cattiawar, called *Jowadia*; he was perfection, and a piece of living fire when mounted, scorning every pace but the antelope's bounds and curvets.

'the exterminator.' He returned by Sambhur and Ludhana, and here he married the daughter of the chief of the Naroocase.

"In 1779, Abhye Sing remained at Sambhur, which he strengthened, and hither his father, Ajit, came from Ajmeer. The meeting was like that between 'Kasyapa and Surya;' for he had broken the bow of Muzuffur and made the Hindu happy. The king sent his *Chelah*, Nahur Khan, to expostulate with Ajit; but his language was offensive, and the field of Sambhur devoured the tiger lord (Nahur Khan) and his four thousand followers. The son of Choramun the Jat,† now claimed sanctuary with Ajit. Sick of these dissentions, the unhappy Mahomed Shah determined to abandon his crown, and retire to Mecca. But determined to revenge the death of Nahur Khan, he prepared a formidable army. He collected (the contingents of) the twenty-two Satraps‡ of the empire, and placed at their head Jey Sing of Amber, Hyder Kooli, Eradut Khan Bungush, &c. In the month of Srawun (July), Tarragurh was invested; Abhye Sing marched out and left its defence to Umra Sing. It had held out four months, when through the prince of Amber (Jey Sing), Ajit listened to terms, which were sworn to on the *Koran* by the nobles of the king; and he agreed to surrender Ajmeer. Abhye Sing then accompanied Jey Sing to the camp. It was proposed that in testimony of his obedience he should repair to the presence. The prince of Amber pledged himself, but the fearless (*Abhye*) placed his hand on his sword, saying, 'this is my surety.'"

The heir of Marwar was received by the king with the utmost honour; but being possessed of a double portion of that arrogance which forms the chief characteristic of his race, (more especially of the Rahtore and Chohan, from which he sprang), his reception nearly produced at Delhi a repetition of the scene recorded in the history of his ancestor Umra at Agra. Knowing that his father held the first place on the king's right hand, he considered himself, as his representative, entitled to the same honour, and little heeding the unbending etiquette of the proudest court in the world, he unceremoniously hustled past all the dignitaries of the state, and had even ascended a step of the throne, when, checked by one of the nobles, Abhye's hand was on his dagger, and but for the presence of mind of the monarch "who threw his own chaplet round his neck" to restrain him, the Divan would have been deluged with blood.

[illegible] the great clans of Amber: of whom more hereafter.

† [illegible] of the Bhurtpore state.

‡ [illegible] Byeesa, or 'twenty-two' viceroys of India.

We shall now drop the chronicles, and in recording the murder of Ajit, the foulest crime in the annals of Rajasthan, exemplify the mode in which their poetic historians gloss over such events. It was against Ajit's will that his son went to court, as if he had a presentiment of the fate which awaited him, and which has been already circumstantially related.* The authors from whose records this narrative is chiefly compiled, were too polite to suffer such a stigma to appear in their chronicles, 'written by desire' and under the eye of the parricide, Ajit's successor. The *Surya Prakas* merely says, "at this time Ajit went to heaven;" but affords no indication of the person who sent him there. The *Raj Roop*
not bold enough to avow the mysterious death of his prince, yet too honest altogether to pass it over, has left an expressive blank leaf at this part of his chronicle, certainly not accidental, as it intervenes Abhye Sing's reception at court, and the incidents following his father's death, which I translate *verbatim*, as they present an excellent picture of the results of a Rajpoot potentate's demise.

"Abhye, a second Ajit, was introduced to the *Aspati*; his father heard the news and rejoiced. But this world is a fable, —a lie. Time will sooner or later prey on all things. What king, what Raja can avoid the path leading to extinction? The time allotted for our sojourn here is predetermined; prolong it we cannot. The decree penned by the hand of the Creator is engraven upon each forehead at the hour of birth. Neither addition nor subtraction can be made. Fate (*honhar*) must be fulfilled. It was the command of *Govinda*,† that Ajit (the Avatar of Indra) should obtain immortality, and leave his renown in the world beneath. Ajit, so long a thorn in the side of his foe, was removed to *Paraloca*.‡ He kept afloat the faith of the Hindu, and sunk the Mooslem in shame. In the face of day, the lord of Maroo took the road which leads to Paradise (*Vaicoonta*). Then dismay seized the city; each looked with dread in his neighbour's face as he said 'our sun has set!' But when the day of *Yama-raj*§ arrives, who can retard it? Were not the five *Pandus* enclosed in the mansion of Himalaya?|| Harchund escaped not the universal decree; nor will gods, men, or reptiles avoid it, not even *Vicrama* or *Karna*; all fall
How then could Ajit hope to escape?

* See Vol. I.
† The sovereign judg mankind.
‡ 'The other world' 'another place.'
§ 'Lord of hell.'
|| *Him* 'ice' *alya*, 'an abode.'

"On Asar, the 13th, the dark half of the moon of 1780, seventeen hundred warriors of the eight ranks of Maroo, for the last time marched before their lord.* They placed his body in a boat,† and carried him to the pyre,‡ made of sandal wood and perfumes, with heaps of cotton, oil, and camphor. But this is a subject of grief; how can the bard enlarge on such a theme? The Nazir went to the *Rawula* § and as he pronounced the words '*Rao sidaos*,' the Chohani queen, with sixteen damsels in her suite, came forth: 'This day,' said she, 'is one of joy; my race shall be illustrated; our lives have passed together, how then can I leave him?'‖

"Of noble race was the Bhattiani queen, a scion (*sakha*) of J——, and daughter of Birjung. She put up a prayer to the Lord who wields the discus.¶ 'With joy I accompany my lord; that my fealty (*sati*) may be accepted, rests with thee.' In like manner did the Gazelle (*Mirgavati*) of Derawul,** and the Tuar queen of pure blood,†† the Chaora Rani,‡‡ and she of Shekhavati, invoke the name of Heri, as they determined to join their lord. For these six queens death had no terrors; but they were the affianced wives of their lord: the curtain wives of affection, to the number of fifty-eight, determined to offer themselves a sacrifice to Agni.§§ 'Such another opportunity,' said they, 'can never occur, if we survive our lord; disease will seize and make us a prey in our apartments. Why then quit the society of our lord, when at all events we must fall into the hands of *Yama*, for whom the human race is but a mouthful? Let us leave the iron age (*Kalyuga*) behind us.' 'Without our lord, even life is death,' said the Bhattiani, as she bound the beads of Toolsi round her neck, and made the *tilac* with earth from the Ganges. While thus each spoke, Nathoo, the Nazir,‖‖ thus addressed them: 'This is no amusement; the sandal-wood you now anoint with is cool: but will your resolution abide, when you remove it with the flames of Agni?

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* Both head and feet are uncovered in funeral processions.

† *Id est* a vehicle formed like a boat, perhaps figurative of the sail crossing the 'Voiturna,' or Styx of the Hindu.

‡ For the mode of conveying princes to their final abode, I refer the reader to a description at Vol. I, Trans. Royal Asiatic Society.

§ The queen's palace.

‖ This is the lady whom Ajit married in his non-age, the mother of the Parricide.

¶ Crishna.

** Ancient capital of the Bhattis.

†† Descended from the ancient dynasty of the Hindu kings of Delhi.

‡‡ Tribe of the first dynasty of Anhulwara Pattun.

§§ The fire.

‖‖ The Nazir (a Mooslem epithet) has the charge of the harem.

When this scorches your tender fram
and the desire to recede will disgrace your lord's memory. Reflect, and remain where you are. You have lived like Indrani,* nursed in softness amidst flowers and perfumes; the winds of heaven never offended you, far less the flames of fire.' But to all his arguments they replied: 'The world we will abandon, but never our lord.' They performed their ablutions, decked themselves in their gayest attire, and for the last time made obeisance to their lord in his car. The ministers, the bards, the family priests (*Purohits*), in turn, expostulated with them. The chief queen (*Patrani*) the Chohani, they told to indulge her affection for her sons, Abhye and Bukhta; to feed the poor, the needy, the holy, and lead a life of religious devotion. The queen replied: 'Koonti, the wife of Pandu, did not follow her lord; she lived to see the greatness of the *five brothers*, her sons; but were her expectations realized? This life is a vain shadow; this dwelling one of sorrow; let us accompany our lord to that of fire, and there close it.'

"The drum sounded; the funeral train moved on; all invoked the name of *Heri*.† Charity was dispensed like falling rain, while the countenances of the queens were radiant as the sun. From heaven Uma‡ looked down; in recompense of such devotion she promised they should enjoy the society of Ajit in each successive transmigration. As the smoke, emitted from the house of flame, ascended to the sky, the assembled multitudes shouted *Khaman! Khaman!* 'well done! well done!' The pile flamed like a volcano; the faithful queens laved their bodies in the flames, as do the celestials in the lake of *Mansarwar*. §They sacrificed their bodies to their lord, and illustrated the races whence they sprung. The gods above exclaimed, '*Dhun Dhun*|| Ajit! who maintained the faith, and overhelmed the

* The queen of heaven.

† Heri Crishna is the mediator and preserver of the Hindu Triad; his name alone is invoked in the funeral rites. (See Vol. I.) The following extract from Dr. Wilkin's translation of the *Geeta* will best disclose his attributes:—Crishna speaks:

"I am the journey of the good; the comforter; the creator; the wit- ... eneration and ... inexhaustible ... failing time; the preserver, whose face is turned on all sides. I am all grasping death and I am the resurrection of those who are about to die."

‡ A name of Doorga. the Hindu juno.

§ The sacred lake in Thibet.

|| *Dhun* is 'riches,' but is here used in the sense of ... riches and glory are synonimous in term with the Hindu, ... in the west; the one may always command the other, at least that species of it for which nine-tenths of mankind contend, and are satisfied with obtaining.

Asuras.* Savitri, Gouri, Saresvati, Gunga, and Gomti,* united in doing honour to these faithful queens. Forty-five years, three months, and twenty-two days, was the space of Ajit's existence, when he went to inhabit Amrapura, *an immortal abode*!"

Thus closed the career of one of the most distinguished princes who ever pressed the 'cushion' of Maroo; a career as full of incident as any life of equal duration. Born amidst the snows of Cabul, deprived at his birth of both parents, one from grief, the other by suicidal custom; saved from the Herodian cruelty of the king by the heroism of his chiefs, nursed amidst the rocks of Aboo or the intricacies of the Aravulli until the day of danger passed, he issued forth, still an infant, at the head of his brave clans, to redeem the inheritance so iniquitously wrested from him. In the history of mankind there is nothing to be found presenting a more brilliant picture of fidelity, than that afforded by the Rahtore clans in their devotion to their prince, from his birth until he worked out his own and his country's deliverance. It is one of those events which throw a gleam of splendour upon the dark picture of feudalism, more prolific perhaps in crime than in virtue. That of the Rajpoots, indeed, in which consanguinity is superadded to the other reciprocalities which bind a feudal body, wears the more engaging aspect of a vast family. How affecting is the simple language of these brave men, while daily shedding their blood for a prince whom, until he had attained his seventh year, they had never beheld! "Without the sight of our lord, bread and water have no flavour." And how successfully does the bard pourtray the joy of these stern warriors, when he says, "as the lotus expands at the sun-beam, so did the heart of each Rahtore at the sight of their infant sovereign; they drank his looks even as the *pepaya* in the month of Asoj sips the drops of *amrita* (ambrosia) from the *Champa*."

The prodigality with which every clan lavished its blood, through a space of six-and-twenty years, may in part be learned from the chronicle; and in yet more forcible language from the cenotaphs scattered over the country, erected to the *manes* of those who fell in this religious warfare. Were other testimony required, it is to be found in the annals of their neighbours and their conquerors; while the traditional couplets of the bards, familiar to every Rajpoot, embalm the memory of the exploits of their forefathers.

Ajit was a prince of great vigour of mind as well as of frame. Valour was his inheritance; he displayed this heredi-

* Celestial queens.

tary quality at the early age of eleven, when he visited his enemy in his capital, displaying a courtesy which can only be comprehended by a Rajpoot. Amongst the numerous desultory actions, of which many occurred every year, there were several in which the whole strength of the Rahtores was led by their prince. The battle of Sambhur, in S. 1765, fought against the Syeds, which ended in an union of interests, was one of these; and, for the rest of Ajit's life, kept him in close contact with the court, where he might have taken the lead, had his talent for intrigue been commensurate with his boldness. From this period until his death, Ajit's agency was recognized in all the intrigues and changes amongst the occupants of Timoor's throne, from Ferochsear to Mahomed. He inherited an invincible hatred to the very name of Mooslem, and was not scrupulous regarding the means by which he was likely to secure the extirpation of a race so inimical to his own. Viewing the manifold reasons for this hatred, we must not scrutinize with severity his actions when leagued with the Syeds, even in the dreadful catastrophe which overwhelmed Ferochsear, to whom he owed the two-fold duty of fealty and consanguinity.

There is one stain on the memory of Ajit, which, though unnoticed in the chronicle, is too well ascertained to be omitted in a summary of his character, more especially as it illustrates that of the nation and of the times, and shews the loose system which holds such governments together. The heroic Doorgadas, the preserver of his infancy, the instructor of his youth, the guide of his manhood, lived to confirm the proverb, "put not thy faith in princes." He, who by repeated instances of exalted self-denial, had refused wealth and honours that might have raised himself from his vassal condition to an equality with his sovereign, was banished from the land which his integrity, wisdom, and valour had preserved. Why, or when, Ajit loaded himself with this indelible infamy was not known; the fact was incidentally discovered in searching a collection of original newspapers written from the camp of Bahadoor Shah,* in one of which it was stated, that "Doorgadas was encamped with his household retainers on the banks of the Peshola Lake at Oodipur, and receiving daily five hundred rupees for his support from the Rana; who, when called on by the king (Bahadur Shah) to surrender him, magnanimously, refused." Imagining that Ajit had been compelled to this painful sacrifice, which is not noticed in the annals, the compiler mentioned it to a *Yati* deeply versed in all the events and transactions of this circumstance, which is

* Discovered by the Author amongst the Rana's archieves.

by the bards, he immediately repeated the couplet composed on the occasion :

"Doorga, des-sa kar-jou
Gola Gangani !"

"Doorga was exiled, and Gangani given to a slave."

Gangani, on the north bank of the Looni, was the chief town of the Kurnote fief, of which clan Doorga was the head. It is now attached to the *Khalisa*, or fisc, but whether recently, or ever since Doorga, we know not. The Kurnotes still pay the last rites to their dead at Gangani, where they have their cenotaphs (*chektris*). Whether that of
there to serve as a memorial of princely ingratitude, the writer cannot say ; but the portrait of the hero, in the autumn of his days, as given me by the last lineal descendant of Ajit, is already before the reader.* Well may we repeat, that the system of feudality is the parent of the most brilliant virtues and the darkest crimes ! Here, a long life of uninterrupted fidelity could not preserve Doorga from the envenomed breath of slander, or the serpent-tooth of ingratitude : and whilst the mind revolts at the crime which left a blank leaf in the chronicle, it is involuntarily carried back to an act less atrocious, indeed, than one which violates the laws of nature, but which in diminishing none of our horror for Abhya Sing, yet lessens our sympathy for the persecutor of Doorgadas.

* Vol. I.

CHAPTER X.

The parricidal murder of Ajit, the cause of the destruction of Marwar.—The parricide, Abhye Sing, installed as Raja by the emperor's own hand.—He returns from court to Jodhpur.—His reception.—He distributes gifts to the bards and priests.—The bards of Rajpootana.—Kurna, the poetic historian of Marwar.—Studies requisite to form a Bardai. *—Abhye Sing reduces Nagore.—Bestows it in appanage upon his brother Bukhta.—Reduces the turbulent allodialists.—Commanded to court.—Makes a tour of his domain.—Seized by the small-pox.—Reaches the court.—Rebellion of the viceroy of Guzerat, and of prince Jungali in the Dekhan.—Picture of the Moghul court at this time.—The* beera *of foreign service against the rebels described.—Refused by the assembled nobles.—Accepted by the Rahtore prince.—He visits Ajmeer, which he garrisons.—Meeting at Pooshkur with the Raja of Amber.—Plan the destruction of the empire.—At Mairta is joined by his brother Bukhi Sing.—Reaches Jodhpur.—The* kher, *or feudal levies of Marwar, assemble.—Consecration of the guns.—The Meenas carry off the cattle of the train.—Rajpoot contingents enumerated.—Abhye reduces the Meena strongholds in Sirohi.—The Sirohi prince submits, and gives a daughter in marriage as a peace-offering.—The Sirohi contingent joins Abhye Sing.—Proceeds against Ahmedabad.—Summons the viceroy to surrender.—Rajpoot council of war.—Bakhta claims to lead the van.—The Rahtore prince sprinkles his chiefs with saffronwater.—Sirbullund's plan of defence.—His guns manned by Europeans.—His body-guard of European musketeers.—The storm.—Victory gained by the* [illegible] *ots.—Surrender of Sirbullund.—He is sent prisoner* [illegible] *peror.—Abhye Sing governs Guzerat.—Rajpoot* [illegible] *nts enumerated.—Conclusion of the chronicles, the* Raj Roopaca *and* Surya Prakas.*—Abhye Sing returns to Jodhpur.—T* [illegible] *rom Guzerat.*

The parricidal murder of Ajit is accounted the germ of destruction, which, taking root in the social edifice of Marwar, ultimately rent it asunder. Bitter has been the fruit of this crime, "even into the third and fourth generation" of his unnatural sons, whose issue, but for this crime, would, in all human

probability, have been the most potent princes in India; able single-handed to have stopped Mahratta aggrandisement.

"It was in 1781 (says the bard), Ajit went to heaven. With his own hand did the emperor Mahomed Shah put the *teeka* on the forehead of Abhye Sing, girded him with the sword, bound the *toorah* on his head, placed a dagger set with gems in his girdle, and with *Chaoris*, *Nobuts*, and *Nakaras*, and many valuable gifts, invested the young prince in all the dignities of his father. Even Nagore was resumed from the son of Umra and included in his *sunnud*. With these marks of royal favour, he took leave of the court, and returned to his paternal dominions. From village to village, as he journeyed homeward, the *kullas* was raised on the head.* When he reached Jodhpur, he distributed gifts to all his chiefs, and to the *Bardais* (bards) and Charuns, and lands to the family priests (*Purohits*).

A day at the court of the desert king, related in the phraseology of the chronicle, would be deemed interesting as a picture of manners. It would also make the reader more familiar with Kurna, the most celebrated bard in the latter days of Rajpoot independence: but this must be reserved for an equally appropriate vehicle,† and we shall at present rest satisfied with a slight sketch of the historian of Maroo.

Karna-Kavya, or simply Kurna, who traced his descent from the last household bard of the last emperor of Canouj, was at once a politician, a warrior, and a scholar, and in each capacity has left ample proofs of his abilities. In the first, he took a distinguished part in all the events of the civil wars; in the second, he was one of the few who survived a combat almost without parallel in the annals even of Rajpoot chivalry; and as a scholar, he has left us, in the introduction to his work,‡ the most instructive proof, not only of his inheriting the poetic mantle of his fathers, but of the course he pursued for the maintenance of its lustre. The bare enumeration of the works he had studied evinces that there was no royal road to

* The *kullas* is a brazen vessel, of household use. A female of each family, filling one of these with water, repairs to the house of the head of the village, when, being all convened, they proceed in a body to meet the person to whom they render honour, singing the *suhailea*, or 'song of joy.' The presenting water is a token of homage and regard, and one which the author has often had paid to him, especially in Mewar, where every village met him in

† I hope some day to present a few of the works of the great bard Chund, with a dissertation on the Bardais, and all the 'sons of song.'

‡ Entitled the 'Surya Prakas' of 7,500 stanzas.

Parnassus for the Rajpoot "Kaviswar,"* but —
contrary, it was beset with difficulties not a little app
mere nomenclature of works on grammar, and hist
which were to be mastered ere he could hope for t
have often made Kurna exclaim, "How hard it i
the steeps" on which from afar he viewed her ———
who desire to see, under a new aspect, an imperfectly known but interesting family of the human race, will be made acquainted with the qualifications of our bardic historians, and the particular course of studies which fitted Kurna "to sit in the gate† of Jodagir," and add a new book to the chronicles of kings.

These festivities of a new reign were not of long duration, and were succeeded by warlike preparations against Nagore, which, during the contentions between Ajit and the emperor, had been assigned to the descendant of the ancient princes of Mundore.

"When Ajmeer was invested by the collective force of the empire,‡ Eradut Khan (Bungush), collector of the *Jezeya*,§ took the *Eendo* by the arm, and seated him in Nagore.|| But as soon as the *Hooli*¶ was past, the 'Avatars of Jowalamookhi,** were consecrated: goats were sacrificed, and the blood, with oil and vermilion, was sprinkled upon them. The tents were moved out. Hearing this, Rao Indra produced the imperial patent, with the personal guarantee of Jey Sing of Amber. Abhye heeded not, and invested Nagore; but Indra left his honour and his castle to the *Fearless*,†† who bestowed it on Bukhta, his brother. He received the congratulations of

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* *Kaviswar*, or *Kavya-iswara*, 'lord of verse' from *Kavya* 'poesy,' and *iswara*, 'lord.'

† The portal of the palace appears to have been the bard's post. Pope gives the same position to his historic bards in 'the Temple of Fame:'

> Full in the passage of each spacious gate,
> The sage historians in white garments wait;
> Grav'd o'er the seats the form of Time was found,
> His scythe remov'd, and both his pinions bound.

‡ In the original, "by the *byeesa*," the 'twenty-two,' meaning the collective force of the twenty-two *soobahdars* or 'satraps of the provinces.'

§ Capitation tax.

|| The poet calls it by its classic appellation, *Nagadoorga*, 'the castle of the serpent.'

¶ For this festival, see Vol. I.

** *Jowala-mookhi*, the 'mouth of flame,' the cannon which are thus consecrated before action. They are called *avatars*, or 'incarnations of Jowala-mookhi, the Etna of India, at the edge of whose crater the Hindu poet very properly places the temple of *Jowali Rani*, 'the terrific' *Kali-ma*, the Hindu Hecate.

†† *A'bhye*, the name of the prince, means 'fearless,' from *bhye*, 'fear,' and privative prefix.

Mewar, Jessulmeer, Bikaneer, and Amber, and returned to his capital amidst the rejoicings of his subjects. This was in S. 1781.

"In S. 1782, he was employed in restraining the turbulent Bhomias on the western frontiers of his dominions; when the Sindils, the Dooras, the Balas, the Boras, the Balechas, and the Sodas were compelled to servitude.

"In S. 1783, a firman of summons arrived, calling the prince to attend the Presence at Delhi. He put it to his head, assembled all his chiefs, and on his passage to court made a tour of his dominions, examining his garrisons, redressing wrongs, and adjusting whatever was in disorder. At Purbutsir he was attacked by the small-pox: the nation called on *Jug Rani** to shield him from evil.

"In 1784, the prince reached Delhi. Khandowran, the chief noble of the empire, was deputed by the emperor to conduct him to the capital; and when he reached the Presence, His Majesty called him close to his person, exclaiming, 'welcome *Khooshbukht*,† *Mahraja Rajeswar*,‡ it is long since we met; this day makes me happy; the splendour of the Aum-khas is redoubled.' When he took leave, the king sent to his quarters, at Abhyepur, choice fruits of the north, fragrant oils, and rose-water."

The prince of Maroo was placed at the head of all the nobility. About the end of S. 1784, Sirbullund Khan's rebellion broke out, which gave ample scope for the valour of the Rahtores and materials for the bard, who thus circumstantially relates it:

"The troubles in the Dekhan increased. The *Shahzada Jungali*§ rebelled, and forming an army of sixty thousand men, attacked the provincial governors of Malwa, Surat and Ahmedpur, slaying the king's lieutenants, Geerdhur Buhadoor, Ibrahim Kooli, Roostum Alli and the Moghul Shujait.

"Hearing this, the king appointed Sirbullund Khan to quash the rebellion. He marched at the head of fifty thousand men, having a crore of rupees for their subsistence; but his advanced army of ten thousand men being defeated in the first

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* *Jug-Rani* (I write all these phrases exactly as pronounced in the western dialect), 'Queen of the world.' *Silla Mata* is the common name for the goddess who presides over this scourge of infancy.

† 'Of happy fortune.'

‡ *Maharaja-Rajeswar*, the pompous title of the kings of Maroo; 'great Raja, lord of Rajas.'

§ In none of the Mohammedan histories of this period is it mentioned, that there was an imperial prince at the head of the first Mahratta irruption; probably he was a mere tool for the purposes of others.

encounter, he entered into terms with the rebels, and agreed to a partition of the country."

It was at this time the prince of Marwar begged permission to retire to his hereditary dominions. The bard's description of the court, and of the emperor's distress on this occasion, though prolix, deserves insertion:

"The king was seated on his throne, attended by the seventy-two grand Omras of the empire, when tidings reached him of the revolt of Sirbullund. There was the Vizier Kumur-oo-din Khan, Itimad-oo-Doulah, Khandowran, commander-in-chief, (Meer Bukshee), Shumsam-oo-Doulah, the Ameer-ool-Omrah, Munsoor Alli, Roshan-oo-Doulah, Toora Baz Khan, the Lord Marcher (*Seem Ka Bukshee*); Roostum Jung, Afghan Khan, Khwaja Syed-oo-din, commandant of artillery (*Meer Atush*); Saadut Khan,* grand chamberlain (*Daroga Khowas*), Boorhan-ool-Moolk, Abdool Summud Khan, Dellil Khan, Zuffiriah Khan, governor of Lahore, Dulail Khan, Meer Jumla, Khankhanan; Zuffar Jung, Eradut Khan, Moorshid Kooli Khan, Jaffier Khan, Aliverdi Khan,† Mozuffer Khan, governor of Ajmeer. Such and many more were assembled in the Presence.

"It was read aloud that Sirbullund had reduced Guzerat, and proclaimed his own '*an*,' that he had ground the Kolis to dust; that he had vanquished the Mandillas, the Jhalas, the Chaurasimas, the Bhagails and the Gohils, and had nearly exterminated the Balas; that Hallar had agreed to pay tribute, and that such was the fire of this Yavan, that the Bhomias of themselves abandoned their strongholds to seek sanctuary with him whom the 'seventeen thousand'‡ now called sovereign; that he had set himself up a king in Ahmedabad, and made a league with the 'Southron.'

"The emperor saw, that if this defection was not quelled, all the viceroys would declare themselves independent. Already had Jugureah Khan in the north, Saadut Khan in the east, and the *Mleteh* Nizam-ool-Moolk in the south, shewn the blackness of their designs. The *tup'h* (verve) of the empire had fled.

"The *beera* was placed on a golden salver, which the Meer Tajuk bore in his extended arms, slowly passing in front of the nobles ranged on either side of the throne, mighty men, at the sight of whose faces the rustic would tremble: but in vain he

* Afterwards Vizier of Oude, a state founded and maintained by consummate treason.

† Nawab of Bengal, another traitor.

‡ This number of cities, towns, and villages constituted the kingdom of Guzerat under its ancient sovereigns.

passed both lines; no hand was stretched forth; some looked away; some trembled; but none cast an eye upon the *beera*.

"The 'almighty monarch' (*Purmesur Padshah*), who could make the beggar an Omra of twelve thousand, and the noble of twelve thousand a beggar, was without resource. 'Who,' said one, 'would grasp the forked lightning, let him engage Sirbullund!' Another exclaimed, 'who would seize the vessel, and plunge with her in the whirlpool, he may contend with Sirbullund.' And a third, 'whoever dare seize the forked tongue of the serpent, let him engage Sirbullund.' The was troubled; he gave a sign to the Meer Tojuk to return the *beera* to him.

"The Rahtore prince saw the monarch's distress, and as he was about to leave the Aum-khas, he stretched forth his hand and placed the *beera* in his turban, as he s not cast down, Oh! king of the world; I will pluck down this Sirbullund:* leafless shall be the boughs of his ambition, and his head (*sir*) the forfeit of his arrogant exaltation (*boolund*).'

"When Abhye Sing grasped the *beera*, the breast of the mighty were ready to burst with the fulness of envy; even like the ripe pomegranate, as the king placed the grant of Guzerat into the hands of the Rahtore. The heart was rejoiced, as he said, 'thus acted your ancestors in support of the throne; thus was quelled the revolt of Khoorm and Bheem in the time of Jehangir; that of the Dekhan settled; and in like manner do I trust that, by you the honour and the throne of Mahomed Shah will be upheld.'

Rich gifts, including seven gems of great price, were bestowed upon the Rahtore; the treasury was unlocked and thirty-one lacks of coin were assigned for the troops. The guns were taken from the arsenals, and with the patent of the vice-royalties of Ahmedabad and Ajmeer, in the month of Asar (1786), Abhye took leave of the king.†

The political arrondissement of Marwar dates from this period; for the rebellion of Sirbullund was the forerunner of egration of the empire. It was in June A. D. 1730, prince of Marwar left the court of Delhi. He had a double motive in proceeding direct to A of which province he was viceroy; first, to take of his stronghold (the key not only of Marwar but of every state in Rajpootana); and second, to consult with the rince of Amber on the affairs of that critical conjuncture. Wha was the cause of

* *Sir*, 'the head' *boolund*, 'exalted, ' I write the name *Sirbullund*, being the orthography long

† In the original, the emperor is called the , 'lord of swords,' or perhaps *Aswapati*, 'lord of steeds.'

Jey Sing's presence at Ajmeer the chronicle says not; but from circumstances elsewhere related, it may be conjectured that it was for the purpose of celebrating the rites of the *Pitris-wara* (names of his ancestors) at Pooskur. The bard gives a most prolix account of the meeting, even to the *pugtur*, or foot-clothes spread for "the kings of the Hindoos" to walk on, "who feasted together, and together plotted the destruction of the empire:" from which we perceive that, Kurna, the bard, had a peep behind the curtain.

[illegible] installed his officers in Ajmeer, Abhye Sing proceeded to Mairta, when he was met by his brother, Bukht Sing, on which occasion the grant of Nagore was bestowed upon the latter. The brothers continued their route to the capital, when all the chiefs were dismissed to their homes with injunctions to assemble their vassals for the ensuing campaign against Sirbullund. At the appointed time, the *kher* (feudal array) of Marwar assembled under the walls of Jodhpur. The occasion is a delightful one to the bard, who revels in all 'the pomp and circumstance of war:' from the initiatory ceremony, the moving out the tents, to the consecration of the 'mighty tubes' (*bal-wa-nal,*) the 'volcanos of the field,' or, as he terms them, the 'crocodile-mouths' (*mugurmookhan,*) 'emblems of Yama,' which were sprinkled abundantly with the blood of goats slain under their muzzles. He describes each clan as it arrives, their steeds and caparisons.

Instead, however, of proceeding direct to the main object of the war, Abhye Sing took advantage of the immense army thus placed under his command, as viceroy of Guzerat, to wreak his own vengeance upon his neighbour, the gallant prince of Sirohi, who, trusting to his native strength, had spurned every compromise which involved his independence. This resolution he maintained by his natural position, strengthened by alliances with the aboriginal races who hemmed his little state on all sides, excepting that towards Marwar.

These *Meenas*, the mountaineers of the Aravulli, had given [illegible] to Abhye Sing; for while the prince, between his arri[illegible] at [illegible] assemblage of the *kher*, gave himself up to [illegible], they carried off the whole cattle of [illegible] the mountains. When this was reported to Abhye S[illegible] coolly said, "Let them go, they knew we were short of [illegible] and [illegible] only taken them to their own pastures in the [illegible]." Strange to say, they did return them and in [illegible]ion, as soon as he prepared to march. When he heard of this, [illegible] "Did I not tell you these Meenas were faithful subjects?"

The order to march was now given, when the bard enu-

merates the names and strength of the different Rajpoot princes, whose contingents formed this array, in which there were only two Mahommedan leaders of distinction.—"The Haras of Kotah and Boondi; the Keechies of Gagrown; the [illegible] of Seopur; [illegible] Cuchwahas of Amber, and [even] the [illegible] of the dese[illegible] under their respective princes or chiefs, were under the command of the Marwar prince. His native retainers, the united clans of Marwar, formed the right wing of the whole army, headed by his brother, Bukhta.

"On the 10th Cheit (Sood) S. 1786, Abhye marched from Jodhpur, by Bhadrajoon and Malgurgh, Sewanoh and Jhalore. Rewarro was assaulted: the swords of the enemy showered, and the Champawut fell amidst heaps of slain. The Deoras abandoned the hill and fled. The trees were levelled to the summit; garrison was posted, and the array moved on to Possalio. Then, Aboo shook with affright. Affliction seized Sirohi; its prince was in despair when he heard* Rewarro and Possalio were destroyed. The Chohan preferred decking his daughter in the bridal vestments, to arraying his army to oppose Abhemal."

Rao Narrain Das, through the intervention of a Rajpoot chieftain, named Myaram, of the Chaora tribe, made overtures to the Rahtore, proposing his niece (daughter of Maun Sing, his predecessor) in marriage. "In the midst of strife 'the coco-nut,' with eight choice steeds and *the price* of four elephants, were sent and accepted. The drum of battle ceased; the nuptials were solemnized, and in the tenth month Ram Sing was born at Jodhpur." The bard, however, lets us into the secret, and shews that the Rajpoots had 'secret articles,' as well as the more polished diplomacy of Europe; for besides the fair Chohani, the Rao consented to pay *Pesh-ach'hani*, a 'concealed tribute.'

* Both these places are famous in the Mewasso, or fastnesses of Sirohi, and gave the Author, who was intrusted with its political affairs, much trouble. Fortunately for the Deora prince, descendant of Rao Narrain Das, the author knew their history, and was enabled to discriminate the claims which Jodhpur asserted over her in virtue of such attacks as this; in short, between the claims of 'the princes of Marwar,' and the king's lieutenants of Guzerat. In these negotiations wherein Jodhpur advanced its pretensions to *suzeraineté* over Sirohi, which as stoutly denied the right, he clearly distinguished the claims of the princes of Jodhpur, in their capacities of viceroys of the empire, and argued that claims conceded by Sirohi in that character guaranteed none to them, in their individual capacity, as chiefs of Marwar a distinction which they affected not to comprehend, but which was at length fully recognized and acted on by the paramount power. Sirohi is maintained in its ancient independence which but for this previous knowledge must have been inevitably lost.

The Deora chiefs united their contingents to the royal army for the subjugation of Sirbullund, and the march recommenced by Palhanpur and Sidpur, on the Saraswati. Here they halted, and an envoy was despatched to Sirbullund, summoning him to surrender the imperial equipments, cannons and stores; to account for the revenues, and to withdraw his garrisons from Ahmedabad and all the strongholds of the province.* The reply was laconic and dignified; "that he himself was king, and his head ... with Ahmedabad."

A grand council of war was convened in the Rajpoot camp, which is ... amore by the bard. The overture and its reception were communicated, and the debates and speeches which ensued thereon, as to the future course of proceeding, are detailed. The bard is, however, satisfied with recording the speeches of 'the chiefs of eight grades of Maroo.'

"First spoke the chief of the children of Champa, Koosul, son of Hurnat of Ahwa, whose seat is on the right of the throne. Then Kunneram of Asope, leader of the Koompawuts, whose place is on the left: 'let us, like the Kilkila,* dive into the waters of battle.' He was followed by Kesuri, the Mairtea Sirmor;—then by the veteran who led the Oodawuts: old and brave, many a battle had he seen. Then the chief of Khanwa, who led the clan of Joda, protested he would be the first to claim the immortal garland from the hand of the Apsaras;† 'let us stain our garments with saffron, and our lances with crimson, and play at ball with this Sirbullund.'‡ Futteh the Jaitawut, and Kurnavat Abhi-mal, re-echoed his words. All shouted 'battle!' 'battle!' while some put on the coloured garments, determined to conquer *Bhanloca*. Kurna, the Champawut, said aloud, 'with sparkling cup the Apsaras will serve us in the mansion of the sun.'§ Every clan, every chief, and every bard, re-echoed 'battle!'

* The *kilkila* is the bird we call the kingfisher.

† The maids of war, the *Valkyris* of Rajpoot mythology.

‡ Another *jeu-de-mots* on the name Sirbullund, with whose head (*sir*) the Joda chief proposes to play at ball.

§ The young chieftain of Saloombra, the first of the nobles of Mewar, ... ntively listening as I was translating the war ... my old tutor. His family possess an hereditary ... ie cup," ... h is under solemn prohibition from some cause which I forget, and so fa[r] ... his grandfather carry his antipathy, that a ...) falling upon him at ... tainment, he cut out the contaminated part ... er. Aware ... turned round to the young chief and said; 'Well, I...t-ji, would y[ou accept the cup] from the hand of the Apsara, or would you refuse the *munwar* (pledge)?" "Certainly I would take it; these are very different cups from ours," was his reply. "Then you believe that the heavenly fair carry the souls of those who fall in battle to the *Mandal of Surya*?" "Who dare doubt it? When my time comes, I will

"Then Bukhta stood up to claim the onset; to lead the van in battle against [illegible] while his brother and prince should await the result in his t[illegible] A jar of saffron-water was placed before the prince, with [illegible] he sprinkled each chief; who shouted, 'they would [illegible] Umrapur.'"*

The bard then [illegible] the steeds of the Rajpoot chivalry, in which the Beemr[illegible] of the Dekhan takes precedence; he is followed by the horses of Dhat and Rarduro in Marwar, and the Kattiawar of Saurashtra.

Sirbullund's plans of defence are minutely detailed. At each gate he posted two thousand men and five guns, "manned by Europeans," of whom he had a body of musketeers round his person. "The cannonade had been kept up three days on both sides, in which the son of Sirbullund was killed. At length, Bukhta led the storm, when all the *otes* and *awuts* performed prodigies of valour. The Champawut Koosul was the first to be carried to the "immortal abode;" but though "the sun stood still to see the deeds of the son of Hurnat," we cannot particularize the bard's catalogue of heroes transferred to Suraloca† on this day, when the best blood of Rajpootana was shed on the walls of Ahmedabad. Both the princely brothers had their share in "the play of swords," and each slew more than one leader of note. Umra, who had so often defended Ajmeer, slew five chiefs of the grades of two and three thousand horse.

"Eight Ghurries of the day remained, when Sirbullund fled; but Ulyar, the leader of his vanguard, made a desperate resistance, until he fell by the hand of Bukht Sing. The drum of victory sounded. The Nawab left his *pani* in the *Rincoond*‡. The 'would-be-king' was wounded; his elephant shewed the speed of the deer. Four thousand four hundred and ninety-three were slain, of whom one hundred were *Palki Nusheens*, eight *Hati Nusheens*,§ and three hundred entitled to the *Tazeem* on entering the Diwan Aum.||

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take *that* cup!" a glorious creed for a soldier! He sat for hours listening to my old tutor and friend; for none of their bards expounded like him the *bhojunga* (serpentine verse) of the poet. I have rated the Rawut for being unable to repeat the genealogy of his house from Chonda to himself; but the family bard was dead and left no progeny to inherit his mantle. This young chief is yet (A. D. 1820) but twenty-two, and promises to be better prepared.

* 'The city of immortality.'

† The abode of heroes, Valhalla of the Rajpoot mythology.

‡ *Rincoond* is the 'fountain of battle,' and *pani* is applied, as we use the word water, to the temper or spirit of a sword: a play on words.

§ Chiefs entitled to ride in palkis and on elephants.

|| A long list of names is given, which would only fatigue the reader;

"One hundred and twenty chieftains of note, with five hundred horse, were slain with Abhye Sing, and seven hundred wounded.

"The next morning, Sirbullund surrendered with all his effects. He was escorted towards Agra, his wounded Moghuls dying at every stage; but the soul of the 'Fearless' was sad at the loss of his kin.* Abhi-Mal ruled over the seventeen thousand towns of Guzerat, and the nine thousand of Marwar, besides one thousand elsewhere. The princes of Edur, of Bhooj, of Parkur, of Sinde, and of Sirohi, the Chalook Ran of Futtehpur, Jhoojoonoo, Jessulmeer, Nagore, Dongerpur, Bhanswarra, Lunawarra, Hulwad, every morning bowed the head to Abhi-Mal.

"Thus in the enlightened half of the moon, on the victorious tenth† (S. 1787, A. D. 1731), the day on which Ramachundra captured Lanka, the war against Sirbullund, an *Omra* (lord) of twelve thousand, was concluded."‡

Having left a garrison of seventeen thousand men for the duties of the capital and province, Abhye Sing returned to Jodhpur with the spoils of Guzerat, and there he deposited four crores of rupees, and one thousand four hundred guns of all calibres, besides military stores of every description. With these, in the declining state of the empire, the desert king strengthened his forts and garrisons, and, determined, in the general scramble for dominion, not to neglect his own interests.

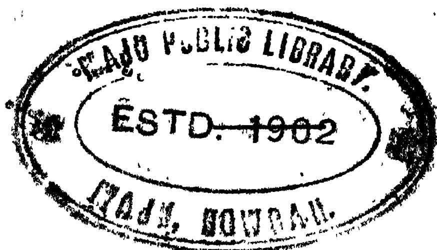
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but amongst them we select a singular one, *Nolakh Khan Anglez*, 'Nolakh the Englishman.

* The bard enumerates with the meed of praise each vassal who fell whether Rahtore or of the contingents of the other principalities serving under the prince of Marwar. The Champawuts bore the brunt, and lost Kurrun of Pally, Kishen Sing of Sindri, Gordhan of Jalore, and Kulian. The Koompawuts lost also several leaders of clans, as Nursing, Soortan Sing, Pudma, son of Doorjun. The Joda tribe lost three leaders, *viz.*, Heatmul, Goman, and Jogidas. The brave Mairteas also lost three; Bhom Sing, Koosul Sing, and Golab, son of Hatti. The allodial chieftains, the Jadoons, Sonigurras, the Dhonduls, and Kheechies, had many brave men "carried to Bhanaloca," and even bards and Purohits were amongst the slain.

† *Vijya daswa.*

‡ With this battle the *Raj Roopaca* and *Surya Prakas* terminate.



CHAPTER XI.

Mutual jealousies of the brothers.—Abhye Sing dreads the military fame of Bukhta.—His policy.—Prompted by the bard Kurna, who deserts Jodhpur for Nagore.—Scheme laid by Bukhta to thwart his brother.—Attack of Bikaneer by Abhye Sing.—Singular conduct of his chiefs, who afford supplies to be besieged.—Bukhta's scheme to embroil the Amber Prince with his brother.—His overture and advice to attack Jodhpoor in the absence of his brother.—Jey Sing of Amber.—His reception of his advice, which is discussed and rejected in a full council of the nobles of Amber.—The envoy of Bukhta obtains an audience of the Prince of Amber.—Attains his object.—His insulting letter to Raja Abhye Sing.—The latter's laconic reply.—Jey Sing calls out the Kher, *or feudal army of Amber.—Obtains foreign allies.—One hundred thousand men muster under the walls of his capital.—March to the Marwar frontier.—Abhye Sing raises the siege of Bikaneer.—Bukhta's strange conduct.—Swears his Vassals.—Marches with his personal retainers only to combat the host of Amber.—Battle of Gangaria.—Desperate onset of Bukhta Sing.—Destruction of his band.—With sixty men charges the Amber Prince, who avoids him.—Eulogy of Bukhta by the Amber bards.—Kurna the bard prevents a third charge. Bukhta's distress at the loss of his men.—The Rana mediates a peace.—Bukhta loses his tutelary divinity. Restored by the Amber Prince.—Death of Abhye Sing.—Anecdotes illustrating his character.*

THE tranquillity which for a while followed the Campaign in Guzerat was of no long duration. The love of ease and opium, which increased with the years of Abhye Sing, was disturbed by a perpetual apprehension of the active courage and military genius of his brother, whose appanage of Nagore was too restricted a field for his talents and ambition. Bukhta was also aware that his daring nature, which obtained him the suffrages, as it would the swords, of his turbulent and easily excited countrymen, rendered him an object of distrust, and that without great circumspection, he would be unable to maintain himself in his *imperium in imperio*, the castle and three hundred and sixty townships of Nagore. He was too discreet

to support himself by foreign aid, or by fomenting domestic strife; but with the aid of the bard, he adopted a line of policy, the relation of which will develope new traits in the Rajpoot character, and exemplify its peculiarities. Kurna, after finishing his historical chronicle, concluding with the war against Sirbullund, abandoned "the gate of Jodhpur, for that of Nagore." Like all his tribe, the bard was an adept in intrigue, and his sacred character forwarded the secret means of executing it. His advice was to embroil their common sovereign with the prince of Amber, and an opportunity was not long wanting.

The prince of Bikaneer, a junior but independent branch of Marwar, had offended his yet nominal suzerain Abhye Sing, who, taking advantage of the weakness of their common liege lord the emperor, determined to resent the affront, and accordingly invested Bikaneer, which had sustained a siege of some weeks, when Bukhta determined to make its release subserve his designs; nor could he have chosen a better expedient. Although the prince of Marwar had led his united vassalage against Bikaneer, they were not only lukewarm as to the success of their own arms, but, anomalous as it must appear in the annals even of feudal warfare, they furnished the besieged with the means of defence, who, but for the supplies of opium, salt, and ammunition, would soon have been compelled to surrender. We can account for this: Bikaneer was of their own kin, a branch of the great tree of which Seoji was the root, and to which they could cling in emergency; in short, Bikaneer balanced the power between themselves and their head.

The scheme being approved, its execution and mode of development to Jey Sing were next canvassed. "Touch his pride," said Kurna; "tell him the insult to Amber, which your ancestor invested, has never been balanced, and that he will never find a time like the present to fling a few shot at Jodhpur."

Bukhta addressed a letter to Jey Sing, and at the same time sent instructions to the envoy of Bikaneer at his court how to act.

The prince of Amber, towards the close of his career, became partial to 'the cup'; but, aware of the follies it involved him in, an edict prohibited all official intercourse with him while he was under its influence. The direct overture of Bukhta was canvassed, and all interference between the kindred belligerents was rejected in a full council of the chiefs of Amber. But the envoy had a friend in the famous Vidyadhur,* the chief civil

* Vidyadhur was a Brahmin of Bengal, a scholar and man of science. The plan of the modern city of Amber, named Jeypur, was his: a city as regular as Darmstadt. He was also the joint compiler of the celebrated genealogical tables which appear in the first Volume of this work.

minister of the state, through whose means he obtained permission to make 'a verbal report, standing.' "Bikaneer," he said, "was in peril, and without his aid must fall, and that his master did not consider the sovereign of Marwar, but of Amber, as his suzerain." Vanity and wine did the rest. The prince took up the pen and wrote to Abhye Sing, "That they all formed one great family; to forgive Bikaneer and raise his batteries:" and as he took another cup, and curled his moustache, he gave the letter to be folded. "Maharajah," said the envoy, "put in two more words; 'or, my name is Jey Sing.'" They were added. The overjoyed envoy retired, and in a few minutes the letter was on transit to its destination by the swiftest camel of the desert. Scarcely had the envoy retired, when the chief of Bhansko, the Mentor of Jey Sing, entered. He was told of the letter, which 'would vex his *Sagga*."* The old chief remonstrated; he said, "unless you intend to extinguish the Cuchwahas, recall this letter." Messenger after messenger was sent, but the envoy knew his duty. At the dinner hour, all the chiefs had assembled at the (*Rusora*) banquet-hall, when the spokesman of the vassalage, old Deep Sing, in reply to the communication of his sovereign, told him he had done a cruel and wanton act, and that they must all suffer for his imprudence.

The reply, a laconic defiance, was brought back with like celerity; it was opened and read by Jey Sing to his chiefs: "By what right do you dictate to me, or interfere between me and my servants? If your name is 'the Lion of Victory' (Jey Sing), mine is 'the Lion without Fear' (Abhye Sing)." †

The ancient chief, Deep Sing, said: "I told you how it would be; but there is no retreat, and our business is to collect our friends". The *Khér*, or 'levy *en masse*,' was proclaimed! Every Cuchwaha was commanded to repair to the great standard planted outside the capital. The home-clans came pouring in, and aid was obtained from the Haras of Boondi, the Jadoons of Kerowli, the Seesodias of Shahpoora, the Kheechies, and the Jats, until one hundred thousand men were formed beneath the castle of Amber. This formidable array proceeded, march after march, until they reached Gangwani, a village on the frontier of Marwar. Here they encamped, and, with all due courtesy, awaited the arrival of the 'Fearless Lion.'

They were not long in suspense. Mortally offended at such wanton interference, which compelled him to relinquish his object on the very eve of attainment, Abhye Sing raised

* *Sagga* is a term denoting a connexion by marriage.

† I write the names as pronounced, and as familiar to the readers of Indian history. *Jya*, in Sanskrit, is 'victory,' *Abhya*, 'fearless.'

his batteries from besieging Bikaneer and rapidly advanced to the encounter.

Bukhta now took alarm. He had not calculated the length to which his intrigues would involve his country; he had sought but to embroil the border princes, but had kindled a national warfare. Still his fears were less for the discovery of his plot, than for the honour of Marwar, about to be assailed by such odds. He repaired to his brother and liege lord, and implored him not to raise the siege; declaring that he alone, with the vassals of Nagore, would receive the *Bugtea's** battle, and, by God's blesssing, would give a good account of him. Abhye Sing, not averse to see his brother punished for his conduct, though determined to leave him to the brunt of the battle, rejected with scorn the intriguing proposition.

"The *Nakarra* sounded the assembly for the chivalry of Nagore. Bukhta took post on the balcony over the Delhi gate, with two brazen vessels; in the one was an infusion of opium, in the other saffron-water. To each Rajpoot as he entered he presented opium, and made the impress of his right hand on his heart with the saffron-water, Having in this manner enrolled eight thousand Rajpoots, sworn to die with him, he determined to select the most resolute: and marching to the edge of an extensive field of luxuriant Indian corn (*bajra*), he halted his band, and thus addressed them: "Let none follow me who is not prepared for victory or death: if there be any amongst you who desire to return, let them do so in God's name." As he spoke, he resumed the march through the luxuriant fields, that it might not be seen who retired. More than five thousand remained, and with these he moved on to the combat.

The Amber prince awaited them at Gungwani: soon as the hostile lines approached, Bukhta gave the word, and, in one dense mass, his gallant legion charged with lance and sword the deepened lines of Amber, carrying destruction at every pass. He passed through and through this host; but when he pulled up in the rear, only sixty of his band remained round his person. At this moment, the chief of Gujsingpoora, head of all his vassals, hinted there was a jungle in the rear: "and what is there in front," said the intrepid Rahtore, "that we should not try the road we came?" And as he espied the *panchranga* or five-coloured flag, which denoted the head-quarters of Amber, the word again was given. The cautious Khoombani† advised his prince to avoid the charge: with some difficulty he was made to leave the field, and as a salvo to his

* *Bugtea* is 'a devotee:' the term is here applied reproachfully to Jey Sing, on account of his very religious habits.

† The clan of the Bhansko chief.

honour, by a flank movement towards Kundaila north, that it might not be said he turned his back on his foe. As he retreated, he exclaimed, "[illegible] battles have I witnessed, but till this day never one de[illegible]d." Thus, after a life of success, the wis[illegible] most learned and most powerful prince of Raj[illegible] the disgrace of leaving the field in the face of a hand[illegible] f men, strengthening the adage "that one Rahtore equalled ten [illegible] wahas."

Jey Sing's own bards could not refrain from awarding the meed of valour to their foes, and composed the following stanzas on the occasion: "Is it the battle cry of Cali, or the war-shout of Hanowanta, or the hissing of Shesnag, or the denunciation of Kapiliswar? Is it the incarnation of Nursing, or the darting beam of Surya? Or the death-glance of the Dakini?* Or that from the central orb of Trinetra?† Who could support the flames from this volcano of steel, when Bukhta's sword became the sickle of Time?"

But for Kurna the bard, one of the few remaining about his person, Bukhta would a third time have plunged into the ranks of the foe; nor was it till the host of Amber had left the field, that he was aware of the extent of his loss.‡ Then, strange inconsistency! the man, who but a few minutes before had affronted death in every shape, when he beheld the paucity of survivors, sat down and wept like an infant. Still it was more the weakness of ambition than humanity; for, never imagining that his brother would fail to support him, he thought destruction had overtaken Marwar; nor was it until his brother joined and assured him he had left him all the honour of the day, that he recovered his port. Then "he curled his whiskers, and swore an oath, that he would yet drag the 'Bhuggut' from his castle of Amber."

Jey Sing, though he paid dear for his message, gained his point, the relief of Bikaneer; and the Rana of Oodipur mediated to prevent the quarrel going further, which was the less difficult since both parties had gained their ends, though Jey Sing obtained his, by the loss of a battle.

It is related that the tutelary deity of Bukht Sing fell into the hands of the Amber prince, who carried home the sole trophy he could boast, married the Rahtore deity to a female divinity of Amber, and returned him with his compliments to Bukhta. Such were the courteous usages of Rajpoot chivalry. The triple alliance of the chief Rajpoot princes followed this

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* The witch of India is termed *Dakini.*

† A title of Siva, god of destruction, the 'three-eyed.'

‡ Though the bard does not state, it is to be supposed, that the main body came up and caused this movement.

battle, cemented by the union of the rival houses to daughters of Mewar. There they met, attended by their vassalage, and, in the nuptial festivities and the 'cup,' forgot this bitter strife; while enmity and even national jealousy were banished by general courtesy. Such is the Rajpoot, who can be judged after no known standard: he stands alone in the moral history of man.*

This is the last conspicuous act of Abhye Sing's life on record. He died in S. 1806 (A. D. 1750) at Jodhpur. His courage, which may be termed ferocious, was tempered only by his excessive indolence, regarding which they have preserved many amusing anecdotes; one of these will display the exact character of the man. The chronicle says: "When Ajit went to marry the Chohani, he found two lions in his path—the one asleep, the other awake. The interpretation of the *sooguni* (augur) was, that the Chohani would bear him two sons; that one would be a *sooti khan* (sluggard), the other an active soldier." Could the augur have revealed that they would imbrue their hands in a father's blood, he might have averted the ruin of his country, which dates from this black deed.

The Rahtores profess a great contempt for the Cuchwahas as soldiers; and Abhye Sing's was not lessened for their prince, because he happened to be father-in-law to the prince of Amber, whom he used to mortify, even in the "Presence," with such sarcasm as, "You are called a Cuchwa, or properly *Cuswa* from the *Cusa*; and your sword will cut as deep as one of its blades:" alluding to the grass thus called. Irritated, yet fearing to reply, he formed a plan to humble his arrogance in his only vulnerable point, the depreciation of his personal strength. While it was the boast of Jey Sing to mingle the exact sciences of Europe with the more ancient of India, Abhye's ambition was to be deemed the first swordsman of Rajwarra. The scientific prince of Amber gave his cue to Kriparam, the paymaster-general, a favourite with the king, from his skill at chess, and who had often the honour of playing with him while all the nobles were standing. Kriparam praised the Rahtore prince's dexterity in smiting off a buffalo's head; on which the king called out, "Rajeswar, I have heard much of your skill with the sword."—"Yes, Huzrit, I can use it on an occasion." A huge animal was brought into the area, fed in the luxuriant pastures of Heriana. The court crowded out to see the Rahtore exhibit; but when he beheld the enormous

* This singular piece of Rajpoot history, in the annals of Marwar, is confirmed by every particular in the "one hundred and nine acts" of the Great Jey Sing of Amber. The foe does ample justice to Rahtore valour.

bulk, he turned to the king and begged permission to retire to his post, the imperial guard-room to refresh himself. Taking a double dose of opium, he returned, his eyes glaring with rage at the trick played upon him; and as he approached the buffalo they fell upon Jey Sing, who had procured this monster with a view to foil him. The Amber chief saw that mischief was brewing, and whispered His Majesty not to approach too near his son-in-law. Grasping his sword in both hands, Abhye gave the blow with such force that the buffalo's head "dropped upon his knees," and the Raja was thrown upon his back. All was well, but, as the chronicle says, "the king never asked the Raja to decollate another buffalo."

It was during the reign of Abhye Sing, that Nadir Shah invaded India; but the summons to the Rajpoot princes, to put forth their strength in support of the tottering throne of Timoor, was received with indifference. Not a chief of note led his myrmidons to the plains of Kurnal; and Delhi was invested, plundered, and its monarch dethroned, without exciting a sigh. Such was their apathy in the cause, when the imbecility of Mahommed Shah succeeded to the inheritance of Arungzeb, that with their own hands these puppets of despotism sapped the foundations of the empire.

Unfortunately for Rajpootana, the demoralization of her princes prevented their turning to advantage this depression of the empire, in which follies and crimes they participated.

With the foul and monstrous murder of the Raja Ajit (A. D. 1750) commenced those bloody scenes which disgrace the annals of Marwar; yet even in the history of her crimes there are acts of redeeming virtue, which raise a sentiment of regret that the lustre of the one should be tarnished by the presence of the other. They serve, however, to illustrate that great moral truth, that in every stage of civilization, crime will work out its own punishment; and grievously has the parricidal murder of Ajit been visited on his race and country. We shall see it acting as a blight on that magnificent tree, which, transplanted from the native soil of the Ganges, took root and flourished amidst the arid sands of the desert, affording a goodly shade for a daring race, who acquired fresh victories with poverty—we shall see its luxuriance checked, and its numerous and widely-spread branches, as if scorched by the lightnings of heaven, wither and decay; and they must utterly perish, unless a scion, from the uncontaminated stem of Edur,* be grafted upon it: then it may revive, and be yet made to yield more vigorous fruit.

* The Heir of Edur is heir presumptive to the *godi* of Marwar.

CHAPTER XII.

Ram Sing succeeds.—His in[illegible]—His uncle Bukhta Sing, absents himself from the rite.—Sends his nurse as proxy.—Construed by Ram Sing as an insult.—He resents it, and resumes the fief of Jhalore.—Confidant of Ram Sing.—The latter insults the chief of the Champawuts, who withdraws from the court.—His interview with the chief bard.—Joins Bukhta Sing.—The chief bard gives his suffrage to Bukhta.—Civil war.—Battle of Mairta.—Ram Sing defeated.—Bukht Sing assumes the sovereignty.—The Bagri chieftain girds him with the sword.—Fidelity of the Purohit to the ex-prince, Ram Sing.—He proceeds to the Dekhan to obtain aid of the Mahrattas.—Poetical correspondence between Raja Bukhta and the Purohit.—Qualities mental and pesonal of Bukhta.—The Mahrattas threaten Marwar.—All the clans unite round Bukhta.—He advances to give battle.—Refused by the Mahrattas.—He takes post at the pass of Ajmeer.—Poisoned by the queen of Amber.—Bukhta's character.—Reflection on the Rajpoot character.—Contrasted with that of the European nobles in the dark ages.—Judgment of the bards on crimes.—Improvised stanza on the princes of Jodhpur and Amber.—Anathema of the Sati, *wife of Ajit,—Its fulfilment.—Opinions of the Rajpoot of such inspiartions.*

RAM SING succeeded at that dangerous age, when parental control is most required to restrain the turbulence of passion. Exactly twenty years had elapsed since the nuptials at Sirohi, when Hymen extinguished the torch of discord, and his mother was the bearer of the olive branch to Abhye Sing, to save her house from destruction. The Rajpoot, who attaches everything to pedigree, has a right to lay an interdict on the union of the race of *Agni*,* with the already too fiery blood of the Rahtore. Ram Sing inherited the arrogance of his father, with all the impetuosity of the Chohans; and the exhibition of these qualities was simultaneous with his coronation. We are not told why his uncle, Bukht Sing, absented himself from the ceremony of his prince's and nephew's installation, when the

* The Deora of Sirohi is a branch of the Chohans, one of the four *Agniculas*, a race sprung from *fire*. See Vol. I.

whole kin and clans of Maroo assembled to ratify their allegiance by their presence. As the first in blood and rank, it was his duty to make the first mark of inauguration
of his prince. The proxy he chose on the occasion was his *dhae*, or 'nurse,' a personage of no small importa
countries. Whether by such a representative the haughty warrior meant to insinuate that his nephew should yet be in leading strings, the chronicle affords us no hint; but it reprehends Rum Sing's conduct to this venerable personage, whom, instead of treating, according to usage, with the same respect as his mother, he asked, "if his uncle took him for an that he sent an old hag to present, him with the *teeka*?" a instantly despatched an express desiring the surrender of Jhalore. Ere his passion had time to cool, he commanded his tents to be moved out, that he might chastise the insult to his dignity. Despising the sober wisdom of the counsellors of the state, he had given his confidence to one of the lowest grade of these hereditary officers, by name Umiah, the *nakarchi*,* a man headstrong like himself. The old chief of the Champawuts, on hearing of this act of madness, repaired to the castle to remonstrate; but scarcely had he taken his seat before the prince assailed him with ridicule, desiring "to see his frightful face as seldom as possible." "Young man," exclaimed the indignant chief, as with violence he dashed his shield reversed upon the carpet, "you have given mortal offence to a Rahtore, who can turn Marwar upside down as easily as that shield." With eyes darting defiance, he arose and left the Presence, and collecting his retainers, marched to *Moondhiavar*. This was the residence of the *Pat-Bardai*, or 'chief bard,' the lineal descendant of the *Barud* Roera, who left Canouj with Seoji. The esteem in which his sacred office was held may be appreciated by his estate, which equalled that of the first noble, being one lack of rupees, (£10,000) of revenue.

The politic Bukhta, hearing of the advance of the chief noble of Maroo on the border of his territory, left Nagore, and though it was midnight, advanced to welcome him. The old chief was asleep; Bukhta forbade his being disturbed, and placed himself quietly beside his pallet. As he opened his eyes, he called as usual for his pipe (*hooka*), when the attendant pointing to the prince, the old chief scrambled up. Sleep had cooled his rage, and the full force of his position rushed upon him; but seeing there was now no retreat, that the Rubicon was crossed. "Well, there is my head," said he;

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* The person who summons the nobles by beat of the state *nakarra*, or 'great kettle-drum.'

"now it is yours." The bard, who was present at the interview, was sounded by being requested to bring the chief's wife and family from Ahwa to Nagore; and he gave his assent in a manner characteristic of his profession; "farewell to the gate of Jodhpur," alluding to the station of the bard. The prince immediately replied, "there was no difference between the gate of Jodhpur and Nagore; and that while he had a cake of *bajra* he would divide it with the bard."

Ram Sing did not allow his uncle much time to collect a force; and the first encounter was at Kheyrlie. Six actions rapidly followed; the last was at Loonawas, on the plains of Mairta, with immense loss of life on both sides. This sanguinary battle has been already related,* in which Ram Sing was defeated, and forced to seek safety in flight; when Jodhpur was surrendered, and Bukhta invested with the *Rajtilac* and sword by the hands of the Jaitawut chief of Bagri, whose descendants continue to enjoy this distinction, with the title of *Marwar ca bar Kewar*, 'the bar to the portal of Marwar.'

With the possession of the seat of government, and the support of a great majority of the clans, Bukht Sing felt secure against all attempts of his nephew to regain his lost power. But although his popularity with his warlike kindred secured their suffrages for his maintenance of the throne which the sword had gained him, there were other opinions which Bukht Sing was too politic to overlook. The adhesion of the hereditary officers of the state, especially those personal to the sovereign, is requisite to cloak the crime of usurpation, in which light only, whatever the extent of provocation, Bukhta's conduct could be regarded. The military premier, as well as the higher civil authorities, were won to his cause, and of those whose sacred office might seem to sanctify the crime, the chief bard had already changed his post "for the gate of Nagore." But there was one faithful servant, who, in the general defection, overlooked the follies of his prince, in his adherence to the abstract rules of fidelity; and who, while his master found refuge at Jeypur, repaired to the Dekhan to obtain the aid of the Mahrattas, the mercenaries of Rajpootana. Jaggo was the name of this person; his office, that of *Purohit*, the ghostly adviser of his prince and tutor to his children. Bukhta, at once desirous to obtain his suffrage, and to arrest the calamity of foreign invasion, sent a couplet in his own hand to the Purohit:

"The flower, Oh bee, whose aroma regaled you, has been

* See Vol. I.

assailed by the blast; not a leaf of the rose-tree is left; why longer cling to the thorns?"

The reply was in character: "In this hope does the bee cling to the denuded rose-tree that, [illegible] ring may return, and fresh flowers bud forth."*

Bukhta, to his honour, app[illegible] y which his overtures.

There was a joyousness of soul about Bukhta which, united to an intrepidity and a liberality alike unbounded, made him the very model of a Rajpoot. To these qualifications were superadded a majestic mien and Herculean frame, with a mind versed in all the literature of his country, besides poetic talent of no mean order; and but for that one damning crime, he would have been handed down to posterity as one of the noblest princes Rajwarra ever knew. These qualities not only rivetted the attachment of the household clans, but secured the respect of all his exterior relations, so that when the envoy of the expatriated prince obtained Sindia's aid for the restoration of Ram Sing, the popularity of Bukhta formed an army which appalled the "Southron," who found arrayed against him all the choice swords of Rajwarra. The whole allodial power of the desert, "the sons of Seoji" of every rank, rose to oppose this first attempt of the Mahrattas to interfere in their national quarrels, and led by Bukhta in person, advanced to meet Madaji, the *Patél*. But the Mahratta, whose object was plunder rather than glory, satisfied that he had little chance of either, refused to measure his lance (*birchi*) with the *sang* and *sirohi* † of the Rajpoot.

Poison effected what the sword could not accomplish. Bukhta determined to remain encamped in that vulnerable point of access to his dominions, the passes near Ajmere. Hither, the Rahtore queen of Madhu Sing, prince of Amber, repaired to compliment her relative, and to her was entrusted the task of removing the enemy of her nephew, Ram Sing. The mode in which the deed was effected, as well as the last moments of the heroic but criminal Bukhta, have been already related.‡ He died in S. 1809 (A. D. 1753), leaving a disputed

* The beautiful simile of Ossian, or of Macpherson, borrowed from the canticles of the Royal Bard of Jerusalem, will be brought to mind in the reply of the Purohit—'I was a lovely tree in thy presence, Oscar, with all my branches around me;' &c.

† *Sang* is a lance about ten feet long, covered with plates of iron about four feet above the spike. The *sirohi* is the sword made at the city, whence its name, and famous for its temper

‡ See Vol. I.

succession, and all the horrors of impending civil strife, to his son, Beejy Sing.

During his three years of sovereignty, Bukhta had found both time and resources to strengthen and embellish the strongholds of Marwar. He completed the fortifications of the capital, and greatly added to the palace of Joda, from the spoils of Ahmedabad. He retaliated the injuries on the intolerant Islamite, and threw down his shrines and his mosques in his own fief of Nagore, and with the wrecks restored the edifices of ancient days. It was B [illegible] who [illegible] under pain of death, the Islamite's call to prayer throughout his dominions, and the order remains to this day unrevoked in Marwar. Had he been spared a few years to direct the storm then accumulating, which transferred power from the haughty Tatar of Delhi to the peasant soldier of the Kistna, the probability was eminently in favour of the Rajpoots resuming their ancient rights throughout India. Every principality had the same motive for union in one common cause, the destruction of a power inimical to their welfare: but crimes, moral and political, rendered an opportunity, such as never occurred in their history, unavailing for their emancipation from temporal and spiritual oppression.

We will here pause, and anticipating the just horror of the reader at finding crime follow crime—one murder punished by another—prevent his consigning all the Rajpoot dynasties to infamy, because such foul stains appear in one part of their annals. Let him cast his eyes over the page of western history; and commencing with the period of Seoji's emigration in the eleventh century, when the curtain of darkness was withdrawn from Europe, as it was simultaneously closing upon the Rajpoot, contrast their respective moral characteristics. The Rajpoot chieftain was imbued with all the kindred virtues of the western cavalier, and far his superior in mental attainments. There is no period on record when these Hindu princes could not have signed their names to a charter; many of them could have drawn it up, and even invested it, if required, in a poetic garb; and although this consideration perhaps enhances, rather than palliates crime, what are the instances in these states, we may ask, compared to the wholesale atrocities of the 'Middle Ages' of Europe?

The reader would also be wrong if he leaped to the conclusion, that the bardic chronicler passed no judgment on the princely criminal. His "empoisoned stanzas" (*viswa sloca*), transmitted to posterity by the mouth of the peasant and the prince, attest the reverse. One couplet has been recorded, stigmatizing Bukhta for the murder of his father; there is

another of the chief bard, *improvised*, while his prince Abhye Sing, and Jey Sing of Amber were passing the period devoted to religious rites at the sacred lake of Pooshkur. The ceremonies never stood in the way of festivity; and one evening, while these princes and their vassals were in the height of merriment, the bard was desired to contribute to it by some extemporaneous effusion. He rose, and vociferated in the ears of the horror-struck assembly the following quatrain:

"*Jodhpur, aur Ambér.*
"*Doono thâp oot'hân*

"*Kamd'huj mârâ bâp.*"

"[The princes of] Jodhpur and Amber can dethrone the enthroned. But the Koorma* slew his son; the Kamd'huj † murdered his father."

The words of the poetic seer sank into the minds of his hearers, and passed from mouth to mouth. They were probably the severest vengeance either prince experienced in this world, and will continue to circulate down to the latest posterity. It was the effusion of the same undaunted Kurna, who led the charge with his prince against the troops of Amber.

We have also the anathema of the prophetic *Sati*, wife of Ajit, who, as she mounted the pyre with her murdered lord, pronounced that terrific sentence to the ears of the patriotic Rajpoot: "May the bones of the murderer be consumed out of Maroo!"‡ In the value they attach to the fulfilment of the prophecy, we have a commentary on the supernatural power attached to these self-devoted victims. The record of the last moments of Bukhta, in the dialogue with his doctor, § is a scene of the highest dramatic and moral interest; and, if further comment were required, demonstrates the operations of the hell within, as well as the abhorrence the Rajpoot entertains for such crimes.*

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* *Koorma* or *Cuchwa* (the tribe of the princes of Amber), slew his son, Seo Sing.

† *Kamd'huj*, it must be remembered, is a titular appellation of the Rahtore kings, which they brought from Canouj.

‡ See Vol. I.

§ See Vol. I.

CHAPTER XIII.

Accession of Beejy Sing [illegible] *the* [illegible] *y with the Mahrattas and the Cuchwanas.—* [illegible] *the Confederates.—Beejy Sing assembles the Clans on the plains of Mairta.—Summoned to surrender the* gadi.*—His reply.—Battle.—Beejy Sing defeated.—Destruction of the Rahtore Cuirassiers.—Ruse de querre.—Beejy Sing left alone.—His flight.—Eulogies of the Bard.—Fortresses surrender to Ram Sing.—Assassination of the Mahratta commander.—Compensation for the murder.—Ajmeer surrendered.—Tribute or* Chouth *established.—Mahrattas abandon the cause of Ram Sing.—Couplet commemorative of this event.—Cenotaph to Jey Appa.—Ram Sing dies.—His character.—Anarchy reigns in Marwar.—The Rahtore oligarchy.—Laws of adoption in the case of Pokurn fief.—Insolence of its Chief to his Prince, who entertains mercenaries.—The innovation accelerates the decay of feudal principles.—The Raja plans the diminution of the Aristocracy.—The Nobles confederate.—Gordhan Kheechie.—His advice to the Prince.—Humiliating treaty between the Raja and his vassals.—Mercenaries disbanded.—Death of the Prince's* guru *or priest.—His prophetic words.—*Kerea-karma *or funeral rites, made expedient to entrap the chiefs, who are condemned to death.—Intrepid conduct of Devi Sing of Pokurn.—His last words.—Reflections on their defective system of government.—Sacrifice of the law of primogeniture.—Its consequence.—Subhul Sing arms to avenge his father's death.—Is slain.—Power of the nobles checked.—They are led against the robbers of the desert.—Amerkote seized from Sinde.—Godwar taken from Mewar.—Marwar and Jeypoor unite against the Mahrattas, who are defeated at Tonga.—De Boigne's first appearance.—Ajmeer recovered by the Rahtores.—Battles of Patun and Mairta.—Ajmeer surrenders.—Suicide of the governor.—Beejy Sing's concubine adopts Maun Sing.—Her insolence alienates the Nobles, who plan the deposal of the Raja.—Murder of the concubine.—Beejy Sing dies.*

BEEJY SING, then in his twentieth year, succeeded his father, Bukhta. His accession was acknowledged not only by the Emperor, but by all the princes around him, and he was inaugurated at the frontier town of Marote, when proceeding

to Mairta, where he passed the period of *matum* or mourning. Hither the in[illegible] of his family, of Bikaneer, Kishengurh, and [illegible] simultaneously with their condolence [illegible] Thence he advanced to the capital, [illegible]tes on death and accession with gifts and [illegible]ed all expectations.

The [illegible] of his uncle afforded the ex-prince, Ram Sing, the chance [illegible] redeeming his birthright; and in conjunction with the [illegible] of Amber, he concluded a treaty* with the Mahrattas, the stipulations of which were sworn to by their leaders. The 'Southrons' advanced by Kotah and Jeypur, where Ram Sing, with his personal adherents, and a strong auxiliary band of Amber, united their forces, and they proceeded to the object in view, the dethronement of Beejy Sing.

Beejy Sing was prepared for the storm, and led his native chivalry to the plains of Mairta, where, animated with one impulse, a determination to repel foreign interference, they awaited the Mahrattas, to decide the rival claims to the throne of the desert. The bard delights to enumerate the clans who mustered all their strength, and make particular allusion to the allodial *Pattawuts*, who were foremost on this occasion. From Pooshkur where the combined army halted, a summons was sent to Beejy Sing "to surrender the *gadi* of Maroo." It was read in full convention and answered with shouts of "Battle! Battle!" "Who is this Happa,† thus to scare us, when, were the firmament to fall, our heads would be pillars of support to preserve you?" Such is the hyperbole of the Rajpoot when excited, nor does his action fall far short of it. The numerical odds were immense against the Rahtores; but they little esteemed the Cuchwahas, and their courage had very different aliment to sustain it, from the mercenary Southron. The encounter was of the most desperate description, and the bard deals out a full measure of justice to all.

Two accidents occurred during the battle, each sufficient to turn victory from the standard of Beejy Sing, on the very point of fruition. One has elsewhere been related,‡ namely, the destruction of the "Sillehposhians," or cuirassiers, the chosen cohort of the Rahtores, when returning from a successful charge, who were mistaken for the foe, and mowed down

* This treaty is termed *huldi, or bul-patra*, 'a strong deed.' The names of the chiefs who signed it were Jankoji Sindia, Malji, Tantia Cheetoo, Raghu Pagia, Ghosulia Jadoon, Moolla Yar Alli, Feeroz Khan; all great leaders amongst the 'Southrons' of that day.

† The *H*, to the Rajpoot of the north-west, is as great a Shibboleth as to the Cockney:—thus *Appa* becomes *Happa*.

‡ See Vol. I.

with discharges of grape-shot. This error, at a moment when the courage of the Mahrattas was wavering, might have been retrieved, notwithstanding the superstitious converted the disaster into an omen of evil. Sindia had actually prepared to quit the field, when another turn of the wheel decided the event in his favour: the circumstance exhibits forcibly the versatile character of the Rajpoot.

The Raja of Kishenguth had deprived his relative of Roopnagurh of his estates, both were junior branches of Marwar, but held direct from the emperor. Sawunt Sing, chieftain of Roopnagurh, either from constitutional indifference of old age, retired to the sanctuary of Vindrabun on the Jumna, and, before the shrine of the Hindu Apollo, poured forth his gratitude for " Hell," in the loss of his little kingdom. But it was in vain the attempted to inspire young Sirdar with the like contempt of mundane glory; to his exhortations the youth replied, "It is well for you, Sire,* who have enjoyed life, to reign its sweets so tranquilly; but I am yet a stranger to them." Taking advantage of the times, he determined to seek a stronger auxiliary for the recovery of his rights than the poetic homilies of Jydeva. Accordingly, he joined the envoy of Ram Sing, and returned with Maharatta army, on whose successful operations his hope of reconquering his patrimony rested. It was at that moment of doubt, that Appa, the Mahratta commander, thus addressed young Sirdar: "Your star, young man, is united to Ram Sing's, which fortune does not favour; what more is to be done before we move off?" Inexperienced as he was, Sirdar knew his countrymen and their vacillation when touched by superstition; and he obtained permission to try a *ruse*, as a last resort. He despatched a horseman of his own clan to the division which pressed them most, who, coming up to the Mainote minister, as if of his own party, asked "what they were fighting for, as Beejy Sing lay dead, killed by a cannonshot in another part of the field?" Like the ephemeral tribe of diplomacy, the Mainote saw his sun was set. He left the field, followed by the panic-struck clans, amongst whom the report circulated like wild-fire. Though accustomed to these stratagems, with which their annals teem, the Rajpoots are never on their guard against them; not a man inquired into the truth of the report, and Beejy Sing,—who, deeming himself in the very career of victory, was coolly performing his devotions amidst the clash of swords,—was left almost alone, even without attendants or horses. The lord of Marwar, who, on that morning, commanded the lives

* *Baup-ji.*

of [illegible] thousand Rajpoots, was indebted for his safety to the mean conveyance of a cart and pair of oxen.*

Every clan had to erect tablets for the loss of their best warriors; and, as in their civil wars each strove to be foremost in devotion, most of the chieftains of note were amongst the slain.† The bard metes out a fair measure of justice to their auxiliaries, especially the Suktawuts of Mewar, whose swords were unsheathed in the cause of the son-in-law of their prince. Nor is the lance of the Southron passed over without eulogy, to praise which, indeed, is to extol themselves.

With the loss of this battle and the dispersion of the Rahtores, the strongholds rapidly [illegible] The cause of Ram Sing was triumphing, and the Mahrat[illegible] were spreading over the land of Maroo, when foul assassination c[illegible]ed their progress.‡ But the death of Jey Appa, which con[illegible] hordes from auxiliaries to principals in the contest, called aloud for vengeance; that was only to be appeased by the cession of Ajmeer, and a fixed triennial tribute on all the lands of Maroo, both feudal and fiscal. This arrangement being made, the Mahrattas displayed the virtue common to such mercenary allies: they abandoned Ram Sing to his 'evil star,' and took possession of this stronghold, which, placed in the very heart of Rajasthan, perpetuated their influence over its princes.

With this gem, thus rudely torn from her diadem, the independence of Marwar from that hour has been insecure. She has struggled on, indeed, through a century of invasions, rebellions, and crimes, all originating, like the blank leaf in her annals, from the murder of Ajit. In the words of the Doric stanza of the hostile bards on this memorable chastisement:—

* The anecdote is related in Vol. I. The *Beejy Vulas* states that the prince rewarded the peasant with five hundred Bighas of land in perpetuity, which his descendants enjoy, saddled with the *petite serjanterie* of "curds and bajra cakes," in remembrance of the fare the Jat provided for his prince on that emergency.

† Rae Sing, chief of the Koompawuts, the second noble in rank of Marwar; Lall Sing, head of the Seesawuts, with the leader of the Keetawuts, are especially singled out as sealing their fidelity with their blood; but all the *otes owuts* of the country came in for a share of glory.

‡ This occurrence has been related in the Personal Narrative, Vol. I. but it is more amply narrated in the chronicle, the *Beejy Vulas*, from which I am now compiling. In this it is said that Jey Appa, during the siege, having fallen sick, the Rahtore prince sent his own physician, Soorajmol, to attend him; that the doctor at first refused the mission saying, "You may tell me to poison him, and I will not obey;" "On the contrary," said his prince, "let your skill cure in two days what would take you four, and I shall favour you;" but what was far more strange, Appa objected not took the medicines of the *Bed* and recovered.

> "*Edá ghunna dín dosi*
> "*Áppá wálá kál*
> "*Bhágá tín-ú bhu-pati*
> "*Mál khuzána mál.*"

"For many a day will they remember the time (*kál*) of Appa, when the three sovereigns fled, abandoning their goods and treasures:" alluding to the princes of Marwar, Bikaneer, and Kishengurh, who partook in the disasters and disgrace of that day.

The youthful heir of Roopnagurh claimed, as he justly might, the victory to himself; and going up to Appa to congratulate him, said, in the metaphorical language of his country, "You see I sowed mustard-seed in my hand as I stood:" comparing the prompt success of his stratagem to the rapid vegetation of the seed. But Sirdar was a young man of no ordinary promise; for when Sindia, in gratitude, offered immediately to put him in possession of Roopnagurh, he answered, "No; that would be a retrograde movement," and told him to act for his master, Ram Sing, "whose success would best insure his own." But when treachery had done its worst on Jey Appa, suspicion, which fell on every Rajpoot in the Mahratta camp, spared not Sirdar: swords were drawn in every quarter, and even the messengers of peace, the envoys, were everywhere assailed, and amongst those who fell ere the tumult could be appeased, was Rawut Kobeer Sing, the premier noble of Mewar, then ambassador from the Rana with the Mahrattas.* With his last breath, Jey Appa protected and exonerated Sirdar, and enjoined that his pledge of restoration to his patrimony should be redeemed. The body of this distinguished commander was burned at the *Taos-sir*, or 'Peacock pool,' where a cenotaph was erected, and in the care which the descendants even of his enemies pay to it, we have a test of the merits of both victor and vanquished.

This was the last of twenty-two battles, in which Ram Sing was prodigal of his life for the recovery of his honours. The adversity of his later days had softened the asperity of his temper, and made his early faults be forgotten, though too late for his benefit. He died in exile at Jeypur, in A. D. 1773. His person was gigantic; his demeanour affable and courteous; and he was generous to a fault. His understanding was excellent and well cultivated, but his capricious temperament, to which he gave vent with an unbridled vehemence, disgusted the high-

* I have many original autograph letters of this distinguished Rajpoot on the transactions of this period; for it was he who negotiated the treaty between Raja Madhu Sing, of Jeypur, the 'nephew of Mewar,' and the Mahrattas. At this time, his object was to induce Jey Appa to raise the siege of Nagore.

minded nobles of Maroo, and involved him in exile and misery till his death. It is universally admitted that, both in exterior and accomplishments, not even the great Ajit could compare with Ram Sing, and witchcraft, at the instigation of the chieftain of Asope, is assigned to account for his fits of insanity, which might be better attributed to the early and immoderate use of opium. But in spite of his errors, the fearless courage he displayed, against all odds, kept some of the most valiant of the clans constant to his fortunes, especially the brave Mairteas*, under the heroic Shere Sing of Reah, whose deeds can never be obliterated from the recollections of the Rahtore. Not the least ardent of his adherents was the allodial chief Roop Sing, of the almost forgotten clan, Pattawut; who held out in Filodi against all attempts, and who, when provisions failed, with his noble associates, slew and ate their camels. The theme is a favourite one for the *Kamrea* minstrel of Maroo, who sings the fidelity of Roopa and his band to the notes of his *rhehab*, to their ever attentive descendants.

We may sum up the character of Ram Sing in the words of the bard, as he contrasts him with his rival. "Fortune never attended the stirrup of Beejy Sing, who never gained a battle, though at the head of a hundred thousand men*; but Ram Sing, by his valour and conduct, gained victories with a handful."

The death of Ram Sing was no panacea to the griefs of Marwar or of its prince. The Mahrattas, who had now obtained a *point-d'appui* in Rajwarra, continued to foster disputes which tended to their advantage, or when opportunity offered, to scour the country in search of pay or plunder. Beejy Sing, young and inexperienced, was left without resources; ruinous wars and yet more ruinous negotiations had dissipated the hoards of wealth accumulated by his predecessors. The crown-lands were uncultivated, the tenantry dispersed; and commerce had diminished, owing to insecurity and the licentious habits of the nobles, who everywhere established their own imposts, and occasionally despoiled entire caravans. While the competitor for the throne was yet living, the Raja was compelled to shut his eyes on these inroads upon his proper power, which reduced him to insignificance even in his own palace.

The aristocracy in Marwar has always possessed more power than in any of the sister principalities around. The cause may be traced to their first settlement in the desert; and it has been kept in action by the peculiarities of their condition, especially in that protracted struggle for the rights of the minor Ajit, against the despotism of the empire. There was another cause, which, at the present juncture, had a very unfortunate

influence on the increase of this preponderance, and which arose out of the laws of adoption.

The fief of Pokurn, the most powerful (although a junior) branch of the Champawut clan, adopted a son of Raja Ajit as their chief; his name was Devi Sing. The right of adoption, as has been already explained, rests with the widow of the deceased and the elders of the clan. Why they exercised it as they did on this occasion does not appear; but not improbably at the suggestion of the dying chief, who wished to see his sovereign's large family provided for, having no sons of his own: or, the immediate claimants may not have possessed the qualities necessary to lead a clan of Maroo. Although the moment such adoption takes place, when "the turban of the late incumbent encircled the new lord of Pokurn," he ought to forget he had any other father than him he succeeded, yet we can easily imagine that, in the present case, his propinquity to the throne, which under other circumstances he might soon have forgotten, was continually forced upon his recollection by the contentions of his parricidal brothers and their offspring for the 'cushion' of Marwar. It exemplifies another feature in Rajpoot institutions, which cut off this son (guiltless of all participation in the treason) from succession, because he was identified with the feudality; while the issue of another, and junior brother, at the same period adopted into the independent house of Edur,* were heirs presumptive to Marwar: nay, must supply it with a ruler on failure of heirs, though they should have but one son and be compelled to adopt in his room.†

The Champawuts determined to maintain their influence over the sovereign and the country; and Devi Sing leagued with Ahwa and the other branches of this clan to the exclusion of all competitors. They formed of their own body a guard of honour for the person of the prince, one-half remaining on duty in the castle, the other half being in the town below. While the Raja would lament the distracted state of his country, the inroads of the Hill tribes, and the depredations of his own chiefs, Devi Sing of Pokurn would reply, "why trouble yourself about Marwar? it is in the sheath of my dagger." The young prince used to unburthen his griefs to his foster-brother Jaggo, a man of caution and experience, which qualities he instilled into his sovereign. By dissimulation, and an apparent acquiescence in their plans, he not only eluded suspicion, but, availing himself of their natural indolence of character, at length obtained leave

* It will be remembered that Edur was conquered by a brother of Seoji's.

† We shall explain this by a cutting of the genealogical tree: it may be found useful, should we be called on to arbitrate in these matters.

not only to entertain some men of Sinde as guards for the town, but to provide supplies for their subsistence: the first approximation towards a standing mercenary force, till then unknown in their annals. We do not mean that the Rajpoot princes never employed any other than their own feudal clans; they had foreign Rajpoots in their pay, but still on the same tenure, holding lands for service; but never till this period had they soldiers entertained on monthly stipend. These hired bands were entirely composed of infantry, having a slight knowledge of European tactics, the superiority of which, even over their high-minded cavaliers, they had so severely experienced in their encounters with their Mahrattas. The same causes had operated on the courts of Oodipur and Jeypur to induce them to adopt the like expedient; to which, more than to the universal demoralization which followed the breaking up of the empire, may be attributed the rapid decay of feudal principles throughout Rajpootana. These guards were composed either of Poorbea* Rajpoots, Sindies, Arabs, or Rohillas. They received their orders direct from the prince, through the civil officers of the state, by whom they were entrusted with the execution of all duties of importance or despatch. Thus they soon formed a complete barrier between the prince and his vassals, and consequently became objects of jealousy and of strife. In like manner did all the other states make approaches towards a standing army; and though the motive in all cases was the same to curb, or even to extinguish, the strength of the feudal chiefs, it has failed throughout, except in the salitary instance of Kotah, where twenty well-disciplined battalions, and a hundred pieces of artillery, are maintained chiefly from the feudal sequestrations.

To return: the Dhabhae, having thus secured a band of seven hundred men, and obtained an aid (which we may term *scutage*) from the chiefs for their maintenance, gradually transferred them from their duties above to the gates of the castle. Somewhat released from the thraldom of faction, the Raja concerted with his foster-brother and the Dewan, Futteh Chund, the means of restoring prosperity and order. So destitute was the prince of resources, that the Dhabhae had recourse to threats of suicide to obtain 50,000 rupees from his mother, acquired as the nurse (*dhai*) of his sovereign; and so drained was the country of horses, that he was compelled to transport his cavaliers (who were too proud to walk) on cars to Nagore. There, under the pretence of curbing the Hill tribes, he formed an army, and dismounting the guns from the walls of the town,

* *Poorbeas*, 'men of the east,' as the *Mugrabies* are 'of the west.'

marched an ill-equipped force against the border-mountaineers, and being successful, he attacked on his return the castle of Seel-Bukri. This was deemed a sufficient indication of his views; the whole feudality of Maroo took alarm, and united for mutual safety at Birsilpur, twenty miles east of the capital.

There was a foreign Rajpoot, whose valour, fidelity and conduct had excited the notice and regard of Bukht Sing, who, in his dying hour, recommended him to the service of his son. To Gordhun, the Keechie, a name of no small note in the subsequent history of this reign, did the young Raja apply in order to restrain his chiefs from revolt. In the true spirit of Rajpoot sentiment, he advised his prince to confide in their honour, and, unattended, to seek and remonstrate with them, while he went before to secure him a good reception. At day-break, Gordhun was in the camp of the confederates; he told them that their prince, confiding in their loyalty, was advancing to join them, and besought them to march out to receive him. Deaf, however, to entreaty and to remonstrance, not a man would stir, and the prince reached the camp uninvited and unwelcomed. Decision and confidence are essential in all transactions with a Rajpoot. Gordhun remained not a moment in deliberation, but instantly carried his master direct to the tent of the Ahwa chief, the premier noble of Marwar. Here the whole body congregated, and silence was broken by the prince, who demanded why his chief had abandoned him.

"Mahraja," replied the Champawut, "our bodies have but one pinnacle; were there a second, it should be at your disposal." A tedious discussion ensued; doubts of the future, recriminations respecting the past; till wearied and exhausted, the prince demanded to know the conditions on which they would return to their allegiance, when the following articles were submitted:

1st. To break up the force of the Dhabhae;

2nd. To surrender to their keeping the records of fiefs (*puttá-buhye*);

3rd. That the court should be transferred from the citadel to the town.

There was no alternative but the renewal of civil strife or compliance; and the first article, was a *sine quâ non*, the disbanding of the obnoxious guards, that anomalous appendage to a Rajpoot prince's person, was carried into immediate execution. Neither in the first nor last stipulation could the prince feel surprise or displeasure; but the second sapped the very foundation of his rule, by depriving the crown of its dearest prerogative, the power of dispensing favour. This shallow reconciliation being effected, the malcontent nobles dispersed,

some to their estates, and the Chondawut oligarchy to the capital with their prince, in the hope of resuming their former influence over him and the country.

Thus things remained, when Atmaram, the *guru* or 'ghostly comforter,' of Beejy Sing, fell sick, and as he sedulously attended him, the dying priest would tell him to be of good cheer, for when he departed, he "would take all his troubles with him." He soon died, and his words, which were deemed prophetic, were interpreted by the Dhabhae. The Raja feigned immoderate grief for the loss of his spiritual friend, and in order to testify his veneration, an ordinance was issued commanding that the *krea-carma*, or 'rites for the dead,' should be performed in the castle, while the queens, on pretence of paying their last duty to his remains, descended, carrying with them the guards and retainers as their escort. It was an occasion on which suspicion, even if awake, could not act, and the chiefs ascended to join in the funeral rites to the saint. As they mounted the steps cut out of the rock which wound round the hill of Joda, the mind of Devi Sing suddenly misgave him, and he exclaimed, that "the day was unlucky;" but it passed off with the flattering remark, "you are the pillar of Maroo; who dare even look at you!" They paced slowly through the various barriers, until they reached the *alarum gate.** It was shut! "Treachery!" exclaimed the chief of Ahwa, as he drew his sword, and the work of death commenced. Several were slain; the rest were overpowered. Their captivity was a sufficient presage of their fate; but, like true Rajpoots, when the *Dhabhae* told them they were to die, their last request was, "that their souls might be set at liberty by the sword, not by the unsanctified ball of the mercenary." The chronicle does not say whether this wish was gratified, when the three great leaders of the Champawuts, with Jaet Sing of Ahwa; Devi Sing of Pokurn; the lord of Hursola; Chuttur Sing, chief of the Koompawuts; Kesuri Sing of Chandrain; the heir of Neemaj; and the chief of Raus, then the principal fief of the Oodawuts, met their fate. The last hour of Devi Sing was marked with a distinguished peculiarity. Being of the royal line of Maroo, they would not spill his blood, but sent him his death-warrant in a jar of opium. On receiving it, and his prince's command to make his own departure from life, "What!" said the noble spirit, as they presented the jar, "shall Devi Sing take his *umul* (opiate) out of an earthen vessel? Let his gold cup be brought, and it shall be welcome." This last vain distinction

* The *nakarra durwaza*, where the grand kettle-drum is stationed, to give the alarm or summons to the chieftains to repair to the Presence. To this gate Raja Maun advanced to meet the Author, then the representative of the Governor-General of India.

being denied, he dashed out his brains against the walls of his prison. Before he thus enfranchised his proud spirit, some ungenerous mind, repeating his own vaunt, demanded, where was then the sheath of the dagger which held the fortunes of Marwar?" "In Subbula's girdle at Pokurna," was the laconic reply of the undaunted Chondawut.

This was a tremendous sacrifice for the maintenance of authority, of men who had often emptied their veins in defence of their country. But even ultra-patriotism, when opposed to foreign aggression, can prove no palliative to treason or mitigate its award, when, availing themselves of the diminished power of the prince, an arrogant and imperious oligarchy presumes to enthral their sovereign. It is the mode in which vengeance was executed, at which the mind recoils, and which with other instances appears to justify the imputation of perfidy, amongst the traits of Rajpoot character. But if we look deeply in to it, we shall find reason to distrust such conclusion. The Rajpoot abhors, in the abstract, both perfidy and treason; but the elements of the society in which he lives and acts, unfortunately too often prompt the necessity of sacrificing principles to preservation: but this proceeds from their faulty political constitution; it is neither inclucated in their moral code, nor congenial to their moral habits.

The perpetual struggle between the aristocracy and the sovereign, which is an evil inherent in all feudal associations, was greatly aggravated in Marwar, as well as in Mewar, by the sacrifice of that corner-stone even of constitutional monarchy, the rights of primogeniture. But in such case the deviation from custom was a voluntary sacrifice of the respective heirs-apparent to the caprices of parental dotage. In no other country in the world could that article of the Christian decalogue, "Honour thy father and thy mother," be better illustrated than in Rajpootana, where, if we have had to record two horried examples of deviation from, we have also exhibited splendid proofs of filial devotion, in Chonda of Mewar, and Chamba of Marwar, who resigned the "rods" they were born to wield; and served, when they should have swayed, to gratify their fathers' love for the fruit of their old age. These are instances of self-denial hardly to be credited; from such disinterested acts, their successors claimed an importance which, though natural, was totally unforeseen, and which the extent of compensation contributed to foster. They asserted the right, as heriditary premiers of the state, to be the advisers, or rather the tutors, of their sovereigns, more especially in non-age, and in allusion to this surrender of their birth-right, arrogantly applied the well-known adage, *Pat cà malik myn ho, Raj ca*

malik ooa, 'He is sovereign of the state, but I am the master of the Throne,' and insisted on the privilege of being consulted on every gift of land, and putting their autograph symbol to the deed or grant.* These pretensions demanded the constant exertions of the sovereign to resist them; for this purpose, he excited the rivalry of the less powerful members of the federated vassalage, and thus formed a kind of balance of power, which the monarch, if skilful, could always turn to account. But not even the jealousies thus introduced would have so depreciated the regal influence in Marwar, nor even the more recent adoption of a son of the crown into the powerful fief of Pokurna, had not the parricidal sons of Ajit degraded the throne in the eyes of their haughty and always over-reaching vassals, who, in the civil strife which followed, were alternately in favour or disgrace, as they adhered to or opposed the successful claimant for power. To this foul blot, every evil which has since overtaken this high-minded race may be traced, as well as the extirpation of that principle of devoted obedience, which, in the anterior portion of these annals, has been so signally recorded. To this hour it has perpetuated dissensions between the crown and the oligarchy, leading to deposal and violence to the princes, or sequestration, banishment, and death to the nobles. To break the bonds of this tutelage, Ram Sing's intemperance lost him the crown, which sat uneasy on the head of his successor, who had no other mode of escape but by the severity which has been related. But though it freed him for a time, the words of the dying chief of Pokurna continued to ring in his ears; and "the dagger left in the girdle of his son" disturbed the dreams of his rest throughout a long life of vicissitudes, poisoning the source of enjoyment until death itself was a relief.

The nuncupatory testament of the Champawut was transmitted across the desert to his son at Pokurna, and the rapidity of its transmission was only equalled by the alacrity of Subbula, who at the head of his vassals issued forth to execute the vengeance thus bequeathed. First, he attempted to burn and pillage the mercantile town of Pally;—foiled in which, he proceeded to another wealthy city fisc, Bilwarra on the Looni; but here terminated both his life and his revenge. As he led the escalade, he received two balls, which hurled him back amongst his kinsmen, and his ashes next morning blanched the sandy bed of the Looni.

For a time, the feudal interest was restrained, anarchy was allayed, commerce again flourished, and general prosperity

* See Vol. I.

revived: to use the words of the chronicle, "the subject enjoyed tranquillity, and the tiger and the lamb drank from the same fountain." Beejy Sing took the best means to secure the fidelity of his chiefs, by finding them occupation. He carried his arms against the desultory hordes of the desert, the Khosas and Sahraes, which involved him in contests with the nominal sovereign of Sinde, and ended in the conquest of Amerkote, the key to the valley of the Indus, and which is now the most remote possession of Marwar. He also curtailed the territories of Jessulmeer, on his north-west frontier. But more important than all was the addition of the rich province of Godwar, from the Rana of Mewar. This tract, which nearly equals in value the whole fiscal domain of Maroo, was wrested from the ancient princes of Mundore, prior to the Rahtores, and had been in the possession of the Seesodias for nearly five centuries, when civil dissension made the Rana place it for security under the protection of Raja Beejy Sing; since which it has been lost to Mewar.

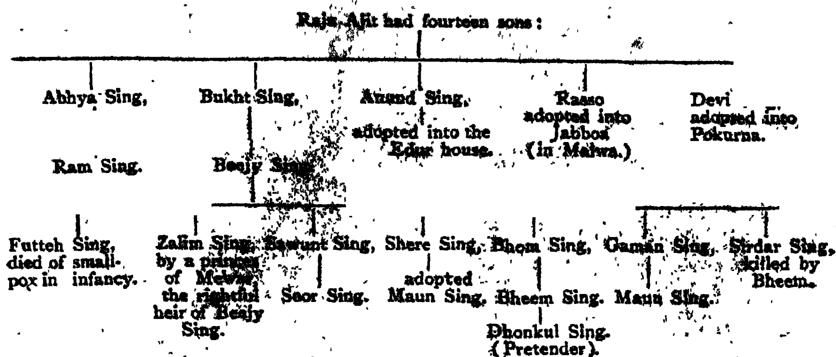
Marwar had enjoyed several years of peace, when the rapid strides made by the Mahrattas towards universal rapine, if not conquest, compelled the Rajpoots once more to form an union for the defence of their political existence. Pertap Sing, a prince of energy and enterprize, was now on the *gadi* of Amber. In S. 1843 (A. D. 1787), he sent an ambassador to Beejy Sing, proposing a league against the common foe, and volunteering to lead in person their conjoined forces against them. The battle of Tonga ensued, in which Rahtore valour shone forth in all its glory. Despising discipline, they charged through the dense battalions of De Boigne, sabring his artillery-men at their guns, and compelling Sindia to abandon not only the field, but all his conquests for a time.* Beejy Sing, by this victory, redeemed the castle of Ajmeer, and declared his tributary alliance null and void. But the genius of Sindia, and the talents of De Boigne, soon recovered this loss; and in four years the Mahratta marched with a force such as Indian warfare was stranger to, to redeem that day's disgrace. In S. 1847 (A. D. 1791), the murderous battles of Patun and Mairta took place, in which Rajpoot courage was heroically but fruitlessly displayed against European tactics and unlimited resources, and where neither intrigue nor treason was wanting. The result was the imposition of a contribution of sixty lacks of rupees, or £600,000; and as so much could not be drained from the country, goods and chattels were everywhere distrained, and hostages given for the balance.

* See Vol. I for the details of this battle.

Ajmeer, which had revolted on the short-lived triumph of Tonga, was once more surrendered, and lost for ever to Marwar. When invested by De Boigne, the faithful governor, Dumraj, placed in the dilemma of a disgraceful surrender, on disobedience to his prince's summons, swallowed diamond-powder. "Tell the Raja," said this faithful servant, "thus only could I testify my obedience; and over my dead body alone could a Southron enter Ajmeer."*

The paramount influence which the morals and manners of a court exert upon a nation, is everywhere admitted. In constitutional governments, there is a barrier even to court influence and corruption, in the vast portion of wealth and worth which cannot be engulfed in their vortex. But in these petty sovereignties, no such check is found, and the tone of virtue and action is given from the throne. The laws of semi-barbarous nations, which admit of licentious concubinage, has ever been peculiar to orientals, from the days of the wise king of the Jews to those of Beejy Sing of Marwar; and their political consequence has been the same, the sacrifice of the rights of lawful inheritance to the heirs of illicit affection. The last years of the king of Maroo were engrossed by sentimental folly with a young beauty of the *Oswal* tribe, on whom he lavished all the honours due only to his legitimate queens. Scandal affirms that she frequently returned his passion in a manner little becoming royal dignity, driving him from her presence with the basest of missiles—her shoes. As the effects of this unworthy attachment completed the anarchy of Marwar, and as its consequences on deviating from the established rules of succession have entailed a perpetuity of crime and civil war, under which this unfortunate state yet writhes, we shall be minute, even to dullness, in the elucidation of this portion of their annals, to enable those who have now to arbitrate this differences to bring back a current of uncontaminated blood to sway the destinies of this still noble race.

* Dumraj was not a Rajpoot, but of the *Singwi* tribe, one of the civil officers; though it is a curious and little-known fact, that almost all the mercantile tribes of Western India are of Rajpoot origin, and sank the name and profession of arms when they became proselytes to *Jainism*, in the reign of Raja Bheem Pramar. The Cheetore inscription (see Vol. I.) records the name of this prince. He was ancestor of Raja Maun whose date S. 770 (A. D. 714), allows us to place this grand conversion prior to A. D. 650.



So infatuated was Beejy Sing with the *Pásbání* concubine, that on losing the only pledge of their amours, he 'put into her lap,' (adopted) his own legitimate grandchild, Maun Sing. To legalize this adoption, the chieftains were ordained to present their *nuzzurs* and congratulations to the declared heir of Marwar; but the haughty noblesse refused 'to acknowledge the son of a slave' as their lord, and the Raja was compelled to a fresh adoption to ensure such token of sanction. Content at having by this method succeeded in her wishes, the *Pásbání* sent off young Maun to the castle of Jhalore; but fearing lest the experience of Shere Sing, his adopted father, might prove a hindrance to her control, he was recalled, and her own creatures left to guide the future sovereign of Marwar. The dotage of Beejy Sing, and the insolence of his concubine, produced fresh discord, and the clans assembled at Malkasuni to concert his deposal.

Recollecting the success of his former measures to recall them to their duty, Beejy Sing proceeded to their camp; but while he was negotiating, and as he supposed successfully, the confederates wrote to the chieftain of Raus, whose tour of duty was in the castle, to descend with Bheem Sing. The chief acquainted the *Pásbání* that her presence was required at the camp by the Raja, and that a guard-of-honour was ready to attend her. She was thrown off her guard, and at the moment she entered her litter, a blow from an unseen hand ended her existence. Her effects were instantly confiscated, and the chief of Raus descended with Bheem, whose tents were pitched at the Nagore barrier of the city. If, instead of encamping there, they had proceeded to the camp of the confederates, his arrival and the dethronement of Beejy Sing would have been simultaneous: but the Raja received the intelligence as soon as the chiefs. Hastening back, he obtained the person of the young aspirant, to whom, to reconcile him to his

disappointment, he gave in appanage the districts of Sojut and Sewanoh, and sent him off to the latter stronghold; while to restrain the resentment of his eldest son, Zalim Sing, whose birthright he had so unworthily sacrificed, he enfeoffed him with the rich district of Godwar, giving him private orders to attack his brother Bheem, who, though apprised of the design in time to make head against his uncle, was yet defeated and compelled to fly. He found refuge at Pokurna, whence he went to Jessulmeer.

In the midst of this conflict, his dominions curtailed, his chiefs in rebellion, his sons and grandsons mutually opposed to each other, and the only object which attached him to life thus violently torn from him, Beejy Sing died, in the month of Asar S. 1850, after a reign of thirty-one years.

CHAPTER XIV.

Raja Bheem seizes upon the gadi.—*Discomfiture of his competitor, Zalim Sing.—Bheem destroys all the other claimants to succession, excepting Maun Sing.—Blockaded in Jhalore.—Sallies from the garrison for supplies.—Prince Maun heads one of them.—Incurs the risk of capture.—Is preserved by the Ahore chief.—Raja Bheem offends his nobles.—They abandon Marwar.—The fief of Neemaj attacked.—Jhalore reduced to the point of surrender.—Sudden and critical death of Raja Bheem.—Its probable cause.—The Vedyas or 'cunning-men,' who surround the prince.—Accession of Raja Maun.—Rebellion of Sowae Sing of Pokurn.—Conspiracy of Champasuni.—Declaration of the pregnancy of a queen of Raja Bheem.—Convention with Raja Maun.—Posthumous births.—Their evil consequences in Rajwarra.—A child born.—Sent off by stealth to Pokurn, and its birth kept a secret.—Named Dhonkul.—Raja Maun evinces indiscreet partialities.—Alienates the Champawuts.—Birth of the posthumous son of Raja Bheem promulgated.—The chiefs call on Raja Bheem promulgated.—The chiefs call on Raja Maun to fulfil the terms of the convention.—The mother disclaims the child.—The Pokurn chief sends the infant Dhonkul to the sanctuary of Abhye Sing of Khetri.—Sowae opens his underplot.—Embroils Raja Maun with the courts of Amber and Mewar.—He carries the pretender Dhonkul to Jeypur.—Acknowledged and*

proclaimed as Raja of Marwar.—The Majority of the chiefs support the pretender.—The B[illegible] [illegible] of Holcar, who deserts Raja Maun.—The armies approach.—Raja Maun's chiefs abandon him.—He attempts suicide.—Is persuaded to fly.—He gains Jodhpur.—Prepares for defence.—Becomes suspicious of all his kin.—Refuses them the honour of defending the castle.—They join the allies, who invest Jodhpur.—The city taken and plundered.—Distress of the besiegers.—Meer Khan's conduct causes a division.—His flight from Marwar.—Pursued by the Jeypur commander.—Battle.—Jeypur force destroyed, and the city invested.—Dismay of the Raja.—Breaks up the siege of Jodhpur.—Pays £200,000 for a safe passage to Jeypur.—The spoils of Jodhpur intercepted by the Rahtores, and wrested from the Cuchwahas.—Meer Khan formally accepts service with Raja Maun, and repairs to Jodhpur with the four Rahtore chiefs.

THE intelligence of Beejy Sing's death was conveyed by express to his grandson Bheem, at Jessulmeer. In "twenty-two hours" he was at Jodhpur, and ascending directly to the citadel, seated himself upon the *gadi*, while his rival, Zalim Sing, the rightful heir, little expecting this celerity, was encamped at the Mairta gate, awaiting the "lucky hour" to take possession. That hour never arrived; and the first intelligence of Bheem being on "the cushion of Joda," was conveyed to the inhabitants by the *nakarras* of his rival on his retreat from the city, who was pursued to Bhilara, attacked, defeated, and forced to seek shelter at Oodipur, where, with an ample domain from the Rana, he passed the rest of his days in literary pursuits. He died in the prime of life: attempting to open a vein with his own hand, he cut an artery and bled to death. He was a man of great personal and mental qualifications; a gallant soldier, and a no mean poet.*

Thus far successful, Raja Bheem determined to dismiss "compunctious visitings," and be a king *de facto* if not *de jure*. Death had carried off three of his uncles, as well as his father, previous to this event; but there were still two others, Shere Sing, his adopted father, and Sirdar Sing, who stood in his way: the last was put to death; the former had his eyes put out; and, soon after, the unfortunate prince released himself from

* My own venerable tutor, Yati Gyanchandra, who was with me for ten years, said he owed all his knowledge, especially his skill in reciting poetry (in which he surpassed all the bards at Oodipur), to Zalim Sing.

life by dashing out his brains. Soor Sing, the favourite of all Beejy Sing's descendants, remained. His superior claims were fatal to him and his life fell a sacrifice with the others.

A single claimant alone remained of all the blood royal of Maroo to disturb the repose of Bheem. This was young Maun, the adopted son of the concubine, placed beyond his reach within the walls of Jhalore. Could Bheem's dagger have reached him, he would have stood alone, the last surviving scion of the parricide.

"With none to bless him,
"None whom he could bless:"

an instrument, in the hand of divine power, to rid the land of an accursed stock. Then the issue of Abhye Sing would have utterly perished, and their ashes might have been given to the winds, and no memorial of them left. Edur must then have supplied an heir,* and the doubtful pretensions of Dhonkul,† the posthumous and reputed son of the wholesale assassin Bheem, to sit upon the *gadi* of Ajit, would never have been brought forward to excite another murderous contest amongst the sons of Joda.

Having sacrificed all those within his reach who stood between him and the throne, Bheem tried to secure the last sole claimant in Jhalore. But the siege of such a stronghold

* Amongst the numerous autograph correspondence of the princes of Rajpootana with the princes of Mewar, of which I had the free use, I selected one letter of S. 1784, A. D. 1728, written conjointly by Jey Sing of Amber and Abhye Sing of Jodhpur, regarding Edur, and which is so curious, that I gave a *verbatim* translation in the Appendix (No. I.) I little thought at the time how completely it would prove Abhye Sing's determination to cut off all but his own parricidal issue from the succession. An inspection of the genealogy will shew that Anund Sing of Edur, who was not to be allowed "to escape alive," was his younger brother, adopted into that house.

† Dhonkul Sing, the posthumous issue of Bheem, the last of the parricidal line, whether real or supposititious, must be set aside, and the pure current of Rahtore blood, derived from Seoji, Joda, Jeswunt, and Ajit, be brought from Edur and installed on "the gadi of Joda." This course of proceeding would meet universal approbation, with the exception of some selfish miscreants about the person of this pretended son of Bheem, or the chieftain of Pokurn, in furtherance of his and his grandfather's yet unavenged feud. A sketch of the events, drawn from their own chronicles, and accompanied by reflections, exposing the miseries springing from an act of turpitude, would come home to all, and they would shower blessings on the power which, while it fulfilled the duties of protector destroyed the germ of internal dissension, and gave them a prince of their own pure blood, whom all parties could honour and obey. If a doubt remained of the probable unanimity of such policy, let it be previously submitted to a *punchäet*, composed of the princes of the land, *viz.*, of Mewar, Amber, Kotah, Bhondi, Jessulmeer, &c., leaving out whichever may be influenced by marriage connexions with Dhonkul Sing.

with his feudal levies, or loose mercenary bands, was a tedious operation, and soon became an imperfect blockade, through which young Maun got unfrequently broke, and by signal formed a junction with his adherents, and plundered the fiscal lands for support. One of these excursions, however, an attempt to plunder Palli, had nearly proved fatal to him; they were attacked on their return, and young Maun, whose secluded education had confined him more to mental than to personal accomplishments, was unhorsed, and would have been captured, but for the prowess of the chief of Ahore, who took him up behind him and bore him off in safety. Nothing but the turbulence of the chiefs who supported Raja Bheem saved young Maun's life. A disputed succession has always produced an odious faction; and Bheem, who was not disposed to bend to this oligarchy, appears to have had all the imprudence of the dethroned Ram Sing: he threatened those entrusted with the siege to give them "oxen to ride instead of horses." The chiefs fired at the insult, and retired to Ganorah, the principal fief in Godwar; but disgusted with both parties, instead of obeying the invitation of young Maun, they abandoned their country altogether, and sought an asylum in the neighbouring states. Many fiefs were sequestrated, and Neemaj, the chief seat of the Oodawuts, was attacked, and after a twelve months' defence, taken; its battlements were ignominiously destroyed, and the victors, chiefly foreign mercenaries, reinforced the blockade of Jhalore.

With the exile of his partisans and daily diminishing resources, when the lower town was taken, there appeared no hope for young Maun. A small supply of millet-flour was all the provision left to his half-famished garrison, whose surrender was now calculated upon, when an invitation came from the hostile commander for Maun to repair to his camp, and adding "*he* was now the master; it was *his* duty to serve." On that day (the 2nd Kartik S. 1860, Dec. 1804), after eleven years of defence, his means exhausted, his friends banished, and death from starvation or the sword inevitable, intelligence came of Raja Bheem's demise! This event, as unlooked-for as it was welcome, could scarcely at first be credited; and the tender of the homage of the commander to Maun as his sovereign, though accompanied by a letter from the prime minister Induraj, was disregarded till the *guru* Deonath returned from the camp with confirmation of the happy news, that "not a moustache was to be seen in the camp."* Thither

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* This mark of mourning is common to all India. Where this evidence of manhood is not yet visible, the hair is cut off; often both.

the prince repaired, and was hailed as the head of the Rahtores.

It is said that the successor of *guru* Atmaram, "who carried all the troubles of Beejy Sing with him to heaven," had predicted of young Maun Sing, when at the very zero of adversity, that "his fortunes would ascend." What were the means whereby the ghostly comforter of Raja Bheem influenced his political barometer, we know not; but prophetic *gurus*, bards, astrologers, physicians, and all the *Védáys* or 'cunning-men,'* who beset the persons of princes, prove dangerous companions when, in addition to the office of compounders of drugs and expounders of dreams they are invested with the power of realizing their own prognostications.

On the 5th of Megsir, 1860 (A. D. 1804), Raja Maun, released from his perils, succeeded to the honours and the feuds of Beejy Sing. He had occupied the 'cushion of Maroo' but a very short period, when the Pokurna chief "took offence," and put himself in hostility to his sovereign. The name of this proud vassal, the first in power though only of secondary rank amongst the Champawuts, was Sowae Sing, with whom now remained "the sheath of the dagger which held the fortunes of Maroo." If the fulfilment of vengeance be a virtue, Sowae was the most virtuous son on earth. The dagger of Devi Sing, bequeathed to Subbula, was no imaginary weapon in the hands of his grandson Sowae, who held it suspended over the head of Raja Maun from his enthronement to his death-hour. Soon after Raja Maun's accession, Sowae retired with his partizans to Champasuni, a spot about five miles from the capital, where the conspiracy was prepared. He told the chiefs that the wife of Raja Bheem was pregnant, and prevailed on them to sign a declaration, that if a son was born, he should be installed on the *gadi* of Joda. They returned in a body to the capital, took the pregnant queen from the castle, and placed her in a palace in the city, under their own protection. Moreover, they held a council, at which the Raja was present, who agreed to recognize the infant, if a male, as the heir-apparent of Maroo, and to enfeoff him in the appanage of Nagore and Sewanoh; and that if a female, she should be betrothed to a prince of Dhoondar.

Posthumous births are never-failing germs of discord in these states; and the issue is inevitably branded by one party with the title of 'supposititious.' It is likewise a common saying, almost amounting to a proverb, that a male child is the uniform

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* *Vedya*, or 'science:' the term is also used to denote cunning, magic or knowledge of whatever kind.

result of such a position. In due course, a male infant was born; but, alarmed for its safety, the mother concealed both its birth and sex, and placing it in a basket, conveyed it by a faithful servant from the city, whence it soon reached Sowae Sing at Pokurn. He bestowed upon it the inauspicious name of 'Dhonkul,' that is, one born to tumult and strife. It is said that, during two years he kept the birth a profound secret, and it is even added, that it might have remained so, had Raja Maun forgot the history of the past, and dispensed even-handed justice. Wanting, however, the magnanimity of the Fourth Henry of France, who scorned "to revenge the wrongs of the Prince of Navarre," he reserved his favours and confidence for those who supported him in Jhalore, whilst he evinced his dislike to others who, in obedience to their sovereign, served against him. Of these adherents, only two chiefs of note were of his kin and clan; the others were Bhatti Rajpoots and a body of those religious militants called *Bishenswamis*, under their Mehunt, or leader, Kaimdas.*

At the expiration of two years, Sowae communicated the event to the chiefs of his party, who called upon Raja Maun to redeem his promise and issue the grant for Nagore and Sewanoh. He promised compliance if, upon investigation, the infant proved to be the legitimate offspring of his predecessor. Personal fear overcame maternal affection, and the queen, who remained at Jodhpur,* disclaimed the child. Her reply being communicated to the chiefs, it was for a time conclusive, and the subject ceased to interest them, the more especially as her concealed *accouchement* had never been properly accounted for.

Though Sowae, with his party, apparently acquiesced, his determination was taken; but instead of an immediate appeal to arms, he adopted a deeper scheme of policy, the effects of which he could not have contemplated, and which involved his own destruction, and with it the independence of his country, which was transferred to strangers, their very antipodes in manners, religion, and every moral quality. His first act was to procure a more powerful protection than Pokurn afforded; and under the guarantee of Chutter Sing Bhatti, he was sent to

* They follow the doctrines of Vishnu (Bishen). They are termed *gosens*, as well as the more numerous class of church militants devoted to Siva. Both are *celibataires*, as *gosen* imports from a mastery (*sen*) over the sense (*go*). They occasionally come in contact, when their sectarian principles end in furious combats. At the celebrated place of pilgrimage, Heridwar (Hurdwar), on the Ganges, we are obliged to have soldiers to keep the peace, since a battle occurred, in which they fought almost to extirpation, about 20 years ago. They are the *Templars* or Rajast'han.

the *sirna* (sanctuary) of Abbye Sing of Khetri.* Having so far succeeded, he contrived an underplot, in which his genius for intrigue appears not below his reputation as [illegible]

The late prince Bheem had made overtures [illegible] the Mewar for the hand of his daughter, but he died before the preliminaries were adjusted. This simple circumstance was deemed sufficient by the Champawut for the ground-work of his plot. He contrived to induce the voluptuous Juggut Sing, the prince of Jeypur, to put himself in the place of Raja Bheem, and to propose for the fair hand of Kishna. This being accomplished, and nuptial presents, under a guard of four thousand men, being despatched to Oodipur, Sowae intimated to Raja Maun that he would be eternally disgraced if he allowed the prince of Amber to carry off "the betrothed;" that "it was to the throne of Maroo, not its occupant, she was promised." The bait was greedily swallowed, and the summons for the *kher* (or levy *en masse*) of the Rahtores was immediately proclaimed. Maun instantly assembled three thousand horses, and joining to them the mercenary bands of Heera Sing, then on the frontier of Mewar, he intercepted the nuptial gifts of Amber. Indignant at this outrage Juggut Sing took to arms, and the muster-book was declared open to all who would serve in the war which was formally declared against Maroo.

Having thus opened the drama, Sowae threw off the mask, and repaired to Khetri, whence he conveyed the pretender, Dhonkul, to the court of Juggut Sing at Jeypur. Here his legitimacy was established by being admitted 'to eat from the same platter' with its prince; and his claims, as the heir of Marwar, were publicly acknowledged and advocated, by his 'placing him in the lap of his aunt,' one of the wives of the deceased Raja Bheem. His cause thus espoused, and being declared the nephew of Amber, the nobles of Marwar, who deemed the claims of the pretender superior to those of Raja Maun, speedily collected around his standard. Amongst these was the prince of Bikaneer, whose example (he being the most powerful of the independents of this house) at once sanctioned the justice of Dhonkul's cause, and left that of Raja Maun almost without support. Nevertheless with the hereditary valour of his race, he advanced to the frontiers to meet his foes, whose numbers, led by the Jeypur prince and the pretender, exceeded one hundred thousand men! This contest, the ostensible object of which was the princess of Mewar, like the crusades of ancient chivalry, brought allies from the most remote parts of India. Even the cautious Mahratta felt an

* One of the principal chiefs of the Shekhawut confederation.

unusual impulse in this rivalry, beyond the stimulants of pay and plunder which ordinarily rouse him, and corps after corps left their hordes to support either cause. The weightier purse of Jeypur was the best argument for the justice of his cause and that of the pretender; while Raja Maun had only the gratitude of Holcar to reckon upon for aid, to whose wife and family he had given sanctuary when pursued by Lord Lake to the Attoc. But here Sowae again foiled him; and the Mahratta, then only eighteen miles from Maun, and who had promised to join him next day, made a sudden movement to the south. A bribe of £100,000 in bills upon Kotah, to be paid on Holcar's reaching that city, effected this desertion; which being secured, Juggut Sing and the pretender advanced to overwhelm their antagonist, who was posted at Geengoli. As the armies approached each other, Raja Maun's chiefs rode up to salute him, preparatory, as he thought, to head their clans for the combat; but it was their farewell obeisance. The cannonade opened, they rallied under the standard of the pretender and on Sowae advancing on the right of the allied line, so entire was the defection, that even the Mairtea clan, whose virtue and boast it is "to adhere to the thrones, whoever is the occupant," deserted, with the Champawuts, Jaitawuts, and minor chiefs. Four chieftains alone abided the evil hour of Raja Maun, namely, Koochamun, Ahore, Jhalore, and Neemaj; and with their quotas alone, and the auxiliary bands of Boondi, he would have rushed into the battle. Hindered from this, he attempted his own life: but the design was frustrated by Seonath of Koochamun, who dismounted him from his elephant, and advised his trusting to the fleetness of his steed, while they covered his flight. The Raja remarked, he was the first of his race who ever disgraced the name of Rahtore by showing his back to a Cuchwaha. The position he had taken that morning was favourable to retreat, being a mile in advance of the pass of Purbutsir: this was speedily gained, and nobly defended by the battalions of Boondi, and those of Hundall Khan, in the pay of Raja Maun, which retarded the pursuit, headed by the Rao of Ooniara. Raja Maun reached Mairta in safety; but deeming it incapable of long resistance, he continued his flight by Peepar to the capital, which he reached with a slender retinue, including the four chiefs, who still shared his fortunes. The camp of Raja Maun was pillaged. Eighteen guns were taken by Balla Rao Inglia, one of Sindia's commanders, and the lighter effects, the tents, elephants, and baggage, were captured by Meer Khan; while Parbutsir, and the villages in the neighbourhood, were plundered.

Thus far, the scheme of Sowae and the Pretender advanced

with rapid success. When the allied army reached Mairta, the prince of Jeypur, whose object was the princess of Mewar, proposed to Sowae to follow up their good fortune, while he repaired to Oodipur, and solemnized the nuptials. But even in the midst of his revenge, Sowae could distinguish "between the cause of Maun Sing and the *gadi* of Marwar;" and to promote the success of Jeypur, though he had originated the scheme to serve his own views, was no part of his plan. He was only helped out of this dilemma by another, which he could not anticipate. Not dreaming that Raja Maun would hold out in the capital, which had no means of defence, but supposing he would fly to Jhalore, and leave Jodhpur to its fate and to the pretender, Sowae, desirous to avoid the further advance of the allies into the country, halted the army for three days at Mairta. His foresight was correct; the Raja had reached Birsilpur in full flight to Jhalore, when, at the suggestion of Gaenmul Singwi, a civil officer in his train, he changed his intention. "There," said the Singwi, "lays Jodhpur only nine coss to the right, while Jhalore is sixteen further; it is as easy to gain the one as the other, and if you cannot hold out in the capital, what chance have you elsewhere? While you defend your throne your cause is not lost." Raja Maun followed the advice, reached Jodhpur in a few hours, and prepared for his defence. This unexpected change, and the halt of the allied army, which permitted the dispersed bands to gain the capital, defeated the schemes of Sowae.

With a body of three thousand men, selected from Hundall Khan's brigade, the corps of Bishenswamis, under Kaimdas, and one thousand foreign Rajpoots, consisting of Chohans, Bhattis, and Eendos (the ancient lords of Mundore), Raja Maun formed a garrison of five thousand men, on whom he could depend. So ample did he deem this number, that he despatched strong garrisons from Hundall's brigade with some Deora Rajpoots, to garrison Jhalore, and preserve the distant castle of Amerkote from surprise by the Sindies. Having thus provided against the storm, he fearlessly awaited the result. But so alienated was his mind from his kindred, that he would not even admit to the honour of defending his throne the four faithful chieftains who, in the general desertion, had abided by his fortunes. To all their entreaties to be received into the castle, that "they might defend the *kangras* (battlements) of Joda," he replied, they might defend the city if they pleased; and disgusted with such a return for their fidelity they increased the train of his opponents, who soon encompassed Jodhpur.

The town, little capable of defence, was taken and given up to unlicensed plunder; and with the exception of Filodi,

which was gallantly defended for three months, and given to Bikaneer as the reward of its alliance, the *an* of the pretender was proclaimed throughout Marwar, and his allies only awaited the fall of the capital, which appeared inevitable, to proclaim him king. But a circumstance occurred, which, awakening the patriotism of the Rahtores, thwarted these fair prospects, relieved Raja Maun from his peril, and involved his adversaries in the net of destruction which they had woven for him.

The siege had lasted five months without any diminution of the ardour of the defenders; and although the defences of the north-east angle were destroyed, the besiegers, having a perpendicular rock of eighty feet to ascend before they could get to the breach, were not nearer their object, and, in fact, without shells, the castle of Joda would laugh a siege to scorn. The numerous and motley force under the banners of Jeypur and the pretender, became clamorous for pay; the forage was exhausted, and the partizan horse were obliged to bivouac in the distant districts to the south. Availing himself of their separation from the main body, Ameer Khan, an apt pupil of the Mahratta school, began to raise contributions on the fiscal lands, and Palli, Peepar, Bhilara, with many others, were compelled to accede to his demands. The estates of the nobles who espoused the cause of the pretender, fared no better, and they complained to the Xerxes of this host of the conduct of this unprincipled commander.

The protracted defence having emptied the treasury of Amber, the arch intriguer of Pokurn was called upon to contribute towards satisfying the clamour of the troops. Having exhausted the means of his own party, he applied to the four chieftains who had been induced to join the cause of the pretender by the suspicions of Raja Maun, to advance a sum of money. This appeal proved a test of their zeal. They abandoned the pretender, and proceeded direct to the camp of Ameer Khan. It required no powerful rhetoric to detatch him from the cause and prevail upon him to advocate that of Raja Maun; nor could they have given him better counsel towards this end, than the proposal to carry the war into the enemy's country: to attack and plunder Jeypur, now left unguarded. At the critical moment, the Jeypur prince, in consequence of the representation of the Marwar chiefs, had directed his commander-in-chief, Seolall, to chastise Meer Khan for his lawless conduct. Seolall put a stop to their deliberations, attacked and drove them across the Looni, surprised them at Govingurh, again in a night-attack at Hursoori, and pursued the Khan to Phaggi, at the very frontier of Jeypur. Astonished at his own success, and little aware that the chase was in the direction

projected by his enemy, Seolall deemed he had accomplished his orders in driving him out of Marwar; halted, and leaving his camp, repaired to Jeypur to partake of its festivities. The Khan, who with his allies had reached Peeploo near Tonk, no sooner heard of this, than he called to his aid the heavy brigades of Mahomed Shah Khan and Raja Buhader (then besieging Iserdah), and availed himself of the imprudent absence of his foe to gain over the Hydrabad *Rasala*, a legion well known in the predatory wars of that period. Having effected this object, he assailed the Jeypur force, which, notwithstanding this defection and the absence of its commander, fought with great valour, the battalions of Heera Sing being nearly cut to pieces. The action ended in the entire defeat of the Jeypurians, and the capture of their camp, guns and equipage. Prompted by the Rahtore chieftains, whose valour led to this result, Meer Khan rapidly followed up his success, and Jeypur was dismayed by the presence of the victor at her gates. The generalship of the Khan was the salvation of Raja Maun; it dissolved the confederacy, and fixed the doom of Sowae, its projector.

The tempest had been some time gathering: the Rajas of Bikaneer and Shapoora had already withdrawn from the confederacy and marched home, when like a clap of thunder, the effeminate Cuchwaha, who had in the outset of this crusade looked to a full harvest both of glory and of love, learned that his army was annihilated, and his capital invested by the Khan and a handful of Rahtores. Duped by the representations of Sowae, Rae Chund, *Déwán* or prime minister of Jeypur, concealed for some days these disasters from his sovereign, who received the intelligence by a special messenger sent by the queen mother. Enraged, perplexed, and alarmed for his personal safety, he broke up the siege, and sending on in advance the spoils of Jodhpur (including forty pieces of cannon), with his own chieftains, he sent for the Mahratta leaders,* and offered them £120,000 to escort him in safety to his capital; nay, he secretly bribed, with a bond of £90,000 more, the author of his disgrace, Ameer Khan, not to intercept his retreat, which was signally ignominious, burning his tents and equipage at every stage, and at length with his own hand destroying his

* Bapoo Sindia, Balla Rao Inglia, with the brigade of Jean Baptiste, all Sindia's dependents. This was early in 1806. The author was then in Sindia's camp and saw these troops marched off; and in 1807, in a geographical tour, he penetrated to Jeypur, and witnessed the wrecks of Jeypur army. The sands round the capital were white with the bones of horses, and the ashes of their riders, who had died in the vain expectation of getting their arrears of pay.

favourite elephant, which, "wanted speed for the rapidity of his flight."

But the indignities he had to suffer were not over. The chieftains whose sagacity and valour had thus diverted the storm from Raja Maun, determined that no trophies of Rahtore disgrace should enter Jeypur, united their clans about twenty miles east of Mairta, on the line of retreat, appointing Induraj Singwi their leader. This person, who had held the office of *Déwan* under two predecessors of Raja Maun, was driven to a temporary defection from the same suspicions which made the chiefs join the pretender. But they resolved to wash away the stain of this brief alienation from Raja Maun with the blood of his enemies, and to present as the token of returning fidelity the recaptured trophies. The encounter took place on the joint frontier. It was short, but furious; and the Cuchwahas, who could not withstand the Rahtores, were defeated and dispersed, and the spoils of the spoiler, including the forty cannon, were safely lodged in Kochamun. Flushed with success, the victors addressed the Raja of Kishengurh, who, though a Rahtore, had kept aloof, to advance funds to secure the continuance of Meer Khan's aid. Two lakhs of rupees (£20,000) effected this object; and the Khan, pledging himself to continue his support to Raja Maun, repaired to Jodhpur. The four chiefs who had thus signalized themselves, preceded him, and were received with open arms: their offences were forgiven, and their estates restored, while Induraj was appointed Bukshee or commander of the forces.

CHAPTER XV.

Meer Khan's reception at Jodhpur.—Engages to extirpate Sowae's faction.—Interchanges turbans with the Raja.—The Khan repairs to Nagore.—Interview with Sowae.—Swears to support the Pretender.—Massacre of the Rajpoot chiefs.—Pretender flies.—The Khan plunders Nagore.—Receives £100,000 from Raja Maun.—Jeypur over-run.—Bikaneer attacked.—Meer Khan obtains the ascendancy in Marwar.—Garrisons Nagore with his Pathans.—Partitions lands amongst his chiefs.—Commands the salt lakes of Nowah and Sambhur.—The Minister Induraj and high-priest Deonath assassinated.—Raja Maun's reason affected.—His seclusion.—Abdication in favour of his son Chutter Sing.—He falls the victim of illicit pursuits.—Madness of Raja Maun increased.—Its causes.—Suspicions of the Raja having sacrificed Induraj.—The oligarchy headed by Salim Sing of Pokurn, son of Sowae, assumes the charge of the government.—Epoch of British universal supremacy.—Treaty with Marwar framed during the regency of Chutter Sing.—The oligarchy, on his death, offer the gadi *of Marwar to the house of Edur.—Rejected.—Reasons.—Raja Maun entreated to resume the reins of power.—Evidence that his madness was feigned.—The Raja dissatisfied with certain stipulations of the treaty.—A British officer sent to Jodhpur.—Akhi Chund, chief of the civil administration.—Salim Sing of Pokurn, chief minister.—Opposition led by Futteh Raj.—British troops offered to be placed at the Raja's disposal.—Offer rejected.—Reasons.—British agent returns to Ajmeer.—Permanent agent appointed to the court of Raja Maun.—Arrives at Jodhpur.—Condition of the capital.—Interviews with the Raja.—Objects to be attained described.—Agent leaves Jodhpur.—General sequestrations of the fiefs.—Raja Maun apparently relapses into his old apathy.—His deep dissimulation.—Circumvents and seizes the faction.—Their wealth sequestrated.—Their ignominious death.—Immense resources derived from sequestrations.—Raja Maun's thirst for blood.—Fails to entrap the chiefs.—The Neemaj chief attacked.—His gallant defence.—Slain.—The Pokurn chief escapes.—Futteh Raj becomes minister.—Raja Maun's speech to him.—Neemaj attacked.—Surrender.—Raja Maun's infamous violation of his pledge.—Noble conduct of the mercenary commander.—Voluntary exile of the whole aristo-*

cracy of Marwar.—Received by the neighbouring princes.—Maun's gross ingratitude to Anar Sing.—The exiled chiefs apply to the British Government, which refuses to mediate.—Raja Maun loses the opportunity of fixing the constitution of Marwar.—Reflections.

AMEER KHAN was received by Raja Maun with distinguished honours; a palace in the castle was assigned as his residence; valuable gifts were presented to him and great rewards held in perspective, if, through his agency, the rebellion should be completely subdued. He swore to extirpate Sowae's faction, and in token of identity of views with Raja Maun, he was admitted to the honour of that last proof of devotion to his cause, "an interchange of turbans," with an advance of three lakhs, or £30,000, for the immediate payment of his bonds.

On the raising of the siege of Jodhpur, Sowae conducted the Pretender to the appanage of the heirs of Marwar, the city of Nagore. There they were deliberating as to their future plans, when a message was brought from Ameer Khan from Moondhiawur, ten miles distant, begging permission to perform his devotions at the shrine of the Mooslem saint, Peer Tarkeen, the sole relic of the Islamite which Bukht Sing had spared. His request being complied with, he with a slight cavalcade left his camp, and having gone through the mummeries of devotion, paid his respects to Sowae. When about to take leave, he threw out hints of Raja Maun's ungrateful return for his services, and that his legions might have been better employed. Sowae greedily caught at the bait; he desired the Khan to name his terms, and offered £200,000 on the day that Dhonkul should possess the *gadi* of Jodhpur. The Khan accepted the conditions and ratified the engagement on the Koran, and to add to the solemnity of the pledge, he exchanged turbans with Sowae. This being done, he was introduced to the Pretender, received the usual gifts, pledged his life in his cause, took leave, and returned to his camp, whither he invited the prince and his chiefs on the following day to accept of an entertainment.

On the morning of the 19th of Cheit, S. 1864 (A. D. 1808), Sowae, attended by the chief adherents of the Pretender and about five hundred followers, repaired to the camp of the Khan, who had made every preparation for the more effectual perpetration of the bloody and perfidious deed he meditated. A spacious tent was pitched in the centre of his camp for the reception of his guests, and cannon were loaded with grape ready to be turned against them. The visitors were received with the most distinguished courtesy; turbans were again exchanged;

the dancing-girls were introduced, and nothing but festivity was apparent. The Khan arose, and making an excuse to his guests for a momentary absence, retired. The dancing continued, when at the word "*dagga*," pronounced by the musicians, down sunk the tent upon the unsuspicious Rajpoots, who fell an easy prey to the ferocious Pathans. Forty-two chieftains were thus butchered in the very sanctuary of hospitality, and the heads of the most distinguished were sent to the Raja Maun. Their adherents, taken by susprise, were slaughtered by the soldiery, or by cannon charged with grape, as they fled. The Pretender escaped from Nagore, which was plundered by the Khan, when not only all the property of the party, but the immense stores left by Bukht Sing, including three hundred pieces of cannon were taken, and sent to Sambhur and other strongholds held by the Khan. Having thus fulfilled his instructions, he repaired to Jodhpur, and received ten lakhs or £100,000, and two large towns, Moondhiawur and Koochilawas, of thirty thousand rupees annual rent, besides, one hundred rupees daily for table-allowance, as the reward of his signal infamy.

Thus, by the murder of Sowae and his powerful partizans, the confederacy against Raja Maun was extinguished; but though the Raja had thus, miraculously as it were, defeated the gigantic schemes formed against him, the mode by which it was effected entailed upon him and upon his country unexampled miseries. The destruction of the party of the Pretender was followed by retaliation on the various members of the league. The Jeypur territory was laid waste by the troops of Meer Khan, and an expedition was planned against Bikaneer. An army, consisting of twelve thousand of Raja Maun's feudal levies, under the command of Induraj, with a brigade of Meer Khan, and that of Hundall Khan with thirty-five guns, marched against the chief of the independent Rahtores. The Bikaneer Raja formed an army little inferior in numbers, and gave his suzerain the meeting at Bapri; but after a partial encounter, in which the former lost two hundred men, he fell back upon his capital, pursued by the victors, who halted at Gujnair. Here terms were offered; two lakhs as the expenses of the war, and the surrender of the bone of contention, the town of Filodi, which had been assigned to Bikaneer as the price of joining the confederacy.

The Khan was now the arbiter of Marwar. He stationed Ghufoor Khan with a garrison in Nagore, and partitioned the lands of Mairta amongst his followers. He likewise placed his garrison in the castle of Nowah, which gave him the command of the salt-lakes of Nowah and Sambhur. Induraj and the

high-priest Deonath were the only counsellors of Raja Maun, and all the oppressions which the chieftains suffered through this predominant foreign interference, were attributed to their advice. To cut them off, the chiefs in their turn applied to Ameer Khan, who for seven lakhs (£70,000) readily consented to rid them of their enemies. A plot was laid, in which some of his Pathans, under pretence of quarrelling with Induraj for their arrears, put this minister and the high-priest to death.

The loss of Deonath appeared to affect the reason of Raja Maun. He shut himself up in his apartments, refused to communicate with any one, and soon omitted every duty, whether political or religious, until at length he was recommended to name his only son Chuttur Sing as his successor. To this he acceded, and with his own hand made the mark of inauguration on his forehead. But youth and base panders to his pleasures seduced him from his duties, and he died, some say, the victim of illicit pursuits, others, from a wound given by the hand of one of the chieftains, whose daughter he attempted to seduce.

The premature death of his only son, before he had attained the years of majority, still more alienated the mind of Raja Maun from all state affairs, and his suspicions of treacherous attempts on his person extended even to his wife. He refused all food, except that which was brought by one faithful menial. He neglected his ablutions, allowed his face to be covered with hair, and at lenght either was, or affected to be insane. He spoke to no one, and listened with the apathy of an idiot to the communications of the ministers, who were compelled to carry on the goverment. By many it is firmly believed that the part he thus acted was feigned, to escape the snares laid for his life; while others think that it was a melancholy mania, arising from remorse at having consented to the murder of Induraj, which incidentally involved that of the *Guru.** In short, his alliance with the atrocious Khan exposed him to the suspicion of a participation in his crimes, which the bent of his policy too much favoured. In this condition—the government being managed by an oligarchy headed by Salim Sing (son of Sowae)—did Raja Maun remain, until the tide of events carried the arms of Britain even to the desert of Maroo.

When, in 1817, we invited the Rajpoots to disunite from the predatory powers, and to join us in establishing order throughout India, the young son of Raja Maun, or rather his ministers, sent envoys to Delhi. But ere the treaty was ratified, this dissipated youth was no more. On this event, the Pokurn faction, dreading Raja Maun's resumption of the government,

* For the character of this priest, see Vol. I.

made an application to Edur for a son to adopt as their sovereign. But splendid as was the offer, the Raja, who had but one son, rejected it, unless the demand were sustained by the unanimous suffrages of the nobles. Unanimity being unattainable, the faction had no alternative save the restoration of Raja Maun; but it was in vain they explained the new position of Marwar, the alliance with the English, which awaited his sanction, and the necessity that he, as the last prop of the royal family, should resume the reins of power. He listened to all with the most apathetic indifference. But although he saw in this new crisis of the political condition of his country, motives for effecting his escape from bondage, his mind was so tutored by bitter experience that he never for an instant betrayed its workings. When at length he allowed himself to comprehend the full nature of the changes which made even the faction desire his egress from solitude, so far from expressing any joy, he even disapproved of part of the treaty, and especially the article relating to the armed contingent of his vassals to be at the disposal of the protecting power, in which he wisely saw the germ of discord, from the certainty of interference it would lead to.

It was in December 1817 that the treaty* was negotiated at Delhi by a Brahmin named Beas Bishen Ram, on the part of the regent prince, and in December 1818, an officer of the British government† was deputed to report on its actual condition. Notwithstanding the total disorganization of the government, from the combination of causes already described, the court had lost nothing of its splendour or regularity; the honour of all was concerned in preserving the dignity of the '*gadi*,' though its incumbent was an object of distrust and even detestation. The ministry at this period was conducted by Akhi Chund (*Dewan*), and Salim Sing of Pokurn, as the representative of the aristocracy, with the title of *bhanjgur*. All the garrisons and offices of trust throughout the country were held by the creatures of a junto, of which these were the heads. There was, however, already the nucleus of an opposition in the brother of the murdered minister, named Futteh Raj, who was entrusted with the care of the city. The instructions of the agent were to offer the aid of the British government towards the settlement of Raja Maun's affairs; and at a private interview, three days after the agent's arrival, troops were offered to be placed at his disposal. But the wariness of his character will be seen in the use he made of this offer. He felt that the lever was at hand to crush faction to the dust;

* See treaty, Appendix No. II.
† Mr. Wilder, superintendent of the district of Ajmeer.

and with a Machiavelian caution, he determined that the existence of this engine should suffice; that its power should be felt, but never seen; that he should enjoy all the advantages this influence would give, without risking any of its dangers if called into action. Thus, while he rejected, though with thanks, the essential benefit tendered, qualifying his refusal with a sufficient reason—"reliance on himself to restore his state to order,"—he failed not to disseminate the impression amongst his chiefs, which was enough for his purpose, and which besides checked the dictation and interference that uniformly result from such unequal alliances.

Energetic councils and rapid decision are unknown to Asiatic governments, whose subjects are ever prone to suspicion whenever unusual activity is visible; and Raja Maun had been schooled into circumspection from his infancy. He appeared anxious to bury the past in oblivion, by choosing men of both parties for the inferior duties of the ministry; and the blandness of his manners and his conciliatory address, lulled the most suspicious into security. After a short residence, the agent returned to Ajmeer, having in vain tried to convince Raja Maun that his affairs were irretrievable without the direct aid of the paramount power, which he persisted in repudiating, assigning as his reason that he felt convinced, from "the measures then in train," he should accomplish the task himself: of these measures conciliation appeared to be the basis.

At this period* an envoy was appointed, with powers direct from the Governor-General to Raja Maun, but he was for some months prevented from proceeding to his court, from various causes.†

* In February 1819, the author had the political duties of Marwar added to those of the States of Oodipur, Kotah, Boondi, and Sirohi.

† One of these was an unpleasant altercation, which took place between the towns-people of the Commercial Mart of Palli and an English gentleman, sent unofficially to feel his way as to the extension of commercial enterprize, carrying specimens of the staple commodities of our trade. This interference with the very fountain-head of their trade alarmed the monopolists of Palli, who, dreading such competition, created or took advantage of an incident to rid themselves of the intruder. The commercial men of these regions almost all profess the Jain religion, whose first rule of faith is the preservation of life, in beast as in man. By them, therefore, the piece-goods, the broad-cloths and metals of the Christian trader, were only less abhorred than his flesh-pots, and the blood of the goats sworn to have been shed by his servants within the bounds of Palli, rose in judgment against their master, of whom a formal complaint was laid before Raja Maun. It lost none of its acrimony in coming through the channel of his internuncio at Oodipur, the Brahmin, Bishen Ram. Mr. Rutherford rebutted the charge, and an investigation took place at the capital on oath, upon which, as the merchants and the governor of Pall (a nephew of the minister), could not substantiate their charge, the lattei

The agent, who reached Jodhpur early in the month of November, found matters in nearly the same state as on his predecessor's departure in February. The same faction kept the prince and all the officers of government at their disposal. The Raja interfered but little with their measures, except to acquiesce in or confirm them. The mercenary bands of Sindies or Pathans were in miserable plight and clamorous for their pay, not having been accounted with for three years; and they were to be seen begging in the streets of the capital, or hawking bundles of forage on their heads to preserve them from starvation. On the approach of the agent of the British Government, the forms of accounts were gone through, and they gave in acquittances in full of all demands, on condition of receiving thirty per cent. of their arrears; but this was only a form, and with his departure (in about three weeks), they despaired even of that.

The name of justice was unknown:—though, in allusion to the religion of the men in power, it was common to hear it said, "you may commit murder and no one will notice it; but woe to him who beats or maims a brute, for dogs are publicly fed while the soldier starves." In short, the sole object of the faction was to keep at a distance all interposition that might lead the prince to emancipate himself from their control. During the agent's stay of nearly three weeks, he had several private interviews with Raja Maun. The knowledge he had of the history of his ancestry and his own situation, and of the causes which had produced it, failed not to beget a corresponding confidence; and these interviews were passed in discussions on the ancient history of the country as well as on his own immediate affairs. The agent took leave with these words: "I know all the perils through which you have passed; I am

was severely reprimanded for his incivility. But whether the story was true or false, it was quite enough for their purpose. The interdict between Mr. Rutherford and the inhabitants of Palli was more effectual than the *Sanitary cordon* of any prince in Christendom. The feeling of resentment against him reached the agent of government, who was obliged to support what appeared the cause of truth, even according to the deposition made before their own judgment-seat, and he was consequently deemed inimical to the prince and the faction which then guided his councils. Mr. Rutherford proceeded afterwards to Kotah, to exhibit the same wares; but he was there equally an object of jealousy, though from letters of recommendation from the agent, it was less strongly manifested. It furnished evidence that such interference would never succeed. It is well his mission did not appear to be sanctioned by the government. What evil might not be effected by permitting unrestricted and incautious intercourse with such people, who can, and do obtain all they require of our produce without the presence of the *producers*, who, whether *within* or *without* the pale of the Company's service will not, I trust, be prematurely *forced* on Rajpootana, or it will assuredly hasten the day of inevitable separation!

aware how you surmounted them. By your resolution, your external enemies are now gone: you have the British Government as a friend; rely upon it with the same fortitude, and, in a very short time, all will be as you could desire."

Raja Maun listened eagerly to these observations. His fine features, though trained to bear no testimony to the workings within, relaxed with delight as he rapidly replied, "In one twelve months, my affairs will be as friendship could wish." To which the agent rejoined, "In half the time, Maharaja, if you are determined:" though the points to which he had to direct his mind were neither few nor slight, for they involved every branch of government; as

1. Forming an efficient administration.

2. Consideration of the finances; the condition of the crown lands; the feudal confiscations which, often unjust, had caused great discontent.

3. The re-organization and settlement of the foreign troops, on whose service the Raja chiefly depended.

4. An effective police on all the frontiers, to put down the wholesale pillage of the Mairs in the south, the Larkhanis in the north, and the desert Sahraes and Khosas in the west; reformation of the tariff, or scale of duties on commerce, which were so heavy as almost to amount to prohibition; and at the same time to provide for its security.

Scarcely had the agent left Jodhpur, before the faction, rejoiced at the removal of the only restraint on their narrow-minded views, proceeded in the career of disorder. Whether the object were to raise funds, or to gratify ancient animosities, the course pursued by the Dewan and his junto was the same. Ganorah, the chief fief of Godwar, was put under sequestration, and only released by a fine of more than a year's revenue. All the minor chiefs of this rich tract suffered in the same manner, besides the indignity of having their lands placed under the control of a brother of the minister. Chandawul was put under sequestration, and only released on a very heavy fine. At length the Dewan had the audacity to put his hand on Ahwa, the chief fief of Marwar; but the descendant of Champa replied, "my estate is not of to-day, nor thus to be relinquished." Gloom, mistrust, and resentment, pervaded the whole feudal body. They saw a contemptible faction sporting with their honour and possessions, from an idea they industriously propagated, that an unseen but mighty power was at hand to support their acts, given out as those of the prince. If the Raja did dictate them, he took especial care it should not be seen; for in the absence of the British agent, he once more resumed his sequestered habits, and appeared to take no interest in the

government further than to promote a coalition between Akhi Chund and Futteh Raj, who was supported by a strong party of the chiefs, and the influence of the favourite queen. But Akhi Chund, who commanded, through his creatures, all the resources of the country, and its strongholds, even to the castle of Jodhpur, rejected these overtures, and feigning that there were plots against his personal safety, left the city; and the better to exclude his adversaries from the prince, resided entirely in the citadel.

Six months had thus fled. The fiat of Akhi Chund was supreme; he alone was visible; his orders alone were obeyed. Raja Maun was only heard of as an automaton, moving as the Dewan pleased. But while the latter was thus basking in the full sunshine of prosperity, enriching himself and his dependents, execrated by the nobles and envied by his fellow-citizens, they heard of his fall! Then, the insanity of his master proved to be but a cloak to the intensity of his resentment. But a blind revenge would not have satisfied Raja Maun. The victims of his deep dissimulation, now in manacles, were indulged with hopes of life, which, with the application of torture, made them reveal the plunder of prince and subject. A schedule of forty lakhs or £400,000, was given in by the Dewan and his dependents, and their accounts being settled in this world, they were summarily dismissed to the other, with every mark of ignominy which could add to the horrors of death. Nugji, the *Kelléda'r*, and misleader of the late regent prince, with Moolji Dandul, one of the old allodial stock, had each a cup of poison, and their bodies were thrown over the 'Gate of Victory' (*Futtéh Pol*). Jevaraj, a brother of the Dandul, with Beharri-das Kheechie, and the tailor, had their heads shaved, and their bodies were flung into the cascade beneath. Even the sacred character of "expounder of the *Vedas*," and that of "revealer of the secrets of heaven," yielded no protection; and Beas Seodas, with Sri-Kishen, *Jotishé*, the astrologer, were in the long list of proscriptions. Nugji, commandant of the citadel, and Moolji, had retired on the death of the regent-prince; and with the wealth they had accumulated, while administering to his follies, had erected places of strength. On the restoration of Raja Maun, and the general amnesty which prevailed, they returned to their ancient offices in the castle, rose into favour, and forgot they had been traitors. Having obtained their persons, Maun secured the ancient jewels of the crown, bestowed on these favourites during the ephemeral sway of his son. Their condemnation was then passed, and they were hurled over the battlements of the rock which it was their duty to guard. With such con-

summate skill was the plot contrived, that the creatures of the minister, in the most remote districts, were imprisoned simultaneously with himself. Of the many subordinate agents thus confined, many were liberated on the disclosure of their wealth; and by these sequestrations, Raja Maun obtained abundant supplies. The enormous sum of a crore, or near one million sterling, was stated; but if they yielded one-half (and this was not unlikely), they gave the means, which he was not slow to use, for the prosecution of what he termed a just punishment, though it better deserves the name of a savage revenge. Had he been satisfied with inflicting the last penalty of the law on the nefarious Akhi Chund, and some of the household officers whose fidelity ought ever to be firm, and with the sequestration of the estates of some two or three of the vassals whose power had become dangerous, or their treason too manifest to be overlooked, he would have commanded the services of the rest, and the admiration of all conversant with these events. But this first success added fuel to his revenge, and he sought out more noble victims to glut it. His circumspection and dissimulation were strengthened, not relaxed by his success. Several of the chiefs, who were marked out for death, had received, only a few days before, the highest proof of favour in additional lands to their rent-roll, and accident alone prevented a group of the most conspicuous from falling into the snare which had inveigled Akhi Chund. Salim Sing of Pokurn, and his constant associate Soortan of Neemaj, with Anar Sing of Ahore, and the minors of their clans, whose duty daily carried them to the court, as the chief advisers of the prince, formed a part of the administration of the Dewan, and they naturally took alarm upon his confinement. To obviate this, a deputation was sent by the prince to tranquillize them by the assurance that, in the confinement of the minister, whose rapacity and misconduct deserved punishment, the Raja had attained all his ends. Thus, in order to encompass the destruction of the Pokurn chief, he would not have scrupled to involve all the rest. The prince, with his own mouth, desired the confidential servant of Anar Sing, who was his personal friend, to attend with the others. Their distrust saved him. The same night, the mercenary bands, to the number of eight thousand men, with guns, attacked Soortan Sing in his dwelling. With one hundred and eighty of his clan, he defended himself against great guns and small arms, as long as the house was tenable, and then sallied out sword in hand, and, with his brother and eighty of his kin, fell nobly in the midst of his foes. The remainder retreated with their arms to defend Neemaj and their infant chief. This gallant defence, in which

many of the towns-people were slain, prevented a repetition of the attempt against the Pokurn chief, who remained on the defensive; until, seeing an opportunity, he fled to his asylum in the desert, or he would that day have renounced "the sheath of the dagger which held the fortunes of Marwar," and which now contained the accumulated revenge of four generations: of Deo Sing, of Subbulla, of Sowae, and his own. His death would have terminated this branch of Ajit's issue, adopted into the house of Pokurn, in the history of which we have a tolerable picture of the precariousness of existence in Marwar.*

What better commentary can be made on Raja Maun's character, than the few recorded words addressed to Futteh Raj, whom he sent for to the Presence, on the day succeeding these events? "Now you may perceive the reasons why I did not sooner give you office." This individual, the brother of the late Induraj, was forthwith installed in the post of Dewan; and with the sinews of war provided by the late sequestrations, the troops were satisfied, while by the impression so sedulously propagated and believed that he had only to call on the British power for what aid he required, the whole feudal body was appalled: and the men, who would have hurled the tyrant from his throne, now only sought to avoid his insidious snares, more dangerous than upon force.

Neemaj was besieged and nobly defended; but at length the son of Soortan capitulated, on receiving the sign-manual of his prince promising pardon and restoration, guaranteed by the commander of the mercenary bands. To the eternal disgrace of the Raja, he broke this pledge, and the boy had scarcely appeared in the besieging camp, when the civil officer produced the Raja's mandate for his captivity and transmission to the Presence. If it is painful to record this fact, it is pleasing to add, that even the mercenary commander spurned the infamous injunction. "No," said he; "on the faith of my pledge (*buchun*) he surrendered; and if the Raja breaks his word, I will maintain mine, and at least place him in security." He kept his promise, and conveyed him to the Aravulli moun-

* In a letter addressed to the Government on these events, dated July 7, 1820, I observed, "The danger is, that success may tempt him to go beyond the line of necessity, either for the ends of justice or security. If he stops with the Pokurn chief, and one or two inferior concerned in the coalition of 1806 and the usurpation of his son, with the condign punishment of a few of the civil officers, it will afford a high opinion of his character; but if he involves Ahwa, and the other principal chiefs, in these proscriptions, he may provoke a strife which will yet overwhelm him. He has done enough for justice, and even for revenge, which has been carried too far as regards Soortan Sing, whose death (which I sincerely regret) was a prodigal sacrifice.'

tains, whence he passed over to, and received protection in Mewar.

This and similar acts of treachery and cold-blooded tyranny completely estranged all the chiefs. Isolated as they were, they could make no resistance against the mercenary battalions, amounting to ten thousand men, exclusive of the quotas; and they dared not league for defence, from the dreaded threat held over them, of calling in the British troops; and in a few months the whole feudal association of Marwar abandoned their homes and their country, seeking shelter in the neighbouring states from the Raja's cruel and capricious tyranny. To his connection with the British Government alone he was indebted for his being able thus to put forth the resources of his policy, which otherwise he never could have developed either with safety or effect; nor at any former period of the history of Marwar could the most daring of its princes have undertaken, with any prospect of success, what Raja Maun accomplished under this alliance.

These brave men found asylum in the neighbouring states of Kotah, Mewar, Bikaneer and Jeypur. Even the faithful Anar Sing, whose fidelity no gratitude could ever repay, was obliged to seek refuge in exile. He had stood Maun's chief shield against the proscription of Raja Bheem, when cooped up in Jhalore, and sold his wife's ornaments, "even to her nose-ring," to procure him the means of subsistence and defence. It was Anar Sing who saved him when, in the attempt upon Palli, he was unhorsed and nearly made prisoner. He was among the four chiefs who remained by his fortunes when the rest deserted to the standard of the Pretender; and he was one of the same body, who rescued the trophies of their disgrace from the hands of their enemies when on the road to Jeypur. Last of all, he was mainly instrumental in the Raja's emancipation and in his resumption of the reins of government. Well, might the fury of his revenge deserve the term of madness! In A. D. 1821, the greater chieftains of Marwar, thus driven into exile, were endeavouring to obtain the mediation of the British authorities; but another year had elapsed without the slightest advance to accommodation. Their conduct has been exemplary, but their degrading position, dependent on the scanty resources of others, must of itself work a cure. Their manly remonstrance addressed to the British functionary is already before the reader.* He did not hesitate to tell them, that if in due time no mediation was held out, they must depend on themselves for redress!

* See Vol. I.

Such was the political condition of Marwar until the year 1823. Had a demoniacal spirit of revenge not blinded Raja Maun, he had a fine opportunity to lay the principles of order on a permanent basis, and to introduce those reforms necessary for his individual welfare as well as for that of the state. He had it in his power to modify the institutions, to curb without destroying the feudal chiefs, and to make the whole subservient to the altered condition of affairs. Instead of having the glory of fixing the constitution of his country, he has (reposing on external protection) broken up the entire feudal association, and rendered the paramount power an object of hatred instead of reverence.

Having thus rapidly sketched the history of this interesting branch of the Rajpoot race, from the destruction of their ancient seat of empire, Canouj, and their settlement in the Indian desert more than six centuries ago, to the present day, it is impossible to quit the subject without a reflexion on the anomalous condition of their alliance with the British Government, which can sanction the existence of such a state of things as we have just described. It illustrates the assertions made in an early part of this work,* of the ill-defined principles which guide all our treaties with the Rajpoots, and which, if not early remedied, will rapidly progress to a state of things full of misery to them, and of inevitable danger to ourselves. These "men of the soil," as they emphatically designate themselves, cling to it, and their ancient and well-defined privileges, with an unconquerable pertinacity; in their endeavours to preserve them, whole generations have been swept away, yet has their strength increased in the very ratio of oppression. Where are now the oppressors, the dynasties of Ghizni, of Ghor, the Ghiljis, the Lodis, the Pathans, the Timoors, and the demoralizing Mahratta? The native Rajpoot has flourished amidst these revolutions, and survived their fall; and but for the vices of their internal sway, chiefly contracted from such association, would have risen to power upon the ruin of their tyrants. But internal dissension invited the spoiler; and herds of avaricious Mahrattas and ferocious Pathans have reaped the harvest of their folly. Yet all these faults were to be redeemed in their alliances with a people whose peculiar boast was, that wisdom, justice, and clemency were the corner-stones of their power: seeking nothing from them beyond the means for their defence, and an adherence to the virtues of order. How far the protecting power has redeemed its pledge, in allowing years to pass away without some attempt to remedy the anarchy we have described,

* Vol. I.

the reader is in a condition to judge. If it be said that we have tied up our hands by leaving them free agents in their internal administration, then let no offer of support be given to the head, for the oppression of the vassal and his rights, co-equal with those of the sovereign; and if our mediation cannot be exerted, let us withdraw altogether the checks upon the operation of their own system of government, and leave them free agents in reality. A wiser, more humane, and liberal policy would be, to impose upon ourselves the task of understanding their political condition, and to use our just influence for the restoration of their internal prosperity, and with it the peace, present as well as prospective, of an important part of our empire. The policy which such views would suggest, is to support the opinion of the vast majority of the Rahtores, and to seize the first opportunity to lend at least our sanction to an adoption, from the Edur branch, of Rahtore blood, not only uncontaminated, but heirs presumptive to Joda, and exclude the parricidal line which will continue to bring misery on the country. If, however, we apply only our own monarchical, nay despotic principles, to this feudal society, and interfere but to uphold a blind tyranny, which must drive these brave chiefs to despair, it will be well to reflect and consider, from the acts we have related, of what they are capable. Very different, indeed, would be the deeds of proscribed Rajpoots from those of vagabond Pindarries, or desultory Mahrattas; and what a field for aggression and retreat! Rumour asserts that they have already done themselves justice; and that, driven to desperation, and with no power to mediate, the dagger has reached the heart of Raja Maun! If this be true, it is a retribution which might have been expected; it was the only alternative left to the oppressed chiefs to do themselves justice. It is also said, that the 'pretended' son of Raja Bheem is now on the *gadi* of Joda. This is deeply to be lamented. Raja Dhonkul will see only the party who espoused his pretensions, and the Pokurn chief and faction will hold that place in the councils of his sovereign, which of right belongs to the head of his clan, the Champawut chief of Ahwa, an exile in Mewar.* Jealousy, feuds, and bloodshed will be the consequence, which would at once be averted by an adoption from Edur. Were a grand council of Rajpoots to be convened, in order to adjust the question, nine-tenths would decide as proposed; the danger of interference would be neutralized, and peace and tranquillity would be the boon bestowed upon thousands, and, what is of some consequence, future danger to ourselves would be avoided.

* He was so when the author left India in 1823.

CHAPTER XVI.

*Extent and population of Marwar.—Classification of inhabitants.—Jits—Rajpoots, sacerdotal, commercial, and servile tribes.—Soil.—Agricultural products.—Natural productions.—Salt lakes.—Marble and limestone quarries.—Tin, lead, and iron mines.—Alum.—Manufactures.—Commercial marts.—Transit trade,—Palli, the emporium of Western India.—Mercantile classes.—Khartras and Oswals.—*Kutars, *or caravans.—Imports and exports enumerated.—*Charuns, *the guardians of the caravans.—Commercial decline.—Causes.—Opium monopoly.—Fairs of Moondhwa and Bhalotra,—Administration of justice.—Punishments.—Raja Beejy Sing's clemency to prisoners, who are maintained by private charity.—Gaol deliveries on eclipses, births, and accession of princes.—*Sogun, *or ordeals: fire, water, burning oil.—Punchaets.—Fiscal revenues and regulations.—*Buttae, *or corn-rent.—*Shenahs *and* Kunwarris.—*Taxes.—*Anga, *or capitation tax.—*Gaswali, *or pasturage.—*Kewari, *or door tax; how originated.* Sayer, *or imposts; their amount.—*Dhannis, *or collectors.—Revenues from the salt-lakes.—*Tandas, *or caravans engaged in this trade.—Aggregate revenues.—Military resources.—Mercenaries.—Feudal quotas.—Schedule of feoffs.—Qualification of a cavalier.*

THE extreme breadth of Marwar lies between two points in the parallel of the capital, *viz.*, Girap, west, and Shamgurh, on the Aravulli range, east. This line measures two hundred and seventy British miles. The greatest length, from the Sirohi frontier to the northern boundary, is about two hundred and twenty miles. From the remote angle, N. N. E., in the Deedwanoh district, to the extremity of Sanchore, S. W., the diagonal measurement is three hundred and fifty miles. The limits of Marwar are, however, so very irregular, and present so many salient angles and abutments into other states, that without a trigonometrical process we cannot arrive at a correct estimate of its superficial extent: a nicety not, inded, required.

The most marked feature that diversifies the face of Maroo, is the river Looni, which, rising on her eastern frontier at Pooshkur, and pursuing a westerly course, nearly bisects the country, and forms the boundary between the fertile and sterile lands of Maroo. But although the tracts south of this stream,

between it and the Aravulli, are by far the richest part of Marwar, it would be erroneous to describe all the northern part as sterile. An ideal line, passing through Nagore and Jodhpur, to Bhalotra, will mark the just distinction. South of this line will lie the districts of Deedwanoh, Nagore, Mairta, Jodhpur, Palli, Sojut, Godwar, Sewanoh, Jhalore, Beenmahl, and Sanchore, most of which are fertile and populous; and we may assign a population of eighty souls to the square mile. The space north of this line is of a very different character, but this requires a sub-division; for while the north-east portion, which includes a portion of Nagore, the large towns of Filodi, Pokurn, &c., may be calculated at thirty, the remaining space to the south-west, as *Gogadeoca-thul* or 'desert of Goga,' Sheo, Barmair, Kotra, and Chotun, can scarcely be allowad ten. In round numbers, the population of Marwar may be estimated at two millions of souls.

Classes of Inhabitants.—Of this amount, the following is the classification of the tribes. The Jits constitute five-eighths, the Rajpoots two-eighths, while the remaining classes, sacerdotal,* commercial, and servile, make up the integral number. If this calculation be near the truth, the Rajpoots, men, women, and children, will amount to five hundred thousand souls, which would admit of fifty thousand men capable of bearing arms, especially when we recollect that the Jits or Jats are the industrious class.

It is superfluous to expatiate on the peculiarities of the Rahtore character, which we have endeavoured to extract from their own actions. It stands deservedly high in the scale of the "thirty-six tribes," and although debased by one besetting sin (the use of opium), the Rahtore is yet a noble animal, and requires only some exciting cause to shew that the spirit, which set at defiance the resources of the empire in the zenith of its prosperity, is dormant only, not extinct. The reign of the present prince has done more. however, than even the arms of Arungzebe, to deteriorate the Rahtores. Peace would recruit their thinned ranks, but the mistrust sown in every house by unheard of duplicity, has greatly demoralized the national character, which until lately stood higher than that of any of the circumjacent tribes. A popular prince, until within these very few years could easily have collected a magnificent army, *ek ba'p ca' beta'*, 'the sons of one father,' round the '*gadi* of Joda'; in fact, the *pancha's huzur turwar Rahtoran*, meaning the 'firty thousand Rahtore swords,' is the proverbial phrase to denote the muster of Maroo, of which they estimated

* The district of Sanchore is almost entirely Brahmin, forming a distinct tribe, called the Sanchora Brahmins.

five thousand cavalry. This was exclusive of the household and foreign troops supported on the fiscal lands. The Rahtore cavalry was the best in India. There were several horse-fairs, especially those of Bhalotra and Pooshkur, where the horses of Cutch and Cattiawar, the jungle and Mooltan, were brought in great numbers. Valuable horses were also bred on the western frontier, on the Looni, those of *Rardurro* being in high estimation. But the events of the last twenty years appear to have dried up every source of supply. The breeding studs of Rardurro, Cutch, and the jungle are almost extinct, and supplies from the west of the Indus are intercepted by the Sikhs. The destruction of the predatory system, which created a constant demand, appears to have lessened the supply. So much for the general peace which the successes of Britain have produced.

In periods of civil commotion, or when the safety of the state was periled, we hear of one clan (the Champawut) mustering four thousand horse. But if ever so many of "the sons of Champa" were congregated at one time, it is an extraordinary occurrence, and far beyond the demand which the state has upon their loyalty. To estimate what may be demanded of them, we have only to divide the rent-roll by five hundred rupees, the qualification for a cavalier in Maroo, and to add, for each horse, two foot-soldiers. A schedule of the great feudal estates shall be appended.

Soil, Agriculture, Products.—The following is the classification of the different heads of soil in Marwar:—*Baikal*, *Chikni*, *Peela*, and *Suffed*. The first (whose etymology I know not) pervades the greater part of the country, being a light sand, having little or no earthy admixture, and only fit to produce *bajra* (millet), *moong*, *moth*, (pulse), *til* (sesamum), melons and *gowár*. *Chikni* (fat), a black earth, pervades the district of Deedwanoh, Mairta, Palli, and several of the feudal lands in Godwar. Wheat and grain are its products. The *Peela* (yellow) is a sandy clay, chiefly about Kewnsir and the capital, also Jhalore and Bhalotra, and portions of other districts. It is best adapted for barley, and that kind of wheat called *Pattageon*, (the other is *Katta-geon*); also tobacco, onions, and other vegetables: the staple millets are seldom grown in this. The *Suffed* (white) is almost pure silex, and grows little or nothing, but after heavy falls of rain.

The districts south of the Looni, as Palli, Sojut, and Godwar, fertilized by the numerous petty streams flowing from the Aravulli, produce abundantly every species of grain with the exception of *bajra*, which thrives best in a sandy soil; and in Nagore and Mairta considerable quantities of the richer grains

are raised by irrigation from wells. The extensive western divisions of Jhalore, Sanchore, and Beenmahl, containing five hundred and ten towns and villages, which are *Khalisa*, or 'fiscal land' possess an excellent soil, with the advantage of the rills from Aboo, and the great southern barrier; but the demoralized government of Raja Maun never obtains from them one-third of their intrinsic capability, while the encroachment of the Sahraes, and other robbers from the Sindie desert, encroach upon them often with impunity. Wheat, barley, rice, *jooar* (millet), *moong* (pulse), *til* (sesamum), are the chief products of the richer lands; while amidst the sandy tracts they are confined to *bajra*, *moong*, and *til*. With good government, Marwar possesses abundance of means to collect stores against the visitations which afflict these northern regions: but prejudice steps in to aid the ravages of famine, and although water is near the surface in all the southern districts, the number of wells bears no proportion to those in Mewar. The great district of Nagore, of five hundred and sixty towns and villages, the appanage of the heirs-apparent of Maroo, in spite of physical difficulties, is, or has been made, an exception; and the immense sheet of sandstone, on which a humid soil is embedded, has been pierced throughout by the energies of ancient days, and contains greater aids to agriculture than many more fertile tracts in the country.

Natural Productions.—Marwar can boast of some valuable productions of her sterile plains, which make her an object of no little importance in the most distant and more favoured regions of India. The salt lakes of Pachbhadra, Deedwanoh, and Sambhur, are mines of wealth, and their produce is exported over the greater part of Hindustan; while to the marble quarries of Mokrano (which gives its name to the mineral), on her eastern frontier, all the splendid edifices of the imperial cities owe their grandeur. The materials used in the palaces of Delhi, Agra, their mosques, and tombs, have been conveyed from Marwar. The quarries, until of late years, yielded a considerable revenue; but the age for palace-building in these regions is no more, and posterity will ask with surprise the sources of such luxury. There are also limestone quarries near Jodhpur and Nagore; and the concrete called *kunkur* is abundant in many of the districts, and chiefly used for mortar. Tin and lead are found at Sojut; alum about Palli, and iron is obtained from Beenmahl and the districts adjoining Guzerat.

Manufactures.—The manufactures of Marwar are of no great importance in a commercial point of view. Abundance of coarse cotton cloths, and blankets, are manufactured from the cotton and wool produced in the country, but they are

chiefly used there. Matchlocks, swords, and other warlike implements, are fabricated at the capital and at Palli; and at the latter place they make boxes of iron, tinned, so as to resemble the tin boxes of Europe. Iron platters for culinary purposes are in such great demand as to keep the forges constantly going.

Commercial Marts.—None of these states are without traffic; each has her mart, or *entrepot*; and while Mewar boasts of Bhilwara, Bikaneer of Chooroo, and Amber of Malpoora (the city of wealth), the Rahtores claim, Palli, which is not only the rival of the places just mentioned, but may make pretensions to the title of *emporium* of Rajpootana. These pretensions we may the more readily admit, when we recollect that nine-tenths of the bankers and commercial men of India are natives of Maroodes, and these chiefly of the Jain faith. The laity of the *Khartra* sect send forth thousands to all parts of India, and the Oswals, so termed from the town of Osi, near the Looni, estimate one hundred thousand families whose occupation is commerce. All these claim a Rajpoot descent, a fact entirely unknown to the European enquirer into the peculiarities of Hindû manners. The wealth acquired in foreign lands, from the Sutlej to the ocean, returns chiefly to their native soil; but as neither primogeniture nor *majorats* are sanctioned by the Jain law-givers, an equal distribution takes place amongst all the sons, though the youngest (as amongst the Getes of Asia, and the Juts of Kent), receives often a double portion. This arises when the division takes place while the parent is living • being the portion set apart for his own support, which ultimately falls to the youngest, with whom he probably resides. It would be erroneous to say this practice is extensive; though sufficient instances exist to suppose it once was a principle.* The bare enumera-

* There is nothing which so much employs the assessors of justice, in those tribunals of arbitration, the *Punchaets*, as the adjudication of questions, of property. The highest compliment ever paid to the Author, was by the litigants of property amounting to half a million sterling which had been going the rounds of various *Punchaets* and appeals to native princes, alike unsatisfactory in their results. They agreed to admit as final the decision of a court of his nomination. It was not without hesitation I accepted the mediation propounded through the British superintendent of Ajmeer (Mr. Wilder); but knowing *two* men, whose integrity as well as powers of investigation were above all encomium, I could not refuse. One of these had given a striking instance of independence in support of the award his penetration had led him to pronounce, and which award being set aside on appeal, through favouritism, he abjured every future call as an arbitrator. He was not a wealthy man, but such was the homage paid to his integrity and talents, that the greatest despot in India found it politic to re-assemble the court, have the case re-considered, and permit justice to take its course. In like manner, his demand was, that, before he agreed to devote his time to unravelling all the intricacies of

tion of the tribes following commerce would fill a short chapter. A priest of the Jains (my own teacher), who had for a series of years devoted his attention to form a catalogue, which then amounted to nearly *eighteen hundred classes*, renounced the pursuit, on obtaining from a distant region, one hundred and fifty new names to add to his list.

Palli was the *entrepot* for the eastern and western regions, where the productions of India, Cashmeer, and China, were interchanged for those of Europe, Africa, Persia and Arabia. Caravans (*kutars*), from the ports of Cutch and Guzerat, imported elephant's teeth, copper, dates, gum-arabic, borax, coco-nuts, broad-cloths, silks, sandal wood, camphor, dyes, drugs, oxide and sulphuret of arsenic, spices, coffee, &c. In exchange, they exported chintzes, dried fruits, *jeeroh*, assafœtida from Mooltan, sugar, opium (Kotah and Malwa), silks and fine cloths, potash, shawls, dyed blankets, arms, and salt of home manufacture.

The route of the caravans was by Sooie Bah, Sanchore, Beenmahl, Jhalore to Palli, and the guardians of the merchandize, were almost invariably Charuns, a character held sacred by the Rajpoot. The most desperate outlaw seldom dared to commit any outrage on caravans under the safeguard of these men, the bards of the Rajpoots. If not strong enough to defend their convoy with sword and shield, they would threaten the robbers with the *chandi*, or 'self-immolation;' and proceed by degrees from a gash in the flesh to a death-wound, or if one victim was insufficient a whole body of women and children was sacrificed (as in the case of the Bhamunia Bhats), for whose blood the marauder is declared responsible hereafter.

Commerce has been almost extinguished within these last twenty years; and paradoxical as it may appear, there was tenfold more activity and enterprize in the midst of that predatory warfare, which rendered India one wide arena of conflict, than in these days of universal pacification. The torpedo touch of monopoly has had more effect on the *Kutars* than the spear of the desert Sahrae, or *barwuttia* (outlaw) Rajpoot —against its benumbing qualities the Charun's dagger would fall innocuous; it sheds no blood, but it dries up its channels. If the products of the salt-lakes of Rajpootana were preferred, even at Benares, to the sea-salt of Bengal, high impost duties excluded it from the market. If the opium of Malwa and Harouti competed in the China Market with our Patna monopoly, again we intervened, not with high export duties, which

the case, both litigants should sign a *moochilka* or 'bond,' to abide by the award. I have no recollection how it terminated.

we were competent to impose, but by laying our shackles upon it at the fountain-head. "*Aut Cæsar, aut nullus*," is our maxim in these regions; and in a country where our agents are established only to preserve political relations and the faith of treaties, the basis of which is non-interference in the internal arrangement of their affairs—albeit we have not a single foot of land in sovereignty, we set forth our *perwanas*, as peremptory as any Russian *ukase*, and command that no opium shall leave these countries for the accustomed outlets, under pain of confiscation. Some, relying on their skill in eluding our vigilance, or tempted by the high price which these measures produce, or perhaps reckoning upon our justice, and upon impunity if discovered, tried new routes, until confiscation brought them to submission.

We then put an arbitrary value upon the drug, and forced the grower to come to us, and even take credit to ourselves for consulting his interests. Even admitting that such price was a remunerating one, founded upon an average of past years, still it is not the less arbitrary. No allowance is made for plentiful or bad seasons, when the drug, owing to a scarcity, will bear a double price. Our legislation is for "all seasons and their change." But this virtual infraction of the faith of treaties is not confined to the grower or retailer; it affects others in a variety of ways; it injures our reputation and the welfare of those upon whom, for benevolent purposes, we have forced our protection. The transit duties levied on opium formed an item in the revenues of the princes of Rajpootana; but confiscation guards the passes of the Aravulli and Guzerat, and unless the smuggler wrap up his cargo in ample folds of deceit, the Rajpoot may go without his '*umlpani*,' the infusion of this poison, dearer to him than life. It is in vain to urge that sufficient is allowed for home consumption. Who is to be the judge of this? Or who is so blind as not to see that any latitude of this kind would defeat the monopoly, which, impolitic in its origin, gave rise in its progress to fraud, gambling, and neglect of more important agricultural economy. But this policy must defeat itself: the excess of quantity produced will diminish the value of the original (Patna) monopoly, if its now deteriorated quality should fail to open the eyes of the quick-sighted Chinese, and exclude it from the market altogether.*

* The Author learns that important modifications of this system have been made by the legislative authorities at home: of their extent he is ignorant, except that remuneration to chiefs for the loss of transit-duties has not been omitted. This is as it should be!

Fairs.—There were two annual fairs in this country, Moondhwa and Bhalotra; the first chiefly for cattle. The merchandize of various countries was exposed and purchased by the merchants of the adjoining states. It commenced with the month of Magh, and lasted during six weeks. The other was also for cattle of all kinds, horses, oxen, camels, and the merchandize enumerated amongst the imports and exports of Palli. Persons from all parts of India frequented them; but all these signs of prosperity are vanishing.

Administration of Justice.—The administration of justice is now very lax in these communities; but at no time were the customary criminal laws of Rajpootana sanguinary, except in respect to political crimes, which were very summarily dealt with when practicable. In these feudal associations, however, such crimes are esteemed individual offences, and the whole power of the government is concentrated to punish them; but when they are committed against the community, justice is tempered with mercy, if not benumbed by apathy. In cases even of murder, it is satisfied with fine, corporal punishment, imprisonment, confiscation, or banishment. Inferior crimes, such as larcenies, were punished by fine and imprisonment, and, when practicable, restitution; or, in case of inability to pay, corporal punishment and confinement. But under the present lax system, when this impoverished government has to feed criminals, it may be supposed that their prisons are not overstocked. Since Raja Beejy Sing's death, the judgment-seat has been vacant. His memory is held in high esteem for the administration of justice, though he carried clemency to excess. He never confirmed a sentence of death; and there is a saying of the criminals, yet extant, more demonstrative of his humanity than of good policy: "When at large we cannot even get *rabri* (porridge), but in prison we eat *ladoo* (a sweetmeat)." Here, as at Jeypur, confined criminals are maintained by individual charity; and it is a well-known fact, that at the latter place, but for the humanity of the mercantile classes, especially those of the Jain persuasion, they might starve. Perhaps it is the knowledge of this circumstance, which holds back the hand of the government, or its agents, who may apply to their own uses the prison-fare. When once confined, the criminals are little thought of, and neglect answers all the ends of cruelty. They have, however, a source of consolation unknown to those who have passed "the bridge of sighs" or become inmates of the '*oubliettes*' of more civilized regions. That fortitude and resignation which religion alone can bestow on the one, is obtained through superstition by the other; and the prayers of the prison are poured forth for one of those

visitations of Providence, which, in humbling the proud, prompts acts of mercy to others in order to ensure it to themselves. The celestial phenomena of eclipses, whether of the sun or moon, although predicted by the Pundits, who for ages have possessed the most approved theory for calculation, are yet looked upon with religious awe by the mass, and as "foreboding change to princes." Accordingly, when darkness dims the beams of Surya or Chandra, the face of the prisoner of Maroo is lighted up with smiles; his deliverance is at hand, and he may join the crowd to hoot and yell, and frighten the monster Rahoo* from his hold of the "silver-moon."† The birth of a son to the prince, and a new reign, are events likewise joyful to him.

The trial by *sogun*, literally 'oath of purgation,' or ordeal, still exists, and is occasionally had recourse to in Maroo, as in other parts of Rajpootana; and, if fallen into desuetude, it is not that these judgments of God (as they were styled in the days of European barbarism) are less relied on, but that society is so unhinged that even these appeals to chance find no subjects for practice, excepting by Zalim Sing; and he to the last carried on his antipathy to the *dhakuns* (witches) of Harouti, who were always submitted to the process by 'water.' Trial by ordeal is of very ancient date in India: it was by 'fire' that Rama proved the purity of Seeta, after her abduction by Ravana, and in the same manner as practised by one of our Saxon kings, by making her walk over a red-hot ploughshare. Besides the two most common tests, by fire and water, there is a third, that of washing the hands in boiling oil. It should be stated, that, in all cases, not only the selection but the appeal to any of these ordeals is the voluntary act of the litigants, and chiefly after the Punchaets, or courts of arbitration, have failed. Where justice is denied, or bribery shuts the door, the sufferer will dare his adversary to the *sogun*, or submission to the judgment of God; and the solemnity of the appeal carries such weight, that it brings redress of itself, though cases do occur where the challenge is accepted, and the Author has conversed with individuals who have witnessed the operation of each of the ordeals.

Punchaets.—The Punchaets arbitrate in civil cases. From these courts of equity, there is an appeal to the Raja; but as unanimity is required in the judges, and a fee or fine must be paid by the appellant, ere his case can come before the prince,

* The Rajpoots and Hindus in general hold precisely the same idea of the cause of eclipses, as the Gete of Scandinavia.

† *Chandra-ma.* The moon is represented by silver, which is called after her (or him) *chandi.*

litigation is checked. The constitution of this court is simple. The plaintiff lays his case before his Hakim of the district, or the Patel of the [illegible] resides. [illegible] defendant his [illegible] of [illegible] from whence [illegible] of the Punchaet are [illegible] Information is accordingly sent to the Pat[illegible] specified, who with their respective Patwarris [illegible] s), meet at the *At'hae* 'village-court.' Witnesses are su[illegible] mined on oath, the most common of which is the *gadi-ca-an*, 'allegiance to the throne,' resembling the ancient adjuration of the Scythians as recorded by Herodotus. This oath is, however, more restricted to Rajpoots; the other classes have various forms based upon their religious notions. When the proceedings are finished, and judgment is given, the Hakim puts his seal thereto, and carries it into effect, or prepares it for appeal. It is affirmed that, in the good times of Rajpootana, these simple tribunals answered every purpose.

Fiscal Revenues.—The fiscal revenues of Marwar are derived from various sources; the principal are,

1st. "The *Khalisa*, or 'crown-lands;'
2nd. "The salt lakes;
3rd. "Transit and impost duties;
4th. "Miscellaneous taxes, termed *Hasil*."

The entire amount of personal revenue of the princes of Marwar does not at present exceed ten lakhs of rupees (£100,-000 sterling), though in the reign of Beejy Sing, half a century ago, they yielded full sixteen lakhs, one-half of which arose from the salt lakes alone. The aggregate revenue of the feudal lands is estimated as high as fifty lakhs, or £500,000. It may be doubted whether at present they yield half this sum. The feudal contingents are estimated at five thousand horse, besides foot, the qualification being one cavalier and two foot-soldiers for every thousand rupees of income. This low estimate is to keep up the nominal value of estates, notwithstanding their great deterioration; for a 'knight's fee' of Marwar was formerly estimated at five hundred rupees.

The sum of ten lakhs, mentioned as the gross income of the prince, is what is actually realized by the treasury, for there are many public servants provided for out of the crown-land, whose estates are not included.

The revenues are collected from the ryots in kind. A corn-rent, the only one recognized in ancient India, and termed *Buttae*, or 'division,' is apportioned equally between the prince and the husbandman: a deviation from the more lenient practice of former times, which gave one-fourth, or one-sixth to the

sovereign. Besides this, the cultivator has to pay the expense of guarding the crops, and also those who attend the process of division. An assessment of two rupees is made on every ten maunds,* which more than covers the salaries paid to the *Shenahs* (watchmen), and *Kunwarris*,† and leaves a surplus divided by the Patel and village register (*Patwarri*). A cartload of *kurbi* (the stalks of *jooar* and *bajra*) is exacted from every cultivator as fodder for the prince's cattle; but this is commuted for a rupee, except in seasons of scarcity, when it is stored up. The other officers, as the Patwarris and Patels, are paid out of the respective shares of the farmer and the crown, *viz.*, one-fourth of a Seer each, from every Maund of produce, or an eightieth part of the gross amount. The cultivators of the *Pattawuts* or feudal chiefs, are much better off than those of the *Khalisa*: from them only two-fifths are exacted; and in lieu of all other taxes and charges, a land-tax of twelve rupees is levied on every hundred beeghas of land cultivated. The cultivators repay this mild assessment by attachment to the chiefs.

Angah is a poll-tax (from *anga* 'the body') of one rupee, levied on adults of either sex throughout Marwar.

Gasmali is a graduated tax on cattle, or, as, the term imports, the right of pasture. A sheep or goat is estimated at one anna (one-sixteenth of a rupee); a buffalo eight annas, or half a rupee; and each camel, three rupees.

Kewari is a tax on doors (*kewar*), and is considered peculiarly oppressive. It was first imposed by Beejy Sing, when, towards the latter end of his reign, his chiefs rebelled, and retired in a body to Palli to concert schemes for deposing him. Thither he fruitlessly followed in order to pacify them, and on his return found the gates (*kewar*) of his capital shut in his face, and Bheem Sing placed upon the *gadi*. To supply the pecuniary exigencies consequent upon this embarrassing situation, he appealed to his subjects, and proposed a 'benevolence,' in aid of his necessities, of three rupees for each house, giving it a denomination from the cause whence it originated. Whether employed as a punishment of those who aided his antagonist, or as a convenient expedient of finance, he converted this temporary contribution into a permanent tax, which continued until the necessities of the confederacy against the present prince, Raja Maun, and the usurpation of the fiscal lands by the Pathans, made him raise it to ten rupees on each house. It is, however, not equally levied; the number of houses in each township being calculated, it is laid on according

* The Maund is about seventy-five lbs. weight.
† *Kun*, corn.

to the means of the occupants, and the poor man may pay two rupees, while the wealthy pays twenty. The feudal lands are not exempted, except in cases of special favour.

In estimating the amount of the *sayer*, or imposts of Marwar, it must be borne in mind that the schedule appended represents what they have been, and perhaps might again be rather than what they now are. These duties are subject to fluctuation in all countries, but how much more in those exposed to so many visitations from predatory foes, civil strife, and famine! There is no reason to doubt that, in the "good old times", of Maroo, the amount, as taken from old records, may have been realized:

Jodhpur......Rs.	76,000
Nagore......	75,000
Deedwanoh......	10,000
Purbutsir......	44,000
Mairta......	11,000
Koleah......	5,000
Jhalore......	25,000
Palli......	75,000
Jessole and Bhalotra fairs......	41,000
Beenmahl......	21,000
Sanchore......	6,000
Filodi......	41,000
TOTAL Rs.	4,30,000

The *Dhannis*, or collectors of the customs, have monthly salaries at the large towns, while the numerous petty agents are paid by a *percentage*, on the sums collected. The *sayer*, or imposts, include all those on grain, whether of foreign importation, or the home-grown, in transit from one district to another.

The revenue arising from the produce of the salt lakes has deteriorated with the land and commercial revenues; and, though affected by political causes, is yet the most certain branch of income. The following schedule exhibits what has been derived from this lucrative source of wealth:

Pachbhadra......Rs.	2,00,000
Filodi......	1,00,000
Deedwanoh......	1,15,000
Sambhur......	2,00,000
Nowah......	1,00,000
TOTAL Rs.	7,15,000

This productive branch of industry still employs thousands of hands, and hundreds of thousands of oxen, and is almost entirely in the hands of that singular race of being called *Bunjarras*, some of whose *tandus*, or caravans, amount to 40,000 head of oxen. The salt is exported to every region of Hindustan, from the Indus to the Ganges, and is universally known and sold under the title of *Sambhur Loon*, or 'salt of Sambhur,' notwithstanding the quality of the different lakes varies, that of Pachbhadra, beyond the Looni, being most esteemed.* It is produced by natural evaporation, expedited by dividing the surface into pans by means of mats of the *Sirkunda* grass, which lessens the superficial agitation. It is then gathered and heaped up into immense masses, on whose summit they burn a variety of alkaline plants, such as the *saji*, by which it becomes impervious to the weather.

We may recapitulate what the old archives state of the aggregate fiscal revenues in past times, amounting to nearly thirty lakhs of rupees. It would be hazardous to say to what extent the amount was over-rated :

1st.	*Khalisa*, or fiscal land, from 1,484 towns and villages, ... Rs.	15,00,000
2nd.	*Sayer* or imposts	4,30,000
3rd.	Salt lakes	7,15,000
4th.	*Hasil*, or miscellaneous taxes ; fluctuating and uncertain ; not less than	3,00,000
	TOTAL	29,45,000
	Feudal and ministerial estates	50,00,000
	GRAND TOTAL Rs.	79,45,000

Thus the united fiscal and feudal revenues of Marwar are said to have amounted almost to eighty lakhs of rupees (£800,000). If they ever did reach this sum, which may be doubted, we do not err in affirming that they would now be over-rated at half that amount. Large fortunes are said to centre in the families of the ex-ministers, especially the Singwi family, reported to be immensely rich. Their wealth is deposited in foreign capitals. But much bullion is lost to the currency

* The average selling price at Jodhpur is two rupees the Maund ; four at Sambhur and Deedwanoh, and five at Pachbhadra, Filodi, and Nowah. Why the price at the capital is fifty per cent. lower than elsewhere, I know not, even if this statement is correct.

of these countries by the habits of secreting money. A very large treasure was discovered in Nagore by Beejy Sing, when demolishing some old buildings.

Military Forces.—It only remains to state the military resources of the Rahtores, which fluctuate with their revenues. The Rajas maintain a foreign mercenary force upon their fiscal revenues to overawe their own turbulent vassalage. These are chiefly Rohilla and Afghan infantry, armed with muskets and matchlocks; and having cannon and sufficient discipline to act in a body, they are formidable to the Rajpoot cavaliers. Some years ago, Raja Maun had a corps of three thousand five hundred foot, and fifteen hundred horse, and twenty-five guns, commanded by Hundall Khan, a native of Panniput. He has been attached to the family ever since the reign of Beejy Sing, and is (or was) familiarly addressed *kaka*, or 'uncle,' by the prince. There was also a brigade of those monastic militants, the *Bishenswamis*, under their leader, Kaimdas, consisting of seven hundred foot, three hundred horse, and an establishment of rockets (*bhan*), a very ancient instrument of Indian warfare, and mentioned long before gunpowder was used in Europe. At one period, the Raja maintained a foreign force amounting to, or at least mustered as, eleven thousand men, of which number two thousand five hundred were cavalry, with fifty-five guns, and a rocket establishment. Besides a monthly pay, lands to a considerable amount were granted to the commanders of the different legions. By these overgrown establishments, to maintain a superiority over the feudal lords which has been undermined by the causes related, the demoralization and ruin of this country have been accelerated. The existence of such a species of force, opposed in moral and religious sentiment to the retainers of the state, has only tended to widen the breach between them and their head, and to destroy every feeling of confidence.

In Mewar, there are sixteen great chiefs; in Amber twelve; Marwar eight. The following table exhibits their names, clans, residences, and rated revenue. The contingent, required by their princes, may be estimated by the qualification of a cavalier, *viz.*, one for every five hundred rupees of rent.

Names of Chiefs.	Clans.	Places of Abode.	Revenue.	Remarks.
	FIRST CLASS.			
1. Kesari Sing...... ..	Champawut............	Ahwa,........................	100,000	Premier noble of Marwar. Of this sum, half is the original grant : the rest is by usurpation of the inferior branches of his clan.
2. Buktawar Sing......	Koompawut............	Asope,.................... ..	50,000	
3. Salim Sing.........	Champawut............	Pokurn.....................	100,000	The Pokurn chief is by far the most powerful in Marwar.
4. Soortan Sing........	Oodawut................	Neemaj.....................	50,000	The fief of Neemaj is now under sequestration, since the last incumbent was put to death by the Raja.
5.	Mairtea..................	Reah.........................	25,000	The Mairtea is deemed the bravest of all Rahtore clans.
6. Ajit Sing.............	Mairtea..................	Ganorah.....................	50,000	This feoff formed one of the sixteen great feoffs of Mewar The town, which is large, has been dismantled, and several villages sequestrated.
7.	Kurrumsote...........	Kewnsir or.............. Keemsir..................	40,000	
8.	Bhatti....................	Khejurla...................	25,000	The only foreign chief in the first grade of the nobles of Marwar.

Names of Chiefs.	Clans.	Places of Abode.	Revenue.	Remarks.
	SECOND CLASS.			
1. Seonat Sing.........	Oodawut................	Koochaman...............	50,000	A chief of considerable power.
2. Soortan Sing.........	Joda......................	Khari-ca-dowa..........	25,000	
3. Pirthi Sing...........	Oodawut	Chundawul...............	25,000	
4. Tez Sing..............	Do.	Khada......................	25,000	
5. Anar Sing............	Bhatti......................	Ahore................	11,000	In exile.
6. Jait Sing........... ..	Koompawut............	Baggori....................	40,000	
7. Pudum Sing.........	Do.	Gujsingpoora............	25,000	
8.	Mairtea..................	Mehtri......................	40,000	
9. Kurrun Sing.........	Oodawut................	Marote.....................	15,000	
10. Zalim Sing..........	Koompawut............	Roat.........................	15,000	
11. Sowae Sing.........	Joda......................	Chaupur....................	15,000	
12.	....	Boodsoo....................	20,000	
13. Seodan Sing........	Champawut.............	Kaotah (great)............	40,000	
14. Zalim Sing............	Do.	Hursolah...	10,000	
15. Sawul Sing...........	Do.	Degode.....................	10,000	
16. Hookun Sing........	Do.	Kaotah (little)	11,000	

These are the principal chieftains of Marwar, holding lands on the tenure of service. There are many who owe allegiance and service on emergencies, the allodial vassals of Marwar, not enumerated in this list; such as Barmair, Kottorah, Jessole, Phulsoond, Birgong Bankuria, Kalindri, Baroonda, who could muster a strong numerical force if their goodwill were conciliated, and the prince could enforce his requisition. The specified census of the estates may not be exactly correct. The foregoing is from an old record, which is in all probability the best they have; for so rapid are the changes in these countries, amidst the anarchy and rebellion we have been describing, that the civil officers would deem it time thrown away, to form, as in past times, an exact *patta'buhye*, or 'register' or feoffs. The ancient qualification was one horseman and two foot soldiers, "when required," for each five hundred rupees in the rental; but as the estates have been curtailed in extent and diminished in value, in order to keep up their nominal amount, one thousand is now the qualification.

ANNALS OF BIKANEER.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the state of Bikaneer.—Beeka, the founder.—Condition of the aboriginal Jits or Getes.—The number and extensive diffusion of this Scythic race, still a majority of the peasantry in Western Rajpootana.—And perhaps in Northern India.—Their pursuits pastoral, their government patriarchal, their religion of a mixed kind.—List of the Jit cantons of Bikaneer at the irruption of Beeka.—Causes of the success of Beeka.—Voluntary surrender of the supremacy of the Jit elders to Beeka.—Conditions.—Characteristic of the Getic people throughout India.—Proofs.—Invasion of the Johyas by Beeka and his Jit subjects.—Account of the Johyas.—Conquered by Beeka.—He wrests Bhagore from the Bhattis, and founds Bikaneer, the capital, A. D. 1489.—His uncle Kandul makes conquests to the north.—Death of Beeka.—His son Noonkurn succeeds.—Makes conquests from the Bhattis.—His son Jaet succeeds.—Enlarges the power of Bikaneer.—Rae Sing succeeds.—The Jits of Bikaneer lose their liberties.—The state rises to importance.—Rae Sing's connexion with Akber.—His honours and power.—The Johyas revolt and are exterminated.—Traditions of Alexander the Great amongst the ruins of the Johyas.—Examined.—The Pooniah Jits vanquished by Ram Sing, the Raja's brother.—Their subjection imperfect.—Rae Sing's daughter weds prince Salim, afterwards Jehangir.—Rae Sing succeeded by his son Kurrun.—The three eldest sons of Kurrun fall in the imperial service.—Anop Sing, the youngest succeeds.—Quells a rebellion in Cabul.—His death uncertain.—Suroop Sing succeeds.—He is killed.—Sujaun Sing, Zooranaun Sing, Guj Sing, and Raj Sing succeed.—The latter poisoned by his brother by another mother, who usurps the throne, though opposed by the chiefs.—He murders the rightful heir, his nephew.—Civil war.—Muster-roll of the chiefs.—The usurper attacks Jodhpur.—Present state of Bikaneer.—Account of Beedavati.

BIKANEER holds a secondary rank amongst the principalities of Rajapootana. It is an offset of Marwar, its princes being scions of the house of Joda, who established themselves by conquest on the northern frontier of the parent state; and

its position, in the heart of the desert, has contributed to the maintenance of their independence.

It was in S. 1515 (A.D. 1459), the year in which Joda transferred the seat of government from Mundore to Jodhpur, that his son Beeka, under the guidance of his uncle, Kandul, led three hundred of the sons of Seoji to enlarge the boundaries of Rahtore dominion amidst the sands of Maroo. Beeka was stimulated to the attempt by the success of his brother, Beed, who had recently subjugated the territory inhabited by the Mohils for ages.

Such expeditions as that of Beeka, undertaken expressly for conquest, were almost uniformly successful. The invaders set out with a determination to slay or be slain; and these forays had the additional stimulus of being on 'fated days,' when the warklike creed of the Rajpoots made the abstraction of territory from foe or friend a matter of religious duty.

Beeka, with his band of three hundred, fell upon the Sanklas of Jangloo, whom they massacred. This exploit brought them in contact with the Bhattis of Poogul, the chief of which gave his daughter in marriage to Beeka, who fixed his head-quarters at Korumdesir, where he erected a castle, and gradually augmented his conquests from the neighbourhood.

Beeka now approximated to the settlements of the Jits or Getes, who had for ages been established in these arid abodes; and as the lands they held form a considerable portion of the state of Bikaneer, it may not be uninteresting to give a sketch of the condition of this singular people prior to the son of Joda establishing the feudal system of Rajwarra amongst their pastoral common-wealths.

Of this celebrated and widely-spread race, we have already given a succinct account.* It appears to have been the most numerous as well as the most conspicuous of the tribes of ancient Asia, from the days of Tomyris and Cyrus to those of the present Jit prince of Lahore, whose successor, if he be endued with similar energy, may, on the reflux of population, find himself seated in their original haunts of Central Asia, to which they have already considerably advanced.† In the fourth century, we find a Yuti or Jit kingdom established in the Punjab;‡ but how much earlier this people colonized those regions we are ignorant. At every step made by Mahomedan power in India, it encountered the Jits. On

* Vol. I. Hist. of the Rajpoot tribes—*Article*, Jits, or Getes.

† Runjeet has long been in possession of Peshore, and entertained views on Cabul, the disorganized condition of which kingdom affords him a favourable opportunity of realizing them.

‡ See Inscription, Vol. I

their memorable defence of the passage of the Indus against Mahmood, and on the war of extirpati waged against them by Timoor, both in their pimeval seats in Maver-ool-nehr, as well as east of the Sutlej, we have already enlarged; while Baber, in his Commentaries, informs us that, in all his irruptions into India, he was assailed by multitudes of Jits* during his progress through the Punjab, the peasantry of which region, now proselytes to Islam, are chiefly of this tribe; as well as the military retainers, who, as setarian followers of Nanuk merge the name of Jit, into that of *Sikh* or 'disciple.'†

In short, whether as Yuti, Getes, Jits, Juts, or Jats, this race far surpassed in numbers, three centuries ago, any other tribe or race in India; and it is a fact that they now constitute a vast majority of the peasantry of western Rajwarra, and perhaps of northern India.

At what period these Jits established themselves in the Indian desert, we are, as has been already observed, entirely ignorant; but even at the time of the Rahtore invasion of these communities, their habits confirmed the tradition of their Scythic origin. They led chiefly a pastoral life, were guided, but not governed by the elders, and with the exception of adoration to the 'universal mother' (Bhavani), incarnate in the person of a youthful Jitni, they were utter aliens to the Hindu theocracy. In fact, the doctrines of the great Islamite saint, Shekh Fureed, appear to have overturned the pagan rites brought from the Jaxartes; and without any settled ideas on religion, the Jits of the desert jumbled all their tenets together. They considered themselves, in short, as a distinct class, and, as a Pooniah Jit informed me, "their *wuttun* was far beyond the Five Rivers." Even in the name of one of the six communities (the *Asiagh*), on whose submission Beeka founded his new state, we have nearly the Asi, the chief of the four tribes from the Oxus and Jaxartes, who overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactri

The period of Rahtore domination over these patriarchal communities was intermediate between Timoor's and Baber's

* "On Friday, the 14th (Dec. 29, A. D. 1525), of the first Rebi, we arrived at Sialkote. Every time that I have entered Hindustan, the Jits and Gujers have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from their hills and wilds, in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes." The learned commentator draws a distinction between the Jit inhabitants of the Punjab and of India, which is not maintainable.

† "It is worthy of remark," says Colonel Pitman (who accompanied Mr. Elphinstone to Cabul), "that in the two first Doabehs (return of the embassy), we saw very few Sikhs, the Jat cultivators of [illegible] being in general Moosulmauns, and in complete subjugation to the

invasion of India. The former, who was the founder of the Chagitai dynasty, boasts of the myriads of Jit souls he "consigned to perdition," on the desert plains of India, as well as in Transoxiana; so we may conclude that successive migrations of this people from the great "storehouse of nations" went to the lands east of the Indus, and that the communities who elected Beeka as their sovereign, had been established therein for ages. The extent of their possessions justifies this conclusion; for nearly the whole of the territory forming the boundaries of Bikaneer was possessed by the six Jit cantons, *viz.*,

1. Pooniah,
2. Godarra,
3. Sarun,
4. Asiag'h,
5. Beniwal,
6. Johya, or Joweya;

though this last is by some termed a ramification of the Yadu-Bhatti: an affiliation by no means invalidating their claims to be considered of Jit or Yuti origin.*

Each canton bore the name of the community, and was sub-divided into districts. Besides the six Jit cantons, there were three more simultaneously wrested from Rajpoot prorietors; *viz.*, Bhagore, the Kharri-putta, and Mohilla. The six Jit cantons constituted the central and northern, while those of the Rajpots formed the western and southern frontiers.

Disposition of the Cantons at that period.

Cantons.	No. of Villages.	Districts.
1. Pooniah...	300	Bahaderan, Ajitpoor, Seedmookh, Rajgur'h, Dadrewoh, Sankoo, &c,
2. Beniwal...	150	Bookurko, Sondurie, Munohurpoor. Kooie, Bae, &c.
3. Johya...	600	Jaetpoor, Koombanoh, Mahajin, Peepasir, Oodipoor, &c.
4. Asiag'h...	150	Raotsir, Birmsir, Dandoosir, Gundaeli.
5. Sarun...	300	Kaijur, Phoag, Boochawas, Sowae, Badinoo, Sirsilah, &c.
6. Godarra...	700	Poondrasir, Gosensir, (great), Shekhsir, Gursisir, Garibdesir, Rungaysir, Kaloo, &c.
Total in the six Jit cantons...	2,200	

* The Jits of the Agra province consider themselves illegitimate descendants of the Yadus of Biana, and have a tradition that their *wuttun* is Candahar.

Cantons.	No. of	Districts.
7. Bhagore		Kailah, Rajasir, Sut-tasir, Churturgur'h, Rindisir, Beet-nok'h Bhavanipoor, Jeimulsir, &c.
8. Mohilla	440	Chaupur (capital of Mohilla), Saondah, Herasir, Gopalpoor, Charwas, Bee-dasir, Ladnoo, Mulsisir, Khurbooza-ra-kote.
9. Khari-putta, or salt district	30	
GRAND TOTAL...	2,670	

With such rapidity were states formed in those times that, in a few years after Beeka left his paternal roof at Mundore, he was lord over 2,670 villages, and by a title far stronger and more legitimate than that of conquest—the spontaneous election of the cantons. But although three centuries have scarcely past since their amalgamation into a sovereignty, one-half of the villages cease to exist; nor are there now 1,300 forming the *raj* of Soorut Sing, the present occupant and lineal descendant of Beeka.

The Jits and Johyas of these regions, who extended over all the northern desert even to the Garah, led a pastoral life, their wealth consisting in their cattle, which they reared in great numbers, disposing of the superfluity and of the *Ghee* (butter clarified) and wool, through the medium of Sarsote (*Sarasvati*) Brahmins (who, in these regions, devote themselves to traffic), receiving in return grain and other conveniences or necessaries of life.

A variety of causes conspired to facilitate the formation of the state of Bikaneer, and the reduction of the ancient Scythic simplicity of the Jit communities to Rajpoot feudal sway; and although the success of his brother, Beeda, over the Mohils in some degree paved the way, his bloodless conquest could never have happened but for the presence of a vice which has dissolved all the republics of the world. The [illegible] the Johyas and Godarras, the two most powerful of the six Jit cantons, was the immediate motive to the propitiation of the 'son of Joda'; besides which, the communities found the band of Beeda, which had extirpated the ancient Mohils when living with them in amity, most troublesome neighbours. Further, they were desirous to place between them and the Bhattis of Jessulmeer a more powerful barrier; and last, not least, they dreaded the hot valour and 'thirst for land' which characterized Beeka's retainers, now contiguous

to them at Jangloo. For these :y reasons, at a meeting of the 'elders' of the Godarras, was resolved to conciliate the Rahtores.

Pandu was the patriarchal head of the Godarras; his residence was at Shekhsir.* The 'elder' of Roneah was next in rank and estimation to Pandu, in communities where equality was as absolute as the proprietary right to the lands which each individually held; that of pasture being common.

The elders of Shekhsir and Roneah were deputed to enter into terms with the Rajpoot prince, and to invest him with supremacy over their community, on the following conditions:—

First.—To make common cause with them, against the Johyas and other cantons, with whom they were then at variance;

Second.—To guard the western frontier against the irruption of the Bhattis;

Third.—To hold the rights and privileges of the comunity inviolable.

On the fulfilment of these conditions, they relinquished to Beeka and his descendants the supreme power over the Godarras; assigning to him, in perpetuity, the power to levy *dhooa*, or a 'hearth-tax,' of one rupee on each house in the canton, and a land-tax of two rupees on each hundred beeghas of cultivated land within their limits.

Apprehensive, however, that Beeka or his descendants might encroach upon their rights, they asked what security he could offer against such a contingency? The Rajpoot chief replied that, in order to dissipate their fears on this head, as well as to perpetuate the remembrance of the supremacy thus voluntarily conferred, he would solemnly bind himself and his successors to receive the *tika* of inauguration from the hands of the descendants of the elders of Shekhsir and Roneah, and that the *gadi* should be deemed vacant until such rite was administered.

In this simple transfer of the allegiance of this pastoral people, we mark that instinctive love of liberty which accompanied the Gete in all places and all conditions of society, whether on the banks of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, or in the sandy desert of India; and although his political independence is now annihilated, he is still ready even to shed his blood if his Rajpoot master dare to infringe his inalienable right to his *bapota*, his paternal acres.

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* This town is named after the Islamite saint, Shekh Fureed of Pakputtan, who has a *durgah* here. He was greatly esteemed by the Jits, before the *bona dea* assumed the shape of a *Jitni*, to whom, under the title of *Carani Mata*, 'a ray of the mother,' all bend the head.

It is seldom that incontestable a title to supremacy can be asserted as the Godarras dent to find , in tain ferred the lords of Rajpoot c Thus, in Mewar, the conferred lote founder by the is comt , a custom brought down to the present times. (See V. I.) At Amber, the same is recorded in the important offices retained by the *Meenas*, the primitive inhabitants of that land. Both Kotah and Boondi retain in their names the remembrance of the ancient lords of Harouti; and Beeka's descendants preserve, in a twofold manner, the recollection of their bloodless conquest of the Jits. To this day, the descendant of Pandu applies the unguent of royalty to the forehead of the successors of Beeka; on which occasion, the prince places, 'the fine of relief,' consisting of twenty-five pieces of gold, in the hand of the Jit. Moreover, the spot which he selected for his capital, was the birth-right of a Jit, who would only concede it for this purpose on the condition that his name should be linked in perpetuity with its surrender. Naira, or Nera, was the name of the proprietor, which Beeka added to his own, thus composing that of the future capital, Bikaneer.

Besides this periodical recognition of the transfer of power, on all lapses of the crown, there are annual memorials of the rights of the Godarras, acknowledged not only by the prince, but by all his Rajpoot vassal-kin, quartered on the lands of the Jit; and although 'the sons of Beeka,' now multiplied over the country, do not much respect the ancient compact, they at least recognize, in the maintenance of these formulæ, the origin of their power.

On the spring and autumnal* festivals of the Holi and Dewali, the heirs of the patriarchs of Shekhsir and Roneah give the *tika* to the prince and all his feudality. The Jit of Roneah bears the silver cup and platter which holds the *ampoule* of the desert, while his compeer applies it to the prince's forehead. The Raja in return deposits a *nuzzerana* of a gold mohur, and five pieces of silver; the chieftains, according to their rank, following his example. The gold is taken by the Shekhsir Jit, the silver by the elder of Roneah.

To resume our narrative: when the preliminaries were adjusted, by Beeka's swearing to maintain the rights of the

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* *Vide* Vol. I. for an account of these festivals.

community which thus surrendered their liberties to his keep- ...., united their arms, and invaded the *Johyas*. This populous community, which extended over the northern region of the desert, even to the Sutlej, reckoned eleven hundred villages in their canton; yet now, after the lapse of little more ... turies, the very name of *Johya* is extinct. They appear to ... Jenjooheh of Baber, who, in his irruption into India, found them congregated with the '*Juda*,' about ... ter of hills in the first *doabeh* of the Punjab, called "the mountains of Joude;" a position claimed by the Yadus or Jaddos in the very dawn of their history, and called *Jaddoo ca dang*, 'the Jadoo hills.' This supports the assertion that the Johya is of Yadu race, while it does not invalidate its claims to Yuti or Jit descent, as will be further shewn in the early portion of the annals of the Yadu-Bhattis.*

The patriarchal head of the Johyas resided at Bhuropal; his name was Shere Sing. He mustered the strength of the canton, and for a long time withstood the continued efforts of the Rajpoots and the Godarras; nor was it until 'treason had done its worst,' by the murder of their elder, and the consequent possession of Bhuropal, that the Johyas succumbed to Rahtore domination.

With this accession of power, Beeka carried his arms westward, and conquered Bhagore from the Bhattis. It was in this district, originally wrested by the Bhattis from the Jits, that Beeka founded his capital, Bikaneer, on the 15th Bysak S. 1545, (A. D. 1489), thirty years after his departure from the parental roof at Mundore.

When Beeka was thus firmly established, his uncle, Kandul, to whose spirit of enterprize he was mainly indebted for success, departed with his immediate kin to the northward, with a view of settling in fresh conquests. He successively subjugated the communities of Asiagh, Beniwal, and Sarun, which cantons are mostly occupied by his descendants, styled "Kandulote Rahtores," at this day, and although they form an integral portion of the Bikaneer state, they evince, in their independent bearing to its chief, that their estates were "the gift of their own swords, not of his patents;" and they pay but a reluctant and nominal obedience to his authority. When necessity or avarice imposes a demand for tribute, it is often

* I presented a work on this race, entitled 'The Book of the Johyas,' (sent me by the prime minister of Jessulmeer) to the Royal Asiatic Society. Having obtained it just before leaving Rajpootana, I never had leisure to ... pronounce on its value as an historical document; but any work having reference to so singular a community can scarcely fail to furnish matter of interest.

met by a flat refusal, accompanied with such a comment as this: "Who made [illegible] Was it not [illegible] common ancestor, Kandul? Who is he, who presumes to [illegible] tribute from us?" Kandul's career of conquest was cut short by the emperor's lieutenant in Hissar [illegible] he was slain in attempt [illegible] this important fortress.

Beeka died [illegible] S. 15[illegible] (A. D. 1495), leaving two sons by the daughter of [illegible] Bhatti chief of Poogul, *viz.*, Noonkurn, who succeeded, and Gursi, who founded Gursisir and Ursisir. The stock of the latter is numerous, and is distinguished by the epithet *Gursote Beeka*, whose principal fiefs are those of Gursisir and Garibdesir, each having twenty-four villages depending on them.*

Noonkurn made several conquests from the Bhattis on the western frontier. He had four sons; his eldest desiring a separate establishment in his lifetime, for the fief of Mahajin and one hundred and forty villages, renounced his right of primogeniture in favour of his brother Jaet, who succeeded in S. 1569. His brothers had each appanages assigned to them. He had three sons, 1st. Calian Sing, 2nd. Seoji, and 3rd. Aishpal. Jaetsi reduced the district of Narnote from some independent Grasia chiefs, and settled it as the appanage of his second son, Seoji. It was Jaetsi also who compelled 'the sons of Beeda,' the first Rahtore colonists of this region, to acknowledge his supremacy by an annual tribute, besides certain taxes.

Calian Sing succeeded in S. 1603. He had three sons, 1st. Rae Sing, 2nd. Ram Sing, and 3rd. Pirthi Sing.

Rae Sing succeeded in S. 1630 (A. D. 1573). Until this reign, the Jits had, in a great degree, preserved their ancient privileges. Their maintenance was, however, found rather inconvenient, by the now superabundant Rajpoot population, and they were consequently dispossessed of all political authority. With the loss of independence their military spirit decayed, and they sunk into mere tillers of the earth. In this reign also Bikaneer rose to importance amongst the principalities of the empire, and if the Jits parted with their liberties to the Rajpoot, the latter, in like manner, bartered his freedom to become a Satrap of Delhi. On his father's death Rae Sing in

* To the few who will peruse these annals of the desert tribes, it will be interesting to observe the development of families, and the maintenance, by such [illegible] patronymics, of their origin. In the annals of this [illegible]ote state, I shall [illegible] the history of their wars, which [illegible], with a [illegible] scene, all pretty much alike; but confine myself, after a succinct and connected genealogical relation, to the manners of the people, the aspect, productions, and government of the country.

person undertook the sacred duty of conveying his ashes to the Ganges. The illustrious Akber was then emperor of India. Rae Sing and the emperor [illegible] married sister[illegible] Jessulmeer. This connection [illegible]ined for his [illegible] duction to court by Raja Maun of Amber, the dignity of a leader of four thousand horse, the title of Raja, [illegible] ment of Hissar. Moreover, when Maldeo of Jo[illegible] the displeasure of the king, and was dispossessed of the rich district of Nagore, it was given to Rae Sing. With these honours, and increased power as one of the king's lieutenants, he returned to his dominions, and sent his brother Ram Sing against Bhutnair, of which he made a conquest. This town was the chief place of a district belonging to the Bhattis, originally Jits* of Yadu descent, but who assumed this name on becoming proselytes to the faith of Islam.

Rae Sing, at the same time, completely subjugated the Johyas, who, always troublesome, had recently attempted to regain their ancient independence. The Rajpoots carried fire and sword into this country, of which they made a desert. Ever since it has remained desolate: the very name of *Johya* is lost, though the vestiges of considerable towns bear testimony to a remote antiquity.

Amidst these ruins of the Johyas, the name of *Sekunder Roomi* (Alexander the Great) has fixed itself, and the desert retains the tradition that the ruin called *Rung-mahl*, the 'painted palace,' near Dandoosir, was the capital of a prince of this region punished by a visitation of the Macedonian conqueror. History affords no evidence of Alexander's passage of the Garah, though the scene of his severest conflict was in that nook on the Punjab not remote from the lands of the Johyas. But though the chronicler of Alexander does not sanction our indulging in this speculation, the total darkness in which we appear doomed to remain with regard to Bactria and the petty Grecian kingdoms on the Indus, established by him, does not forbid our surmise, that by some of these, perhaps the descendants of Python, such a visitation might have happened.† The same traditions assert that these regions were not always either arid or desolate, and the living chronicle alluded to in the note, repeated the stanza elsewhere given, which dated its deterioration from the drying up of the *Hakra* river, which

* In the annals of Jessulmeer, the number of offsets from [illegible] Yadu-Bhatti tribe which assumed the name of *Jit*, will be seen; and a ground for asserting that the Scythic *Yadu* is in fact the *Yuti*.

† My informant of this tradition was an old inhabitant of [illegible], and although seventy years of age, had never left the little district of his nativity until he was brought to me, as one of the most intelligent living records of the past.

came from the Punjab, and flowing through the heart of this country, emptied itself into the Indus between Rory Bekher and Ootch.

The affinity [illegible] word (*Hakra*) has both to the *Caggar* and [illegible] lead to the conclusion of either being the stream [illegible] The former we know as being engulphed in the [illegible] the Heriana confines, while the Sankra is a stream [illegible] igh now dry, was used as a line of demarcation [illegible] in the time of Nadir Shah. It ran eastward, parallel with the Indus, and by making it his boundary, Nadir added all the fertile valley of the Indus to his Persian kingdom. The only date this legendary stanza assigns for the catastrophe is the reign of the Soda prince, Hamir.

Ram Sing, having thus destroyed the power of future resistance in the Johyas, turned his arms against the Pooniah Jits, the last who preserved their ancient liberty. They were vanquished, and the Rajpoots were inducted into their most valuable possessions. But the conqueror paid the penalty of his life for the glory of colonizing the lands of the Pooniahs. He was slain in their expiring effort to shake off the yoke of the stranger; and though the Ramsingotes add to the numerical strength, and enlarge the territory of the heirs of Beeka, they, like the Kandulotes, little increase the power of the state, to which their obedience is nominal. Seedmook'h and Sankoo are the two chief places of the Ramsingotes.

Thus, with the subjugation of the Pooniahs, the political annihilation of the six Jit cantons of the desert was accomplished: they are now occupied in agriculture and their old pastoral pursuits, and are an industrious tax-paying race under their indolent Rajpoot masters.

Raja Rae Sing led a gallant band of his Rahtores in all the wars of Akber. He was distinguished in the assault of Ahmedabad, slaying in single combat the governor, Mirza Mohamed Hussein. The emperor, who knew the value of such valorous subjects, strengthened the connexion which already subsisted between the crown and the Rahtores, by obtaining for prince Selim (afterwards Jehangir) Rae Sing's daughter to wife. The unfortunate Purvez was the fruit of this marriage.

Rae Sing was succeeded by his only son, Kurrun, in S. 1688 (A. D. 1632). [illegible] the 'munsub of two thousand,' and the [illegible] ibad, in his father's life-time. Being a

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[illegible] tives of these regions cannot pronounce the sibilant as [illegible] ady stated, the *s* is converted into *h*. I gave as an ex nam[illegible] war, which becomes the 'hill of fools,' instead of 'Jasil.' *Sank*[illegible]*ra*, in like manner, becomes *Hankra*.

supporter of the just claims of Dara Sheko, a plot was laid by the general of his antagonist, with whom he served, to destroy him, but which he was enabled to defeat by the timely intelligence of the Hara prince of Boondi. He died at Bikaneer, leaving four sons, 1. Pudma Sing, 2. Kesuri Sing, 3. Mohun Sing, and 4. Anop Sing.

This family furnishes another example of the prodigal sacrifice of Rajpoot blood in the imperial service. The two elder princes were slain in the storm of Beejipoor, and the tragical death of the third, Mohun Sing, in the imperial camp, forms an episode in Ferishta's History of the Dekhan.*

Anop Sing succeeded in S. 1730 (A. D. 1674). For the services of his family he had the castle and lands of Adoni conferred upon him, with 'the munsub of five thousand,' and the governments of Beejipoor and Arungabad. Anop Sing led his clans with the head of his race, prince of Jodhpur, to quell a rebellion amongst the Afghans of Cabul, which having effected, he returned to the peninsula. Ferishta and the native annals are at variance on his death; the former asserting that he died in the Dekhan, while the latter say that he left that country, disgusted with the imperial commander's interference

* The young desert chieftain, like all his tribe, would find matter for quarrel in the wind blowing in his face. Having received what he deemed an insult from the brother-in-law of the *Shazada*, in a dispute regarding a fawn, he appealed to his sword, and a duel ensued even in the presence-chamber, in which young Mohun fell. The *fracas* was reported to his brother Pudma, at no distance from the scene. With the few retainers at hand, he rushed to the spot and found his brother bathed in his blood. His antagonist, still hanging over his victim, when he saw the infuriated Rahtore enter, with sword and shield, prepared for dreadful vengeance, retreated behind one of the columns of the Aum Khas (*Divan*). But Pudma's sword reached him, and avenged his brother's death; as the record says, "he felled him to the earth, cleaving at the same place the pillar twain." Taking up the dead body of his brother, and surrounded by his vassals, he repaired to his quarters, where he assembled all the Rajpoot princes serving with their contingents, as Jeypur, Jodhpur, Harouti, and harangued them on the insult to their race in the murder of his brother. They all agreed to abandon the king's army, and retire to their own homes. A noble was sent to expostulate by Prince Moozzim; but in vain. He urged that the prince not only forgave, but approved the summary vengeance taken by the Rahtore: they refused to listen, and in a body had retired more than twenty miles, when the prince in person joined them, and concessions and expostulations overcoming them, they returned to the camp. It was [illegible] that the two elder brothers were slain. It is [illegible] ____, that he slew an enormous lion in single [illegible] this exploit which thoroughly entitled him to the name he bore (*Kesuri*), Lion; he received an estate of twenty-five villages from the king. He also obtained great renown for slaying a Habshi or Abyssinian chief, who commanded for one of the southern princes.

about his ground of encampment, and that he died at Bikaneer. He left two sons, Shoo[illegible] Sing and Sujaun Sing.

S[illegible] w[illegible] S. 1765 (A. D. 1709), did not long en[illegible]; being killed in attempting to recover Adoni,* [illegible] r had resumed on his father's leaving the ar[illegible]

Sujaun Sing, his successor, did nothing.

Zoorawur Sing became Raja in S. 1793, (A. D. 1737). The domestic incidents of this, as of the preceding reigns, are without [illegible]

[illegible] Sing succeeded in S. 1802 (A. D. 1746). Throughout a long reign of forty-one years, this prince carried on border strife with the Bhattis and the Khan of Bhawulpoor. From the former he took Rajasir, Kailah, Ranair, Suttasir, Bunnipoora, Mootalai, and other villages of inferior note; and from the Khan he recovered the important frontier castle of Anopgurh.

He laid waste, filling up the wells, a considerable tract of country west of the frontier post of Anopgurh, to prevent the incursions of the *Deodpotras*.*

Raja Guj had some celebrity from the number of his offspring, having had sixty-one children, though all but six were the 'sons of love.' The legitimates were, Chutter Sing, who died in infancy; Raj Sing, who was poisoned by the mother of Soorut Sing, the reigning prince; Soortan Sing and Ajib Sing, both of whom fled the paternal roof to escape the fate of their elder brother, and are now at Jeypur; Soorut Sing, Raja of Bikaneer; and Siam Sing, who enjoys a small appanage in Bikaneer.

Raj Sing succeeded his father S. 1843 (A. D. 1787), but he enjoyed the dignity only thirteen days, being removed by a dose of poison by the mother † of Soorut Sing, the fifth son of Raja Guj. The crown thus nefariously obtained, this worthy son of such a parent determined to maintain his authority by like means, and to leave no competitor to contest his claims. He has accordingly removed by death or exile all who stood between him and the '*gadi* of Beeka.'

R[illegible] Sing left two sons, Pertap Sing and Jey Sing. On the de[illegible] Raj Sing, the office of regent, a word of ominous import [illegible]e regions, was assumed by Soorut Sing, who, during eighteen months, conducted himself with great circumspec[illegible] and by condescension and gifts in[illegible]

* The [illegible] of David,' the [illegible]signation of the tract and inhabitants subjects to the [illegible] its founder, Daod Khan, a native of Seistan.

† She was the sister of the Jhulye chief, heir presumptive to the *gadi* of Jeypur, on failure of lineal issue.

chiefs in his favour. At length he broke his plans to the chiefs of Mahajin and Bahadoran, whose acquiescence in his usurpation he secured by additions to their estates. The faithful Bukhtawar Sing, whose family for four generations had filled the office of *Dewan*, discovered the scheme, though too late to counteract it, and the attempt was punished by imprisonment. Prepared for the last step, the regent collected foreign troops from Batinda and other parts, sufficient to overcome all opposition. The infant prince was kept secluded, and at length issued the warrant in his own name for the nobles to at the capital. Except the two traitors enumerated, they to a man refused; but instead of combining to oppose him, they indolently remained at their castles. Collecting all his troops, the usurper passed to Nohur, where he enticed the chief of Bookurko to an interview, and lodged him in the fortress of Nohur. Thence he passed to Ajitpoora, which he plundered; and advancing to Sankoo, he attacked it in form. Doorjun Sing defended himself with valour, and when reduced to extremity, committed suicide. His heir was put in fetters, and a fine of twelve thousand rupees was levied from the vassals of Sankoo. The commercial town of Chooru was next attacked; it held out six months, when the confined chief of Bookurko, as the price of his own freedom, treacherously offered to put the tyrant in possession. He effected this, and a fine of nearly two lakhs of rupees (£20,000) was offered to spare the town from plunder.

By this act of severity, and the means it furnished, Soorut returned to Bikaneer, determined to remove the only bar between him and the crown, his prince and nephew. In this he found some difficulty, from the virtue and vigilance of his sister, who never lost sight of the infant. Frustrated in all attempts to circumvent her, and not daring to blazon the murder by open violence, he invited the needy Raja of Nirwar to make proposals for his sister's hand. In vain she urged her advanced period of life; and in order to deter the suitor, that she had already been affianced to Rana Ursi of Mewar. All his scruples vanished at the dower of three lakhs, which the regent offered the impoverished scion of the famous Raja Nala.* Her objections were overruled, and she was forced to submit; though she not only saw through her brother's anxiety for her removal, but boldly charged him with his nefarious intentions.

* The story of Nala and Damyanti (or, *Nal Duman*, as it is familiarly called in these regions) is well known in oriental literature. From Nal, the famed castle of Narwar is named, of which this suitor for the hand of the Bikaneer princess was deprived by Sindia.

He was not content with disavowing them, but at her desire gave her the most solemn assurances of the child's safety. Her departure was the signal of his death; for not long after, he was found strangled, and it is said by the regent's own hands, having in vain endeavoured to obtain the offices of the Mahajin chieftain as the executioner of his sovereign.

Thus, in one short year after the death of Raja Raj, the *gadi* of Beeka was dishonoured by being possessed by an assassin of his prince. In S. 1857 (A. D. 1801), the elder brothers of the usurper, Soortan Sing and Ajib Sing, who had found refuge in Jeypur, repaired to Bhutnair and assembled the vassals of the disaffected nobles and Bhattis in order to dethrone the tyrant. But the recollection of his severities deterred some, while bribes kept back others, and the usurper did not hesitate to advance to meet his foes. The encounter, which took place at Beegore, was obstinate and bloody, and three thousand Bhattis alone fell. This signal victory confirmed Soorut's usurpation. He erected a castle on the field of battle, which he called *Futtehghur* 'the abode of victory.'

Flushed with this brilliant success, Soorut Sing determined to make his authority respected both at home and abroad. He invaded his turbulent countrymen, the Beedawuts, and levied fifty thousand rupees from their lands. Chooru, which had promised aid to the late confederacy, was once more invested and mulcted, and various other places were attacked ere they could join. But one solitary castle was successfully defended, that of Ch'hani, near Bahaderan. Here the usurper was foiled, and, after six months' fruitless siege, compelled to return to his capital.

Shortly after, he eagerly availed himself of an opportunity to punish the excesses of the Daodpotras, and to withdraw attention from himself, by kindling a popular war against these powerful and turbulent neighbours. The occasion was [illegible] Kerani chief of Tearoh demanding his aid against his liege [illegible] Bhawul Khan. As these border feuds are not extinguished even in these days of universal peace, it may not be uninteresting [illegible] see the feudal muster-roll of the desert chiefs on such occurrences, as well as the mode in which they carry on hostilities. It was very shortly before that victory had preponderated [illegible] the side of the Rahtores by a gallant *coup-de-main* of [illegible] l marcher of Bikaneer, who carried the castle of Mozgurh [illegible] night assault. The hero on this occasion was not a Rahtore, [illegible] a Bhatti chief, in the [illegible] named Hindu Sing, who gained 'immortality' [illegible] the [illegible] which he scaled the walls, put Mahomed Maroop Kerani, the governor, and the garrison to the sword, and brought away

captive to wife, who

r, on

was of

, one of the principal fiefs
retainers, to the amount of three
he threw himself on the protection
assigned him twenty villages, and one
es daily for his support. The Keranies were the most powerful vassals of Bhawul Khan, who might have paid dear for the resumption of Tearoh, whose chief promised the Rajpoot nothing less than to extend his conquests to the Indus. Allured by this bait, the *kher* was proclaimed and the sons of Beeka assembled from all quarters.

		Horse.	Foot.	Guns.
	Abhoye Sing, chief of...Bookurko	300	2,000	
	Rao Ram Sing, of......Poogul	100	400	
	Hatti Sing, of............Ranair	8	150	
	Kurrun Sing, of.........Suttasir	9	150	
	Anop Sing..................Jussaroh	40	250	
	Khet Sing...................Iemunsir	60	350	
	Bheni Sing, of.............Jangloo	9	250	
	Bhom Sing, of.............Beetnoke	2	61	
	Feudal retainers	528	3,611	
	Park under Muji Purihar	—		21
Foreign Brigade in the Raja's service.	Khas Paega, or household troop	200		...
	Camp of Gunga Sing	200	1,500	4
	Do. of Doorjun Sing	60	600	4
Auxiliary Levies.	Anoka Sing, Laori Sing, Bood Sing — Sikh chieftains: Anoka Sing	300		
	Laori Sing	250		
	Bood Sing	250		
	Sooltan Khan, Ahmed Khan — Afghans	400		
	TOTAL	2,188		29

The command-in-chief of this brilliant array was conferred on Jaitroh Matoh, son of the Dewan. On the 13th of Magh 1856 (spring of 1800) he broke ground, and the feudal levies fell in on the march by Kunasir, Rajasir, Kaili, Ranair, and Anohgurh, the last point of rendezvous. Thence he proceeded by Seogurh,* Mozgurh, and Phoolra, all of which were taken
weeks' siege, and from the last they levied a lakh
, with other valuables, and nine guns.
rpoor, within three miles of the Indus,
when being other refractory chiefs, Jaitroh marched

* Its former name was Bullur, one of the most ancient cities of the desert, as is Phoolra, a Johya possession.

direct on the capital, Bhawulpoor, within a short distance of which he encamped preparatory to the attack. The Khan, however, by this delay, was enabled to detach the most considerable of his nobles from the Rajpoot standard; on which the Bikaneer Dewan, satisfied with the honour of having insulted Bhawulpoor, retreated with the spoils he had acquired. He was received by the usurper with contempt, and degraded for not fighting.

The Bhattis, smarting with the recollection of their degradation, two years after the battle of Beegore attempted the invasion of Bikaneer, but were again repulsed with loss; and these skirmishes continued until S. 1861 (A. D. 1805), when Raja Soorut attacked the Khan of the Bhattis in his capital, Bhutnair. It capitulated after a siege of six months, when Zabta Khan, with his garrison and effects, was permitted to retire to Rhania, since which this place has remained an appanage of Bikaneer.

The coalition against Jodhpur was ruinous to Soorut, who supported the cause of the Pretender, on which the usurper expended twenty-four lakhs of rupees, nearly five years' revenue of this desert region. On this occasion, he led all his troops in person against Jodhpur, and united in the siege, which they were, however, compelled to abandon with dishonour, and retrograde to their several abodes. In consequence of this, the usurper fell sick, and was at the last extremity; nay, the ceremonies for the dead were actually commenced; but he recovered, to the grief and misery of his subjects, To supply an exhausted treasury, his extortions know no bounds; and having cherished the idea that he might compound his past sins by rites, and gifts to the priests, he is surrounded by a group of avaricious Brahmins, who are maintained in luxury at the expense of his subjects. His cruelty keeps pace with his avarice and his fears. The chief of Bookurko he put to death, notwithstanding his numerous services. Nahur Sing of Seedmookh, Gyan Sing and Goman Sing of Gundaili, amongst the chief feudatories of the state, shared the same fate. Chooru was invested a third time, and with its chief, fell into the tyrant's hands.

With this system of terror, his increasing superstition, and diminished attention to public duties, the country is annually deteriorating in population and wealth; and as if they had not misery enough within, they have not had a single good season for years.* Owing to the disobedience of the northern chiefs, and the continual incursions of the *Rahts*, 'Bhatti robbers,' who sweep the land of cattle, and often cut and carry off entire

* This account was drawn up in 1814.

crops, the peasant Jit, the ancient lord of the soil, is often left to the alternative of starvation or emigration. Many have consequently sought shelter in the British frontier territories, in Hansi and Heriana, where they are kindly received. Since the English have occupied Sirsah and the lands belonging to the Bhatti Bahader Khan, the misfortunes of the cultivators of the northern parts of Bikaneer have been doubled by the inroads of a band left without resource. In some parts, the Jits combine to protect themselves against these inroads: every hamlet has its post of defence, a tower of earth, on which is perched a watchman and kettle-drum, to beat the alarum, which is taken up from village to village, and when an enemy is discovered, all are in arms to defend their property. The unfortunate Jit is obliged to plough his fields under the load of shield and *sang*, or heavy iron lance; so that, at no distant period, the whole of this region must become as desolate as the tracts once possessed by the Johyas.*

Such, at the end of three hundred and twenty-three years, is the change which a Rajpoot usurper has effected in the once comparatively populous communities of the Jits. From the founder, Beeka, to the present tyrannical governor, there have been only eleven descents though thirteen reigns, giving an average of thirty years for the one, and twenty-five for the other: a fact which speaks forcibly for the general morality of the descendants of Beeka.

Before we enter on the physical aspect of the country, we must make mention of Beedavati, the lands of 'the sons of Beeda,' now an integral portion of Bikaneer. It will be borne in mind that Beeda, the brother of Beeka, led the first Rajpoot colony from Mundore, in search of a fresh establishment. His first attempt was in the province of Godwar, then belonging to the Rana: but his reception there was so warm, that he moved northward, and was glad to take service with the chief of the Mohils. This ancient tribe is by some termed a branch of the Yadus, but is by others considered a separate race, and one of 'the thirty-six royal races': all are agreed as to its antiquity. The residence of the Mohil chief was Chaupur, where, with the title of *Thakoor*, he ruled over one hundred and forty townships. Beeda deemed circumvention better than open force to effect his purposes; and as, according to the Rajpoot maxim, in all attempts 'to obtain land,' success hallows the means, he put in train a scheme which, as it affords the least cause for suspicion,

* While putting this to the press, rumour says that the chiefs of Bikaneer are in open rebellion against the Raja, who has applied, but without success, to the British Government for support. This, if true, is as it should be.

has often been used for this object. Beeda became the medium of a matrimonial arrangement between the Mohil chief and the prince of Marwar; and as the relation and natural guardian of the bride, he conveyed the nuptial train unsuspected into the castle of the Mohils, whose chiefs were assembled to honour the festivities. But, instead of the Rahtore fair and her band of maidens, the valorous sons of Joda rushed sword in hand from the litters and covered vehicles, and treacherously cut off the best men of Mohilla. They kept possession of the inner fortress until tidings of their success brought reinforcements from Jodhpur. For this aid, Beeda assigned to his father, Ladnoo and its twelve villages, now incorporated with Jodhpur. The son of Beeda, Tez Sing, laid the foundation of a new capital, which he called after his father, Beedasir. The community of the Beedawuts is the most powerful in Bikaneer, whose prince is obliged to be satisfied with almost nominal marks of supremacy, and to restrict his demands, which are elsewhere unlimited. The little region of the Mohillas, around the ancient capital Chaupur, is an extensive flat, flooded in the periodical rains from the surrounding *teebas* or 'sand-hills,' the soil of which is excellent, even wheat being abundantly produced. This *Oasis*, as it is entitled to be termed, may be twenty-five miles (twelve Coss) in extreme length, by about six in breadth. We cannot affirm that the entire Beedawut district of one hundred and forty villages, and to which is assigned a population of forty thousand to fifty thousand souls, one-third being Rahtores, 'the sons of Beeda' is within this flat. It is sub-divided into twelve fiefs, of which five are pre-eminent. Of the ancient possessors, the indigenous Mohils, there are not more than twenty families throughout the land of Mohilla; the rest are chiefly Jit agriculturists and the mercantile castes.

We do the sons of Beeda no injustice when we style them a community of plunderers. Like the sons of Esau, "their hand is against everyman:" and they are too powerful to fear retaliation. In former times they used to unite with the Larkhanis another horde of robbers, and carry their raids into the most populous parts of Jeypur. In these habits, however, they only partake of the character common to all who inhabit desert regions. What nature has denied them, they wrest from those to whom she has been more bountiful. But it is to the absence of good government more than to natural sterility, that we must attribute the moral obliquity of the *Rajaputras*, "the offspring of regality," spread over these extensive regions, who little discriminate between *meum* and *tuum*, in all that refers to their neighbours.

CHAPTER II.

Actual condition and capabilities of Bikaneer.—Causes of its deterioration.—Extent.—Population.—Jits.—Saraswati Brahmins.—Charuns.—Mallis and Naes.—Chooras and Thaories.—Rajpoots.—Face of the country.—Grain and vegetable productions.—Implements of husbandry.—Water.—Salt lakes.—Local physiognomy.—Mineral productions.—Unctuous clay.—Animal productions.—Commerce and manufactures.—Fairs.—Government and revenues.—The fisc.—Dhooah, or hearth tax.—Anga, or capitation-tax.—Sayer, or imposts.—Pusaeti, or plough-tax.—Malbah, or ancient land-tax.—Extraordinary and irregular resources.—Feudal levies.—Household troops.

THIS region is but little known to Europeans, by whom it has hitherto been supposed to be a perfect desert, unworthy of examination. Its present condition bears little comparison with what tradition reports it to have been in ancient times; and its deterioration, within three centuries since the Rajpoots supplanted the Jits, almost warrants our belief of the assertion, that these deserts were once fertile and populous; nay, that they are still capable (notwithstanding the reported continual increase of the sand) to maintain an abundant population, there is little room to doubt. The princes of Bikaneer used to take the field at the head of ten thousand of their kindred retainers; and although they held extraordinary grants from the empire for the maintenance of these contingents, their ability to do so from their proper resources was undoubted. To other causes than positive sterility must be attributed the wretched condition of this state. Exposed to the continual attacks of organized bands of robbers from without, subjected internally to the never-ending demands of a rapacious government, for which they have not a shadow of advantage in return, it would be strange if aught but progressive decay and wretchedness were the consequence. In three centuries, more than one-half of the villages, which either voluntarily or by force submitted to the rule of the founder, Beeka, are now without memorial of their existence, and the rest are gradually approximating to the same condition. Commercial caravans, which passed through this state and enriched its treasury with the transit duties, have almost ceased to frequent it from the increasing insecurity of its territory. Besides the personal loss to the prince, the country suffers from the deterioration of the commercial towns

of Chooru, Rajgurh, and Rinnie, which, as *entrepots*, supplied the country with the productions of Sinde and the provinces to the westward, or those of Gangetic India. Nor is this confined to Bikaneer; the same cause affects Jessulmeer, and the more eastern principalities, whose misgovernment, equally with Bikaneer, fosters the spirit of rapine: the Maldotes of Jessulmeer and the Larkhanis of Jeypur are as notorious as the Beedawuts of Bikaneer; and to these may be added the Sahraes, Khosas, and Rajurs, in the more western desert, who, in their habits and principles, are as demoralized as the Bedouins of Arabia.

Extent.—Population.—Soil.—Teebas or *Sand-hills.*—The line of greatest breadth of this state extends from Poogul to Rajgurh, and measures about one hundred and eighty miles; while the length from north to south, between Bhutnair and Mahajih, is about one hundred and sixty miles: the area may not exceed twenty-two thousand miles. Formerly they reckoned two thousand seven hundred towns, villages, and hamlets scattered over this space, one-half of which are no longer in existence.

An estimate of the population of this arid region, without presenting some data, would be very unsatisfactory. The tract to the north-west of Jaetpoor is now perfectly desolate, and nearly so from that point to Bhutnair; to the north-east, the population is but scanty, which observation also applies to the parts from the meridian of Bikaneer to the Jessulmeer frontier; while internally, from these points, it is more uniform, and equals the northern parts of Marwar. From a census of the twelve principal towns, with an estimate, furnished by well-informed inhabitants, of the remainder, we may obtain a tolerably accurate approximation on this point:

Chief Towns.	No. of Houses.
Bikaneer	12,000
Nohur	2,500
Bahaderan	2,500
Rinnie	1,500
Rajgurh	3,000
Chooru	3,000
Mahajin	800
Jaetpoor	1,000
Beedasir	500
Ruttungurh	1,000
Daismookh	1,000
Senthal	50
Carried over	28,850

Brought forward		28,850
100 villages, each having	200 houses	20,000
100 Ditto	150 ditto	15,000
200 Ditto	100 ditto	20,000
800 hamlets	30 each	24,000
TOTAL number of houses		107,850

Allowing five souls to each house, we have a total of 539,250 souls, giving an average of twenty-five to the square mile, which I cannot think exaggerated, and making the desert regions depending on Bikaneer equal, in the density of population, the highlands of Scotland.

Of this population, full three-fourths are the aboriginal Jits; the rest are their conquerors, descendants of Beeka, including the Sarsote Brahmins, Charuns, Bards and a few of the debased classes, whose numbers, conjointly, are not one-tenth of the Rajpoots.

Jits.—The Jits are the most wealthy as well as the most numerous portion of the community. Many of the old Bhomia landlords, representatives of their ancient communal heads, are men of substance; but their riches are of no use to them, and to avoid the rapacity of their government, they cover themselves with the cloak of poverty, which is thrown aside only on nuptial festivities. On these occasions they disinter their hoards, which are lavished with unbounded extravagance. They even block up the highways to collect visitors, whose numbers form the measure of the liberality and munificence of the donor of the *fete.*

Sarsote (properly *Sarasvati*) Brahmins are found in considerable numbers throughout this tract. They aver that they were masters of the country prior to the Jit colonists They are a peaceable, industrious race, and without a single prejudice of 'the order'; they eat meat, smoke tobacco, cultivate the soil, and trade even in the sacred kine, notwithstanding their descent from Singiricsha, son of Brahma.

Charuns.—The Charuns are the sacred order of these regions; the warlike tribes esteem the heroic lays of the bard more than the homily of the Brahmin. The Charuns are throughout reverenced by the Rahtores, and hold 'lands, literally, on the tenure of 'an old song.' More will be said of them in the Annals of Jessulmeer.

Mallis, *Naes*, gardeners and barbers are important members of every Rajpoot family, and to be found in all the villages, of which they are invariably the cooks.

Chooras, *Thaoris*, are actually castes of robbers: the former, from the Lakhi Jungle; the latter, from Mewar. Most of

the chieftains have a few in their* pay, entertained for the most desperate services. The Bahaderan chief has expelled all his Rajpoots, and retains only Chooras and Thaoris. The Chooras are highly esteemed for fidelity, and the barriers and portals throughout this tract are in their custody. They enjoy a very singular perquisite, which would go far to prove their being the aborigines of the country; namely, a fee of four copper coins on every dead subject, when the funeral ceremonies are over.

Rajpoots.—The Rahtores of Bikaneer are unchanged in their martial qualifications, bearing as high a reputation as any other class in India; and whilst their brethren of Marwar, Amber, and Mewar, have been for years groaning under the rapacious visitations of Mahrattas and Pat'hans, their distance and the difficulties of the country have saved them from such afflictions: though, in truth, they have had enough to endure at home, in the tyranny of their own lord. The Rahtores of the desert have fewer prejudices than their more eastern brethren; they will eat food, without enquiring by whom it was dressed, and will drink either wine or water, without asking to whom the cup belonged. They would make the best soldiers in the world if they would submit to discipline, as they are brave, hardy, easily satisfied, and very patient; though, on the other hand, they have imbibed some qualities, since their migration to these regions, which could only be eradicated in the rising generation: especially the inordinate use of opium, and smoking intoxicating herbs, in both which accomplishments 'the sons of Beeka' are said to bear the palm from the rest of the *Chatees rajcula*, the thirty-six royal tribes of India. The *piala*, or 'cup,' is a favourite with every Rajpoot who can afford it, and is, as well as opium, a panacea for *ennui*, arising from the absence of all mental stimulants, in which they are more deficient, from the nature of the country, than most of their warlike countrymen.

Face of the country.—The whole of this principality, with the exception of a few isolated spots, or *oases*, scattered here and there, consists more or less of sand. From the eastern to the western boundary, in the line of greatest breadth, it is one continuous plain of sand, though the *teebas*, or sand-hills, commence in the centre of the country, the principal chain running in the direction of Jessulmeer, and shooting forth subordinate branches in every direction; or it might be more correct to designate this main ridge, originating in the tracts bordering the eastern valley of the Indus, as terminating its elevations about the heart of

Bikaneer. On the north-east quarter, from Rajgurh to Nohur and Raotsir, the soil is good, being black earth, slightly mixed with sand, and having water near enough to the surface for irrigation; it produces wheat, gram, and even rice, in considerable quantities. The same soil exists from Bhutnair to the banks of the Garah. The whole of the Mohilla tract is a fertile *oasis*, the *teebas* just terminating their extreme offsets on its northern limit: being flooded in the periodical rains, wheat is abundantly produced.

But exclusive of such spots, which are "few and far between," we cannot describe the desert as a waste where "no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens"; for though the poverty of the soil refuses to aid the germination of the more luxuriant grains, Providence has provided a countervailing good, in giving to those it can rear a richness and superiority unknown to more favoured regions. The *bajra* of the desert is far superior to any grown in the rich loam of Malwa, and its inhabitant retains an instinctive partiality, even when admitted to revel in the luxurious repasts of Mewar or Amber, for the *bhawtis*, or 'bajra cakes,' of his native sand-hills, and not more from association than from their intrinsic excellence. In a plentiful season, they save enough for two years' consumption. The grain requires not much water, though it is of the last importance that this little should be timely.

Besides bajra, we may mention *mot'h* and *til*; the former a useful pulse both for men and cattle; the other the oil-plant, used both for culinary purposes and burning. Wheat, gram, and barley, are produced in the favoured spots described, but in these are enumerated the staple products of Bikaneer.

Cotton is grown in the tracts favourable for wheat. The plant is said to be septennial, even decennial, in these regions. As soon as the cotton is gathered, the shoots are all cut off, and the root alone left. Each succeeding year, the plant increases in strength, and at length attains a size unknown where it is more abundantly cultivated.

Nature has bountifully supplied many spontaneous vegetable products for the use of man, and excellent pasture for cattle. *Gowar*, *Katchri*, *Kukree*, all of the cucurbitaceous family, and water-melons of a gigantic size, are produced in great plenty. The latter is most valuable; for being cut in slices and dried in the sun, it is stored up for future use when vegetables are scarce, or in times of famine, on which they always calculate. It is also an article of commerce, and much admired even where vegetables are more abundant. The copious mucilage of the dried melon is extremely nourishing; and deem-

ing it valuable as an antiscorbutic in sea-voyages, the Author sent some of it to Calcutta many years ago for experiment.* Our Indian ships would find no difficulty in obtaining a plentiful supply of this article, as it can be cultivated to any extent, and thus be made to confer a double benefit, on our seamen and the inhabitants of those desert regions. The superior magnitude of the water-melons of the desert over those of interior India gives rise to much exaggeration, and it has been gravely asserted by travellers in the sand *teebas*,† where they are most abundant, that the mucilage of one is sufficient to allay the thirst both of a horse and his rider.

In these arid regions, where they depend entirely on the heavens for water, and where they calculate on a famine every seventh year, nothing that can administer to the wants of man is lost. The seeds of the wild grapes, as the *bhoorut*, *buroo*, *herraro*, *sewun*, are collected, and, mixed with *bajra*-flour, enter much into the food of the poorer classes. They also store up great quantities of the wild *ber*, *khyr*, and *kharil* berries; and the long pods of the *kaijra* astringent and bitter as they are, are dried and formed into a flour. Nothing is lost in these regions which can be converted into food.

Trees they have none indigenous (mangoes and tamarind are planted about the capital), but abundant shrubs, as the *babool*, and ever-green *peeloo*, the *jhal*, and others yielding berries. The Beedawuts, indeed, apply the term 'tree,' to the *rocura*, which sometimes attains the height of twenty feet, and is transported to all parts for house-building; as likewise is the *nima*, so well known throughout India. The *phok* is the most useful of all these, as with its twigs they frame a wicker-work to line their wells, and prevent the sand from falling in.

The *âk*, a species of euphorbia, known in Hindustan as the *madar*, grows to an immense height and strength in the desert; from its fibres they make the ropes in general use throughout these regions, and they are reckoned superior, both in substance and durability, to those formed of *moonj* (hemp), which is, however, cultivated in the lands of the Beedawuts.

Their agricultural implements are simple and suited to the soil. The plough is one of single yoke, either for the camel or ox: that with double yoke being seldom required, or chiefly by the *mallis* (gardeners), when the soil is of some consistence. The drill is invariably used, and the grains are dropped singly

* I sent specimens to Mr. Moorcroft so far back as 1813, but never learned the result.—See Article "On the Preservation of Food," Edin. Review, No. 45, p. 115.

† Mr. Barrow, in his valuable work on Southern Africa, describes the water-melon as self-sown and abundant.

into the ground, at some distance from each other, and each sends forth a dozen to twenty stalks. A bundle of bushes forms their harrow. The grain is trodden out by oxen; and the *mot'h* (pulse), which is even more productive than the *bajra*, by camels.

Water.—This indispensable element is at an immense distance from the surface throughout the Indian desert, which, in this respect, as well as many others, differs very materially from that portion of the great African Desert in the same latitudes. Water at twenty-feet, as found at Mourzook by Capt. Lyon, is here unheard-of, and the degree of cold experienced by him at Zuela, on the winter solstice, would have "burnt up" every natural and cultivated production of our Hindu Seharra. Captain Lyon describes the thermometer in lat. 26°, within 2° of zero of Reaumur. Majors Denham and Clapperton never mark it under 40° of Fahrenheit, and mention ice, which I never saw but once, the thermometer being 28°; and then not only the mouths of our *mushiks*, or 'water-skins,' were frozen, but a small pond, protected from the wind (I heard, for I saw it not), exhibited a very thin pellicle of ice. When at 30° the cold was deemed intense by the inhabitants of Maroo in the tracts limiting the desert, and the useful *âk*, and other shrubs, were scorched and withered; and in north lat. 25°, the thermometer being 28°, desolation and woe spread throughout the land. To use their own phrase, the crops of gram and other pulses were completely "burnt up, as if scorched by the lightnings of heaven;" while the sun's meridian heat would raise it 50° more, or up to 80°, a degree of variability at least not recorded by Captain Lyon.

At Dâisnokh, near the capital, the wells are more than two hundred cubits, or three hundred feet, in depth; and it is rare that water fit for man is found at a less distance from the surface than sixty, in the tracts decidedly termed *thul*, or 'desert:' though some of the flats, or *oases*, such as that of Mohilla, are exceptions, and abundance of brackish water, fit for cattle, is found throughout at half this depth, or about thirty feet. * All the wells are lined with basket-work made of *phok* twigs, and the water is generally drawn up by hand-lines.*

* Water is sold, in all the large towns, by the *mallis*, or 'gardeners,' who have the monopoly of this article. Most families have large cisterns or reservoirs, called *tankas*, which are filled in the rainy season. They are of masonry, with a small trap-door at the top, made to exclude the external air, and having a lock and key affixed. Some large *tankas* are established for the community, and I understand this water keeps sweet for eight and twelve months' consumption.

Sirr, or 'salt lakes.'—There are a few salt lakes, which, throughout the whole of the Indian desert, are termed *sirr*, though none are of the same consequence as those of Marwar. The largest is at the town of Sirr, so named after the lake, which is about six miles in circumference. There is another at Chaupur about two miles in length, and although each of them frequently contains a depth of four feet of water, this entirely evaporates in the hot winds, leaving a thick sheet of saline incrustation. The salt of both is deemed of inferior quality to that of the more southerly lakes.

Physiognomy of the country.—There is little to vary the physiognomy of this region, and small occasion to boast either of its physical or moral beauties; yet, strange to say, I have met with many whose love of country was stronger than their perceptions of abstract veracity, who would dwell on its perfections, and prefer a mess of *rabri*, or porridge made of *bajra*, to the greater, delicacies of more civilized regions. To such, the *teebas*, or 'sand-ridges,' might be more important than the Himalaya, and their diminutive and scanty brushwood might eclipse, the gigantic foliage of this huge barrier. Verdure itself may be abhorrent to eyes accustomed to behold only arid sands; and a region without *tofans* or 'whirlwinds;' or armies of locusts rustling like a tempest, and casting long shadows on the lands, might be deemed by the prejudiced, deficient in the true sublime. Occasionally the sand-stone formation rises above the surface, resembling a few low isolated hills; and those who dwell on the boundaries of Nagore, if they have a love of more decided elevations than their native sand-hills afford, may indulge in a distant view of the terminations of the Aravulli.

Mineral productions.—The mineral productions of this country are scanty. They have excellent quarries of freestone in several parts, especially at Husairah, thirteen Coss to the north-east of the capital, which yield a small revenue estimated at two thousand rupees annually. There are also copper mines at Beerumsir and Beedasir; but the former does not repay the expense of working, and the latter, having been worked for thirty years, is nearly exhausted.

An unctuous clay is excavated from a pit, near Kolath, in large quantities, and exported as an article of commerce, besides adding fifteen hundred rupees annually to the treasury. It is used chiefly to free the skin and hair from impurities, and the Cutchie ladies are said to eat it to improve their complexions.

Animal productions.—The kine of the desert are highly esteemed; as are the camels, especially those used for expedi-

tion and the saddle, which bear a high price,* and are considered superior to any in India. They are beautifully formed, and the head possesses much blood and symmetry. Sheep are reared in great abundance, and find no want of food in the excellent grasses and shrubs which abound. The *phok*, *jowas*, and other prickly shrubs, which are here indigenous, form the dainties of the camel in other regions. The Nilgae, or elk, and deer of every kind, are plentiful ; and the fox of the desert is a beautiful little animal. Jackals and hyænas are not scarce, and even lions are by no means unknown in Bikaneer.

Commerce and Manufactures.—Rajgurh was the great commercial mart of this country, and the point of *rendezvous* for caravans from all parts. The produce of the Punjab and Cashmere came formerly direct by Hansi-Hisar,—that of the eastern countries by Delhi, Rewari, Dadri, &c., consisting of silks, fine cloths, indigo, sugar, iron, tobacco, &c., from Harouti and Malwa came opium, which supplied all the Rajpoot states; from Sinde, *via* Jessulmeer, and by caravans from Mooltan and Shikarpoor, dates, wheat, rice, *loongees* (silk vestments for women), fruits, &c. ; from Palli, the imports from maritime countries, as spices, tin, drugs, coco-nuts, elephants' teeth, &c. Much of this was for internal consumption, but the greater part a mere transit trade, which yielded considerable revenue.

Woollens.—The wool of the sheep pastured in the desert is, however, the staple commodity both of manufacture and trade in this region. It is worked into every article of dress, both male and female, and worn by all, rich and poor. It is produced from the loom, of every texture and quality, from the coarse *looie* or 'blanket,' at three rupees per pair (six shillings), to thirty rupees. The quality of these last is very fine, of an intermediate texture between the shawl and camlet, and without any nap : it is always bordered with a stripe of chocolate brown or red. Of this quality are the *do-patis* or 'scarfs' for the ladies. Turbans are also manufactured of it, and though frequently from forty to sixty-one feet in length, such is the fineness of the web, that they are not bulky on the head.

From the milk of the sheep and goats as well as kine, *Ghee* or 'clarified butter' is made, and forms an important article of trade.

Manufactures in iron.—The Bikaneeris work well in iron, and have shops at the capital and all the large towns for the manufacture of sword-blades, matchlocks, daggers, iron lances, &c. The sword-handles which are often inlaid with variegated

* One thousand rupees have been given for one ; one hundred is the average value.

steel, or burnished, are in high request, and exported to various parts of India. They have also expert artists in ivory, though the articles are chiefly such as are worn by females, as *chooris*, or 'bracelets.'

Coarse cotton cloths, for internal consumption, are made in considerable quantities.

Fairs.—Annual fairs were held, in the months of Kartik and Phalgoon, at the towns of Kolath and Gujnair, and frequented by the merchants of the adjacent countries. They were celebrated for cattle, chiefly the produce of the desert, camels, kine, and horses from Mooltan and the Lakhi Jungle, a breed now almost extinct. These fairs have lost all their celebrity : in fact, commerce in these regions is extinct.

Government revenues.—The personal revenues of the Raja were derived from a variety of sources : from the *Khalisa*, or 'crown lands' imposts, taxes on agriculture, and that compendious *item* which makes up the deficiencies in all oriental budgets, *dind*, or 'contribution.' But with all these "appliances and means to boot," the civil list of this desert king seldom exceeded five lakhs of rupees, or about £50,000 per annum. The lands of the feudality are more extensive proportionally in this region than in any other in Rajpootana, arising out of the original settlement, when the Beedawuts and Kandulotes, whose joint acquisitions exceeded those of Beeka, would not admit him to hold lands in their territory, and made but a slight pecuniary acknowledgment of his supremacy. The districts in which the crown lands lie are Rajgurh, Rinnie, Nohur, Garib, Ruttengurh, Ranniah, and more recently Chooru.

The following are the items of the revenue :—1st. *Khalisa*, or fiscal revenue ; 2nd. *Dhooah* ; 3rd. *Anguh* ; 4th. Town and transit duties ; 5th. *Pusaeti*, or 'plough-tax' ; 6th. *Malbah.*

1st. The *fisc.* Formerly this branch of revenue yielded two lakhs of rupees ; but with progressive superstition and prodigality, the Raja has alienated almost two-thirds of the villages from which the revenue was drawn. These amounted to two hundred ; now they do not exceed eighty, and their revenue is not more than one lakh of rupees. Soorut Sing is guided only by caprice ; his rewards are uniform, no matter what the service or the object, whether a Brahmin or a camel-driver. The *Khalisa* is the only source which he considers he has merely a life-interest in. To supply the deficiencies, he has direct recourse to the pockets of his subjects.

2nd. *Dhooah* may be rendered hearth-tax, though literally is is a smoke (*dhooah*) tax. All must eat ; food must be dressed ; and as they have neither chimneys nor glass windows on which to lay the tax, Soorut Sing's chancellor of the

exchequer makes the smoke pay a transit duty ere it gets vent from the various orifices of the edifice. It only amounts to one rupee on each house or family, but would form an important item if not evaded by the powerful chiefs: still it yields a lakh of rupees. The town of Mahajin, which was settled on Ruttun Sing, son of Raja Noonkurn, on the resignation of his right of primogeniture and succession, enjoys exemption from this tax. It is less liable to fluctuation than other taxes, for if a village becomes half-deserted, those who remain are saddled with the whole. *Dhooah* is only known to the two western states, Bikaneer and Jessulmeer.

3rd. *Angah.* This is not a capitation but a *body* tax (from *angah* the body), and was established by Raja Anop Sing. It might almost be termed a property-tax, since it embraced quadrupeds as well as bipeds of every sex and age, and was graduated according to age and sex in the human species, and according to utility in the brute. Each male adult was assessed one *angah*, fixed at four annas (about sixpence), and cows, oxen, buffaloes, were placed upon a level with the lord of the creation. Ten goats or sheep were estimated as one *angah*; but camel was equivalent to four *angahs*, or one rupee, which Raja Guj Sing doubled. This tax, which is by far the most certain in a country, perhaps still more pastoral than agricultural, is most providently watched, and though it has undergone many changes since it was originally imposed, it yet yields annually tow lakhs of rupees.

4th. *Sayer*, or 'imposts.' This branch is subject to much fluctuation, and has diminished greatly since the reign of Soorut Sing. The duties levied in the capital alone formerly exceeded what is collected throughout the whole of his dominions; being once estimated at above two lakhs, and now under one. Of this amount, half is collected at Rajgurh, the chief commercial mart of Bikaneer. The dread of the *Rahts*, who have cut off the communications with the Punjab, and the want of principle within, deter merchants from visiting this state, and the caravans from Mooltan, Bhawulpoor, and Shikarpoor, which passed through Bikaneer to the eastern states, have nearly abandoned the route. The only duties of which he is certain are those on grain, of four rupees on every hundred maunds sold or exported, and which, according to the average sale price of these regions, may be about two per cent.

5th. *Pusaeti* is a tax of five rupees on every plough used in agriculture. It was introduced by Raja Rae Sing, in commutation of the corn-tax, or levy in kind, which had long been established at one fourth of the gross produce. The Jits were glad to compound, and get rid of the agents of corruption, by

the substitution of the plough-tax. It formerly yielded two lakhs of rupees, but with decreasing agriculture has fallen, like every other source, to a little more than one-half, but still yields a lakh and a quarter.

6th. *Malbah* is the name of the original tax which the Jit communities imposed upon themselves, when they submitted to the sway in perpetuity of Beeka and his successors. It is the land-tax* of two rupees on each hundred beeghas of land cultivated in Bikaneer. It is now unproductive, not realizing fifty thousand rupees, and it is said that a composition has been effected, by which it has been, or will be, relinquished: if so, Soorut Sing gives up the sole legitimate source of revenue he possesses.

Recapitulation.

1st.	Khalisa, or fisc† ...	1,00,000
2nd.	Dhooah ...	1,00,000
3rd.	Angah	2,00,000
4th.	Sayer, imposts‡ ...	75,000
5th.	Pusaeti, plough-tax ...	1,25,000
6th.	Malbah, land-tax ...	50,000
	TOTAL ...	6,50,000

Besides this, the fullest amount arising to the prince from annual taxation, there are other items which occasionally replenish the treasury of Soorut Sing.

* *Mal* is the term for land which has no irrigation but from the heavens.

			Rs.
† Nohur district	... 84 villages.	Revenue ...	1,00,000
Rinnie	... 24 ditto	... ...	10,000
Raniah	... 44 ditto	... ...	20,000
Jalloli	... 1 ditto	... ...	5,000
		TOTAL original Fiscal Lands.	1,35,000

since Rajgurh, Chooru and other places recovered.

‡ Impost Duties in old times, *viz.*,

	Rs.
Town of Noonkurn	2,000
Rajgurh	10,000
Shekhsir	5,000
Capital—Bikaneer	75,000
From Chooru and other towns	45,000
	1,37,000

Dhatoie is a triennial tax of five rupees levied on each plough. It was instituted by Raja Zoorawur Sing. The whole country is liable to it, with the exception of fifty villages in Asiagati, and seventy of the Beniwals, conditionally exempted, to guard the borders. It is now frequently evaded by the feudal chieftains, and seldom yields a lakh of rupees.

In addition to these specific expedients, there are many arbitrary methods of increasing the "ways and means" to satisfy the necessities or avarice of the present ruler, and a train of dependent harpies who prey upon the cultivating peasantry, or industrious trader. By such shifts, Soorut Sing has been known to double his fixed revenue.

Dind Khooshali.—The terms *Dind* aud *Khooshali*, though etymologically the antipodes of other,—the first meaning a 'compulsory contribution,' the other a 'benevolence, or voluntary,*—have a similar interpretation in these regions, and make the subjects of those parts devoulty pray that their prince's house may be one rather of mourning than rejoicing, and that defeat rather than victory may be attendant on his arms.

The term *Dind* is coeval with Hindu legislation. The bard Chund describes it, and the chronicler of the life of the great Sidraj of Anhulwarra, "who expelled the seven *Diddas*," or 'great evils,' whose initial letter was *d*, enumerates *dind* as one of them, and places it with the *Dholis* and *Dhakuns*, or minstrels and witches, giving it precedence amongst the seven plagues which his ancestors and tyrant custom had inflicted on the subject. Unhappily, there is no Sidraj to legislate for Rajpootana; and were there fourteen *Diddas* by which Soorut Sing could swell his budget, he would retain them all for the oppression of the impoverished Jits, who, if they could, would be happy to expel the letter S from amongst them. But it is from the chieftain, the merchant, and the banker, that the chief sums are realized; though indirectly the poor peasant contributes his share. There are fourteen collectors of *Dind* one to every *cheera* or division, and these are furnished with arbitrary schedules according to the circumstances, actual or supposed, of each individual. So unlimited are these exactions, that the chief of Gundaili for two years offered the collector of his quarter ten thousand rupees if he would guarantee him against any further demand during even twelve months; and being refused, he turned the collector out, shut the gates of his castle, and boldly bid his master defiance.

* *Khoosh* means 'happiness, pleasure, volition':—'*ap ca khooshi*,' 'at your pleasure.'

One of his expedients to levy a *khooshali*, or 'benevolence,' is worth relating: it was on the termination of his expedition against Bhutnair, which added this celebrated desert and castle to his territory, and in which he was attended by the entire feudal army of Bikaneer. On his return, "flushed with conquest," he demanded from each house throughout his dominions the sum of ten rupees to cover the expenses of the war. If the tyrant-ridden subjects of Soorut Sing thus *rejoice* in his successes, how must they feel for his defeats! To them both are alike ominous, when every artifice is welcomed, every villany practised, to impoverish them. Oppression is at its height, and must work out its own cure.

Feudal levies.—The disposable force of all these feudal principalities must depend on the personal character of the Raja. If Soorat Sing were popular, and the national emergencies demanded the assemblage of the *kher or levée en masse*, of the 'sons of Beeka,' he might bring ten thousand Rajpoots into the field, of whom twelve hundred might be good horse, besides the foreign troops and park; but under present circumstances, and the rapid deterioration of every branch of society, it may be doubted whether one-half could be collected under his standard.

The household troops consist of a battalion of foreign infantry, of five hundred men with five guns, and three squadrons of horse, about two hundred and fifty in number; all under foreign leaders. This is independent of the garrison of the capital, whose commandant is a Rajpoot of the Purihar tribe, who has twenty-five villages assigned for the payment of his troops.



Schedule exhibiting the Fiefs of Bikaneer.

Names of Chieftains.	Clans.	Places of Abode.	Revenue.	Retainers.		Remarks.
				Foot.	Horse.	
Beri Sal ...	... Beeko ...	Mahajin ...	40,000	5,000	100	One hundred and forty villages attached to this fief, settled on the heir of Raja Noonkurn, who consequently forfeited the *gudi*.
Abhe Sing ...	... Benirote ...	Bookurko ...	25,000	5,000	200	The first of the chiefs of Bikaneer.
Anop Sing ...	... Beeko ...	Jessanoh ...	5,000	400	40	
Paim Sing ...	... Do. ...	Baie ...	5,000	400	25	
Chyn Sing ...	... Benirote ...	Sawoh ...	20,000	2,000	300	
Himmut Sing	... Raot ...	Raotsir ...	20,000	2,000	300	
Seo Sing ...	... Benirote ...	Chooru ...	25,000	2,000	200	
Omed Sing ...	Beedawut	Bedasir	50,000	10,000	2,000	One hundred and forty [illegible] (families, lit. *chambers*) of this class.
Jaet Sing ...		Saondwa				
Buhader Sing ...	Narnote	Maynsir	40,000	4,000	500	
Sooraj Mull ...		Teandesir				
Gomaun Sing ...		Kattur				
Attie Sing ...		Kootchore				
Shere Sing ...	... Narnote ...	Neembaje ...	5,000	500	125	
Davee Sing ...	Narnote	Seedmook	20,000	5,000	400	
Omeid Sing ...		Kurripoora				
Soorjan Sing ...		Ajeetpoora				
Kurni Dan ...		Beasir				
Soortan Sing ...	... Cutchwaha ...	Nynawass ...	4,000	150	30	
Puddum Sing ...	... Powar ...	Jaetsisir ...	5,000	200	100	These two fiefs are held by foreign nobles of the house of Amber, and the ancient Pramara, (*vulg.* Powar).
Kishen Sing ...	... Beeko ...	Hyadesir ...	5,000	200	50	
		Carried forward	2,69,000	36,850	4,370	

Schedule exhibiting the Fiefs of Bikaneer,—concluded.

Names of Chieftains.	Clans.	Places of Abode.	Revenue.	Retainers. Foot.	Retainers. Horse.	REMARKS.
		Brought forward	2,69,000	36,850	4,370	
Rao Sing	Bhatti ...	Poogul* ...	6,000	1,500	40	The fief of Poogul was wrested from the Bhattis of Jessulmeer.
Sooltan Sing	Do. ...	Rajasir ...	1,500	200	50	
Lakteer Sing	Do. ...	Ranair ...	2,000	400	75	
Kurnie Sing	Do. ...	Sutasir ...	1,000	200	9	
Bhom Sing	Do. ...	Chuckurra ...	1,000	60	4	
Four Chieftains, † *viz.*						
1. Bhonni Sing ...	Bhatti ...	Beetchnok ...	1,500	60	6	
2. Zalim Sing ...	Do. ...	Gurrialah ...	1,000	40	4	
3. Sirdar Sing ...	Do. ...	Soorjerah ...	800	30	2	
4. Kaet Sing ...	Do. ...	Rundisir ...	600	32	2	
Chund Sing... ...	Kurrumsaut ...	Nokho ...	11,000	1,000	500	Twenty-seven villages dependent on this family from Jodhpur, and settled here eleven years.
Sutti Dan	Roopawut ...	Badilah ...	5,000	200	25	
Bhom Sing	Bhatti ...	Jangloo ...	2,500	400	9	
Kalli	Do. ...	Jaminsir ...	15,000	500	150	Twenty-seven villages.
Issree Sing	Mundilah ...	Saroonda ...	11,000	2,000	150	
Puddum Sing ...	Bhatti ...	Koodsoo ...	1,500	60	4	
Kullian Sing ...	Do. ...	Naineah ...	1,000	40	2	
		TOTAL. ...	331,400	43,572	5,402	

* Poogul Putta. † These chiefs are called Sirdars of Khari Putta, one of the original conquests of the founder, Beeka

If ever the whole feudal array of Bikaneer amounted to this, it would assuredly be found difficult now, were the *ban* proclaimed, to assemble one-fourth of this number.

	Horse.	Foot.	Guns
Sooltan Khan ...	—	200	
Anokha Sing, Sikh ...	—	250	
Boodh Sing Dewarah	—	200	
Doorjun Sing's Battalion	700	4	4
Gunga Sing's Battalion	1,000	25	6
TOTAL FOREIGNERS...	1,700	679	10
Park	...		21
	1,700	679	31

CHAPTER III.

Bhutnair, its origin and denomination.—Historical celebrity of the Jits of Bhutnair.—Emigration of Bersi.—Succeeded by Bhiroo.—Embraces Islamism.—Rao Duleeck.—Hosein Khan, Hosein Mahmood, Emam Mahmood, and Buhader Khan.—Zabta Khan, the present ruler.—Condition of the country.—Changes in its physical aspect.—Ruins of ancient buildings.—Promising scene for archæological inquiries.—Zoological and botanical curiosities.—List of the ancient towns.—Relics of the arrow-head character found in the Desert.

BHUTNAIR, which now forms an integral part of Bikaneer, was anciently the chief abode of another Jit community, so powerful as at one time to provoke the vengeance of kings, and at others to succour them when in distress. It is asserted that its name is in no wise connected with the Bhattis who colonized it, but derived from the Bardai, or Bhat, of a powerful prince, to whom the lands were granted, and who, desirous to be the founder of a poetic dynasty, gave his professional title to the abode. In the annals of Jessulmeer, it will be seen that there is another story accounting for the appellation, which recalls the founding of Carthage or Byrsa. Both legends are improbable; and the Bhatti annals confirm what might have been assumed without suspicion, that to a colony of this race Bhutnair owes its name, though not its existence. The whole of the northern part is called Nair in the ancient geographical nomenclature of Maroosthali; and when some of the Bhatti clans became proselytes to Islam, they changed the vowel *a* to *u*, to distinguish them from the parent stock, *viz.*, Bhatti for Bhutti. We shall, however, furnish evidence by and bye, in the annals of the original race, that in all probability the Yadu-Bhatti is the original Yuti colony from Central Asia; and that "the Jit prince of Saipoor," whose inscription is in the first volume of this work, was the predecessor of these very races.

Neither the tract depending on Bhutnair, nor that north of it to the Garah river, presented formerly the scene of absolute desolation they now exhibit, and I shall append a list of towns, to which* a high antiquity is assigned, whose vestiges still remain, and from which something might perhaps be gleaned to confirm or overturn these deductions.

Bhutnair has attained great historical celebrity from its position, being in the route of invasion from Central Asia to India. It is more than probable that the Jits, who resisted the advance of Mahmood of Ghizni in a naval warfare on the Indus, had long before that period established themselves in the desert as well as in the Punjab; and as we find them occupying a place amongst the thirty-six royal tribes, we may infer that they had political power many centuries before that conqueror. In A. D. 1205, only twelve years after the conquest of India by Shabudin, his successor, Kootub, was compelled to conduct the war in person against the Jits of the northern desert, to prevent their wresting the important post of Hansi from the empire; and when the unfortunate and intrepid queen Rizzia, the worthy heiress of the great Feroz, was compelled to abandon her throne to an usurper, she sought and found protection amongst the Jits, who, with their Scythic brethren, the Ghikers, assembled all their forces and marched, with their queen at their head, like Tomyris of old, to meet her foes. She was not destined to enjoy the same revenge, but gained a glorious death in the attempt to overturn the Salic law of India.* Again, in A. D. 1397, when Timoor invaded India, Bhutnair was attacked for "having distressed him exceedingly on his invasion of Mooltan," when he "in person scoured the country, and cut off a tribe of banditti called Jits." In short, the Bhuttis and Jits were so intermingled, that distinction was impossible. Leaving this point, therefore, to be adjusted in the annals of the Bhattis, we proceed to sketch the history of the colony which ruled Bhutnair when subjugated by the Rahtores.

It was shortly after Timoor's invasion, that a colony of Bhattis migrated from Marote and Phoolra, under their leader Bersi, and assaulted and captured Bhutnair from a Mahomedan chief; but whether one of Timoor's officers, or a dependent of Delhi, remains unknown, though most probably the former. His name, Chigat Khan, almost renders this certain, and they must have made a proper name out of his tribe, Chagitai, of which he was a noble. This Khan had conquered Bhutnair from the Jits, and had acquired a considerable territory, which the Bhatti colony took advantage of his return to invade and conquer. Sixteen generations have intervened since this event, which bringing it to the period of Timoor's invasion, furnishes an additional reason for concluding the Khan of Bhutnair to have been one of his nobles, whom he may have left entrusted with this important point of communication, should he meditate further intercourse with India.

* I presented to Mr. Marsden a unique coin of this ill-fated queen.

Bersi ruled twenty-seven years, and was succeeded by his son, Bhiroo, when the sons of Chigat Khan, obtaining aid from the Delhi monarch, invaded Bhutnair, and were twice repulsed with great loss. A third army succeeded; Bhutnair was invested and reduced to great straits, when Bhiroo hung out a flag of truce, and offered to accept any conditions which would not compromise his castle. Two were named:—to embrace Islamism, or seal his sincerity by giving his daughter to the king. He accepted the first alternative, and from that day, in order to distinguish these proselytes, they changed the name of Bhatti to Bhutti. Six chiefs intervened between Bhiroo and

Rae Duleech, surnamed Hyat Khan, from whom Rae Sing of Bikaneer wrested Bhutnair, and Futtehabad became the future residence of the Bhutti Khans. He was succeeded by

Hosein Khan (the grandson of Hyat), who recaptured Bhutnair, from Raja Sujawun Sing, and it was maintained during the time of Hosein Mahmoud and Emam Mahmoud, until Soorut Sing made the final conquest of it from Buhader Khan, father to the present titular head of the Bhuttis,*

Zabta Khan, who resides at Raniah, having about twenty-five villages dependent thereon.† Raniah was founded by Rae Sing of Bikaneer, and named after his queen (*Rani*), to whom it was assigned. It was taken by Emam Mahmoud. The Bhutti Khan is now a robber by profession, and his revenues, which are said to have sometimes amounted to three lakhs of rupees, are exorted by the point of his lance. These depredations are carried to frightful extent, and the poor Jits are kept eternally on the alert to defend their property. The proximity of the British territory preventing all incursions to the eastward, they are thrown back upon their original haunts, and make the whole of this northern region their prey. To this circumstance is attributed the desertion of these lands, which once reared cattle in abundance, and were highly valued. It is asserted that from the northern boundary of Bhutnair to the Garah, there are many tracts susceptible of high cultivation, having water near the surface, and many large spaces entirely free from *thul*, or 'sand hills.' To the drying up of the Hakra, or Caggar, many centuries ago, in conjunction with moral evils, is ascribed the existing desolation. According to tradition, this stream took a westerly direction, by Phoolra, where it is yet to

* In S. 1857 (A.D. 1801), the celebrated George Thomas, for the sum of three *lakhs*, put the Bhattis into the temporary possession of Bhutnair: but the succeeding year it was again taken from them by the Rahtores.

† This memoir was written in 1813-14, and may contain many inaccuracies, from its very remote situation, and the difficulty of obtaining correct information.

be traced, and fell into the Indus, below Ootch. The couplet recording its absorption by the sands of *Nair*, has already been given, in the time of Rao Hamir, prince of Dhat. If the next European traveller, who may pass through the Indian desert, will seek out the representative of the ancient Soda princes at Chore, near Amerkote, he may learn from their bard (if they retain such an appendage) the date of this prince, and that of so important an event in the physical and political history of their regions. The vestiges of large towns, now buried in the sands, confirm the truth of this tradition, and several of them claim a high antiquity: such as the *Rung-mahel*, already mentioned, west of Bhutnair, having subterranean apartments still in good preservation. An aged native of Dhandoosir (twenty-five miles south of Bhutnair) replied, to my inquiry as to the recollections attached to this place, that "it belonged to a Powar prince who ruled once all these regions, when Sekunder Roomi attacked them."

An excursion from Hansi Hissar, our western frontier, into these regions, would soon put the truth of such traditions to the test, as far as these reported ruins are concerned; though what might appear the remains of palaces of the Pramaras, the Johyas, and the Jits of ancient days, to the humble occupant of a hut in the desert, may only prove the foundations of some castellated building. But the same traditions are circulated with regard to the more western desert, where the same kind of vestiges is said to exist, and the annals make mention of capitals, the sites of which are now utterly unknown. Considering the safety, and comparative ease, with which such a journey can be made, one cannot imagine a more agreeable pursuit, than the prosecution of archæological inquiries in the northern deserts of Rajpootana, where traditions abound, and where the existing manners, amongst such a diversity of tribes, would furnish ample materials for the portfolio, as well as for memoirs. Its productions, spontaneous or cultivated, though its botanical as well as zoological specimens may be limited, we know to be essentially different from those of Gangetic India, and more likely to find a parallel in the natural productions and phenomena of the great African desert. The Bhuttis, the Khosas, the Rajurs, the Sahraes, the Mangulias, the Sodas, and various other nomadic tribes, present a wide field for observation; and the physiologist, when tired of the habits of man, may descend from the nobler animal to the lion, the wild ass, every kind of deer, the flocks of sheep which, fed on the succulent grasses, touch not water for six weeks together, while the various herbs, esculent plants and shrubs, salt lakes, natron beds, &c., would give

abundant scope for commentary and useful comparison. He will discover no luxuries, and few signs of civilization; the *jhopra* (hut) constructed of poles and twigs, coated inside with mud and covered with grass, being little better than the African's dwelling.

We shall conclude this imperfect sketch of Bikaneer and the desert with the names of several of their ancient towns, which may aid the search of the traveller in the regions on its northern border.—Abhore; Bunjarra ca Nuggur; Rung-Mahel; Sodul, or Sorutgurh; Machotal; Raati-bung; Kali-bung; Kaliansir; Phoolra; Marote; Tilwarra; Gilwarra; Bunni; Manick-Khur; Soor-sagur; Bhameni; Koriwalla; Kul-Dherani.

Some names in this list may be unimportant, but if two, or even one, should be the means of eliciting some knowledge of the past, the record will not be useless.

Phoolra and Marote have still some importance; the first is very ancient, and enumerated amongst the '*No-koti Maroo-ca*,' in the earliest periods of Pramara (vulg. *Powar*) dominion. I have no doubt that inscriptions in the ornamental *nail-headed* character belonging to the Jains will be found here, having obtained one from *Lodorva* in the desert, which has been a ruin for nine centuries. Phoolra was the residence of Lakha *Phoolani*, a name well known to those versed in the old traditions of the desert. He was contemporary with Sid Rae of Anhulwarra, and Udyadit of Dhar.

ANNALS OF JESSULMEER.

CHAPTER I.

Jessulmeer.—The derivation of its name.—The Rajpoots of Jessulmeer called Bhattis, are of the Yadu race.—Descended from Bharat, king of Bharatversha, or Indo-Scythia.—Restricted bounds of India of modern invention.—The ancient Hindus a naval people.—First seats of the Yadus in India, Prayaga, Mathura and Dwarica.—Their international wars.—Heri, king of Mathura and Dwarica, leader of the Yadus.—Dispersion of his family.—His great-grandsons Naba and Khira.—Naba driven from Dwarica, becomes prince of Maroosthali, conjectured to be the Maru, or Merve of Iran.–Jhareja and Jud-bhan, the sons of Khira.—The former founds the Sind-samma dynasty, and Jud-bhan becomes prince of Behera in the Punjab.—Prithibahu succeeds to Naba in Maroo.—His son Bahu.—His posterity.—Raja Guj found Gujni.—Attacked by the kings of Syria and Khorasan, who are repulsed.—Raja Guj attacks Cashmeer.—His marriage.—Second invasion from Khorasan.—The Syrian king conjectured to be Antiochus.—Oracle predicts the loss of Gujni.—Guj slain.—Gujni taken.—Prince Salbahan arrives in the Punjab.—Founds the city of Salbahana, S. V. 72.—Conquers the Punjab.—Marries the daughter of Jeipal Tuar of Delhi.—Re-conquers Gujni.—Is succeeded by Balund.—His numerous offspring.—Their conquests.—Conjecture regarding the Jadoon tribe of Eusofzye, that the Afghans are Yadus, not Yahudis, *or Jews.—Balund resides at Salbahana.—Assigns Gujni to his grandson Chakito, who becomes a convert to Islam and king of Khorasan.—The Chakito Moghuls descended from him.—Balund dies.—His son Bhatti succeeds.—Changes the patronymic of Yadu, or Jadoo, to Bhatti.—Succeeded by Mungul Rao.—His brother Munsoor Rao and sons cross the Garah and take possession of the Lakhi jungle.—Degradation of the sons of Mungul Rao.—They lose their rank as Rajpoots.—Their offspring styled Abhorias and Juts.—Tribe of Tak.—The capital of Taxiles discovered.—Mungul Rao arrives in the Indian desert.—Its tribes.—His son, Majun Rao, marries a*

princess of Amerkote.—His son Kehur.—Alliance with the Deora of Jhalore.—The foundation of Thanote laid.—Kehur succeeds.—Thanote attacked by the Barahu tribe.—Thanote completed S. 787.—Peace with the Barahas.—Reflections.

JESSULMEER is the modern name of a tract of country comprehended, according to ancient geography, in *Maroosthuli*, the desert of India. It is termed *Mer* in the traditional nomenclature of this region, from being a rocky (*mer*) oasis in the heart of the sandy desert, interesting both from its physical features, and its position as the *ultima Thule* of independent Hinduism. Yet, however, entitled to regard from its local peculiarities or its products, the history of the tribe which inhabits its presents a still more engrossing subject for investigation.

This tribe is the Bhatti, a branch of the Yadu or Jadoo race, whose power was paramount in India three thousand years ago; and the prince now governing this distant corner of India, claims descent from those Yadu kings who ruled from the Yamuna to the "world's end,"* at that remote period.

It were preposterous to expect to find, in the annals of the people so subject to the vicissitudes of fortune, and unbroken series of historical evidence in support of this ancestry; but they have preserved links of the chain which indicate original affinities. In tracing the Yadu-Bhatti history, two hypotheses alternately present themselves to our minds, each of which rests upon plausible grounds; the one supposing the Bhattis to be of Scythic, the other of Hindu origin. This incongruity may be renconciled by presuming the co-mixture of the two primitive races; by enlarging our views, and contemplating the barrier, which in remote ages separated Scythia and India, as ideal; and admitting that the various communities, from the Caspian to the Ganges, were members of one grand family, having a common language and common faith,† in that ancient central empire whose existence has been contended for and denied by the

* *Juggut Coont*, the point of land beyond Dwarica, the last stronghold of the Yadus when their power was extinguished.

† Menu says: "The following races of *Cshatriyas*, by their omission of holy rites, and by seeing no Brahmans, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the fourth class (i.e., *Sudra,*) *Paundracas, Odras* and *Draviras*; *Cambojas, Yavanas* and *Sacas*; *Paradas, Pahlavas, Chinas, Ciratas* and *Chasas.*—Art. 43 and 44, chap. x.

It is a great mistake to suppose the Bactrian Greeks are these *Yavanas*, who are descended from Yavan, fifth son of Yayat, third son of the patriarchal Nahus, though the Ionians may be of this race. The *Sacas* are the *Sacæ*, the races of Central Asia, (the Sacha Rajpoot); the

first names in science;* the Bharatversha of the Hindus, the Indo-Scythic empire of king Bharat, son of Budha, the ancestor of the Yadu-Bhattis, now confined to a nook of the desert.

It would be vain to speculate upon the first colonization of India proper by the *Rajcula*, or royal tribes. It appears to have possessed an indigenous population prior to the races of Surya, or Indu, though the genealogies which give the origin of these degraded races of Cabas,† Bhils, Meras, Goands, &c., assert that they were all from the same stem, and that their political debasement was the effect of moral causes. But as there is no proof of this, we must attribute the fable to the desire of the Brahmin archæologist to account for the origin of all things. Modern enquiries into these matters have been cramped by an erroneous and contracted view of the power of this ancient people, and the direction of that power. It has been assumed that the prejudices originating in Mooslem conquest, which prevented the Hindu chieftain from crossing the forbidden waters of the Attoc, and still more from "going down to the sea in ships," had always existed. But were it not far more difficult to part with erroneous impressions than to receive new and correct views, it would be apparent that the first of these restrictions is of very recent origin, and on the other hand, that the Hindus of remote ages possessed great naval power, by which communication must have been maintained with the coasts of Africa,‡ Arabia and Persia, as well as the Australian Archipelago.§ It is ridiculous, with all the knowledge now in

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Pahlavas, the ancient Persians, or Guebres; the *Chinas*, the inhabitants of China; and the *Chasas*, inhabitants of the great snowy mountains (*kho*), whence *Kho-chasa* (the *Casia montes* of Ptolemy), corrupted the *Caucasus*.

* The illustrious Cuvier questions the existence of an ancient central kingdom, because "ni Moise, ni Homere, ne nous parlait d'un grand empire dans la Haute Asie."—(*Discours sur les Revolutions de la Surface du Globe*, p. 206.)—Who, then, were "the sons of Togarmah" (mentioned by Ezekiel) who conquered and long held Egypt?

† The Caba race is almost extinct; it was famed, even in the days of Crishna, as the savage inhabitants of Saurashtrah. When the forester Bhil, who mortally wounded Crishna, was expressing his contrition for the unintentional act, he was forgiven, with the remark that it was only retributive justice, as "in a former birth," as the god-like Rama, Crishna had slain him. Thus Rama appears as the subjugator and civilizer of those indigenous tribes, of whom the Cabas are described as plundering Crishna's family after his decease.

‡ Whence the Hindu names of towns at the estuaries of the Gambia and Senegal rivers, the Tambaconda and other *condas*, already mentioned?

§ Mr. Marsden, at an early period of his researches into Hindu literature, shares the merit of discovering with Sir W. Jones, that the Malayan language, disseminated throughout the Archipelago, and extending from Madagascar to Easter Island, a space of 200 degs. of longitude, is indebted to the Sanskrit for a considerable number of its

our possession, to suppose that the Hindus always confined themselves within their gigantic barriers, the limits of modern India. The cosmography of the *Poorans*, imperfect and puerile as it is, and some of the texts of Menu, afford abundant evidence of an intimate intercourse between the countries from the Oxus to the Ganges; and even in their allegories, we trace fresh streams of knowledge flowing into India from that central region, stigmatized in latter days as the land of the Barbarian (*Mletcha*). Menu corroborates the *Poorans*, from which we infer the fact, that in distant ages one uniform faith extended from *Sacadwipa*, the continent of the Sacæ, to the Ganges.* These observations it is necessary to premise before

terms, and that the intercourse which effected this was many centuries previous to their conversion to the Mahomedan religion. He is inclined to think that the point of communication was from Guzerat. The legends of these islanders also abound with allusions to the *Mahabharat* and *Ramayuna*. (See Asiatic Res. vol. iv. p. 226, Second Edition).

Since Mr. M. wrote, the revelation of the architectural antiquities in these isles, consequent to British conquests, establishes the fact that they were colonized by the Suryas, whose mythological and heroic history is sculptured in their edifices and maintained in their writings. Nor should we despair that similar discoveries may yet disclose the link which of yore connected India with Egypt, and to which Ceylon was but the first stepping-stone. That Rama possessed great naval means is beyond doubt, inherited from his ancestor Sagara 'the sea-king,' twenty generations before the hero of Lanka, which place I have long imagined to be Ethiopia; whence ancient writers assert Egypt to have had her institutions, and that the Ethiopians were of Indian origin. Cuvier, quoting Syncellus, even assigns the reign of Amenophis as the epoch of the colonization of Ethiopia from India.—Page 180 of his '*Discours*,' &c.

* The cosmography of the *Agni Pooran* divides the world then known to the Hindus into seven *dwipas*, or continents: one of these is "Saca-dwipa, whose inhabitants, descended from Bupha, are termed Saceswara (i. e., *Sacæ-lords*)." His (Bupha's) offspring or descendants were Julud, Sookmar, Manichuk, Koorum, Ootures, Darbeeka, Drooma, each of whom gave his name to a *khand*, or division (*qu.* Sookmarkhand?) The chief ranges of mountains were Juldus, Raivat, Siamah, Induc, Amki, Rim, and Kesari. "There were seven grand rivers, *viz.*, Mug, Mugud, Arverna, &c. The inhabitants worship the sun."

Slight as this information is, we must believe that the Sacadwipa or Sacatai, is the Scythia of the Ancients; and the Sacesware (the Sacas of Menu), the Sacæ so well known to western history, the progenitors of the Parthians, whose first (*ad*) king was *Arsaca*. The sun-worship indicates the adorer of Mithras, the Mitra or Surya of the Hindu; the Arverna recalls the *Araxes* applied to the Jaxartes; while Julud, the proper name of the son of the first king of Sacadwipa, appears to be the Juldus of the Tatar historian Abulgazi, who uses the same term as does the Hindu, to designate a range of mountains. Whence this identity between Pooranic and Tatar cosmography?

"A chief of the twice-born tribe (*i.e.*, Brahmins) was brought by Vishnu's eagle from Sacadwipa, and thus have Sacadwipa Brahmins become known in Jambudwipa" (India).—Mr. Colebrooke on Indian Classes,

we attempt, by following the tide of Yadu migration during the lapse of thirty centuries, to trace them from Indraprastha, Surapura, Mathura, Pryaga, Dwariça, Judoo-ca-dang (the mountains of Jud), Behara, Gujni in Zabulistan; and again refluent into India, at Salbahana or Salpura in the Punjab, Tunnote, Derawul, Lodorva in the desert, and finally Jessulmeer, founded in S. 1212, or A.D. 1156.

Having elsewhere descanted at length on the early history of the Yadus,* we may refer those who are likely to take an interest in this discussion to that paper, and proceed at once to glean what we can from the native annals before us, from the death of their leader, Heri-Crishna, to the dispersion of the Yadus from India. The bare fact of their migration altogether out of India proper, proves that the original intercourse, which conducted Budha, patriarch of the Yadu race, into India† (where he espoused Ella, a princess of the Surya race, and by whom his issue was multiplied), was not forgotten, though fifty generations had elapsed from the patriarchal Budha to Heri—to whom and the chronicle we return.

"Prayaga‡ is the cradle of the Yadus who are *Somavnsa* (of the lunar race). Thence Mathura founded by Prururwa remained for ages the seat of power. The name of Jadoo (Yadu), of whom there were fifty-six tribes,§ became famous to the world, and of this race was the mighty Heri-Crishna, who founded Dwarica."

The grand international conflicts amongst the "fifty-six Yadu tribes," at Curukheta, and subsequently at Dwarica, are

Asiatic. Res. vol. v., p. 53. And Menu says that it was only on their ceasing to sanction Brahmins residing amongst them, that the inhabitants of these remote western regions became '*Mletcha*,' or barbarians: testimonies which must be held conclusive of perfect intercourse and reciprocity of sentiment between the nations of Central Asia and India at periods the most remote.

* *Vide* "Essay on the Hindu and Theban Hercules," Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii.

† *Bhagvat* says, "*Budha* (a wise man—a patriarch) came to Bharatkhand to perform penitential rites, and espoused Ella, by whom he had Prururwa (founder of Mathura), who had six sons, *viz*., Ayu, &c., who carried on the lunar (Indu) races in India." Now this Ayu is likewise the patriarch of the Tatars, and in that language signifies the moon, a male divinity both with Tatars and Rajpoots. Throughout, there are traces of an original identity, which justifies the application of the term Indo-Scythic to the Yadu race—*Vide* Genealogical table, Vol. I.

‡ *Pryaga* is the modern Allahabad, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, the capital of the Prasii of Megasthenes.

§ This is alternately called *Chapun Cula and Chapun Crore*, "fifty-six tribes," and "fifty-six millions," of Yadus. As they were long supreme over India, this number is not inadmissible.

sufficiently known to the reader of Hindu history, and may be referred to elsewhere.* These events are computed to have happened about 1,100 years before Chirst. On the dispersion of these races many abandoned India, and amongst these, two of the many sons of Crishna. This deified leader of the Yadus had eight wives, and the offspring of the first and seventh, by a singular fate, now occupy what may be termed the outposts of Hinduism.†

Rookmani was the senior of these wives; and the eldest of her sons was Pridema, who was married to a princess of Bidurba; she bore him two sons, Anurad and Bujra, and from the latter the Bhattis claim descent. Bujra had two sons, Naba and Khira.

"When the Jadoos were exterminated in the conflict at Dwarica, and Heri had gone to heaven, Bujra was on his way from Mathura to see his father, but had only marched twenty Coss (forty miles), when he received intelligence of that event, which had swept away his kindred. He died upon the spot, when Naba was elected king and returned to Mathura, but Khira pursued his journey to Dwarica.

"The thirty-six tribes of Rajpoots hitherto oppressed by the Yadus, who had long held universal dominion, now determined to be revenged. Naba was compelled to fly the holy city [Dwarica]; he became prince of Marusthali in the west.

"Thus far from the *Bhagvat*, (says the Bhatti chronicler), and I continue the history of the Bhattis, by the Brahmin Sookhdherma of Mathura.

"Naba had issue, Prithibahu.

"Khira had two sons, Jhareja and Jud-bhan.‡

"Jud-bhan was on a pilgrimage: the goddess heard his views; she awoke him from his sleep, and promised whatever he desired. 'Give me land that I may inhabit,' said the youth; 'Rule in these hills,' replied the goddess, and disappeared. When Jud-bhan awoke, and was yet pending on the vision of the night, a confused noise assailed him; and looking

* Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii. *Vide* paper entitled, "Comparison of the Hindu and Theban Hercules."

† Jambuvati was the name of the seventh wife, whose eldest son was called Samba—he obtained possession of the tracts on both sides the Indus, and founded the *Sina-Samma* dynasty, from which the *Jharejas* are descended. There is every probability that Sambus, of Samba nagari (*Minagara*), the opponent of Alexander, was a descendant of Samba, son of Crishna. The *Jhareja* chronicles, in ignorance of the origin of this titular appellation, say that their "ancestors came from Sham, or Syria."

‡ Jid, Jud, Jadoo, are the various modes of pronouncing Yadu in the *Bhakha*, or spoken dialects of the west. *Jud-bhan*, 'the rocket of the Yadu,' would imply the knowledge of gunpowder at a very remote period.

out, he discovered that the prince of the country had just died without issue, and they were disputing who should succeed him. The prime minister said, 'he dreamed that a descendant of Crishna had arrived at *Behera*,* and proposed to seek him out and invest him as their prince. All assented, and Jud-bhan was elected king. He became a great prince, had numerous progeny, and the place of their abode was henceforth styled *Judoo ca-dang*, 'the mountains of Judoo.'

"*Prithi-bahu* ('the arm of the earth') son of Naba, prince of Marusthali, inherited the insignia of Sri-Crishna with the regal umbrella (*okhetri*) made by Viswacarma. He had a son *Bahubal*, ('strong arm'), who espoused Camlavati, daughter of Vijya Sing, Prince of Malwa, who gave in dower (*daeja*)† one thousand horses of Khorasan, one hundred elephants, pearls, gems, and gold innumerable, and five hundred handmaids, with

* The precise knowledge of the topography of these regions, displayed in the Bhatti annals, is the most satisfactory proof of their authenticity. In the present day, it would be in vain to ask any native of Jessulmeer the position of the "hill of Jud," or the site of Behera: and but for the valuable translation of Baber's Memoirs, by Mr. Erskine, we should have been unable to adduce the following testimony. Baber crossed the Indus on the 17th February 1519, and on the 19th, between that river and one of its great towns, the Behat, he reached the very tract where the descendant of Crishna established himself twenty-five centuries before. Baber says, "*Seven kos* from Behreh to the north there is a hill. This hill in the Zefer Nameh (History of Timoor), and other books, is called the Hill of Jud. At first I was ignorant of the origin of its name, but afterwards discovered that in this hill there were two races of men descended of the same father. One tribe is called Jud, the other Jenjuheh. From old times they have been the rulers and lords of the inhabitants of this hill, and of the *Ils* and *Uluses* (political divisions) between Nilab and Behreh. Their power is exerted in a friendly and brotherly way. They cannot take from them whatever they please. They take as their share a portion that has been fixed from very remote times. The Jud is divided into various branches or families, as well as the Jenjuheh. The chief man amongst them gets the name of Rae."—*Erskine's Baber*, *p.* 254.

Here is a decided confirmation that this Hindu colony preserved all their original manners and customs even to Baber's day. The tribe of Jenjuhehs, beyond a doubt, is the tribe of Johya, so celebrated in the region skirting the Sutlej, and which will be noticed hereafter. I presented a small work entirely relating to their history, to the Royal Asiatic Society. As Baber says, they are of the same family as the Juds, they are probably the descendants of Jinj, the brother of Bhatti, who changed the family patronymic from Jadoo or Judoo to Bhatti; and thus it appears, that when the elder branch was driven from Gujni, they retreated amongst their relations of the hills of Jud. Baber was quite enamoured with the beauty of the hill of Jud, which, with its lake and valleys, he describes as a miniature Cashmeer.—P. 255

† The Pramars were formerly the most powerful potentates of central India. Handmaids, and bedsteads of gold, were always a part of the *daeja* or dower of Hindu princesses.

chariots and bedsteads of gold. The Puar (Pramar) Camlavati became the chief queen and bore her lord one son,

"*Baku*, killed by a fall from his horse; he left one son,

"*Soobahu*, who was poisoned by his wife, a daughter of Mund Raja Chohan of Ajmeer; he left a son,

"*Rijh*, who reigned twelve years. He was married to *Soobhag Soondri*, daughter of Ber Sing, prince of Malwa. Having, when pregnant, dreamed that she was delivered of a white elephant, the astrologers, who interpreted this as an indication of greatness, desired he might be named *Guj*:* as he approached manhood, the coco-nut came from Jud-bhan, prince of *Poorubdes* (the eastern), and was accepted. At the same time tidings arrived that from the shores of the ocean, the barbarians (*Mletcha*), who had formerly attacked *Soobahu*,† were again advancing, having Ferid Shah of Khorasan at the

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* Abul Fazl mentions Joga as prince of Gasmien and Cashmeer, who was slain by Oguz Khan, the Patriarch of the Tatar tribes.

† In this early portion of the annals, there is a singular mixture of historical facts, and it appears that the Yadu scribes confound their connections with the Syrian and Bactrian Greeks, and with the first Mooslem conquerors. Imperfect as is this notice of Soobahu, his son Rijh, and grandson Guj, who were thus assailed by Ferid of Khorasan (Bactria), and his auxiliary, the king of Room (Syria), we have a powerful allusion of Antiochus the Great, who, two hundred and four years before Christ, invaded Bactria and India. Amongst the few facts left of this expedition is his treaty with Sophagasenus, the Indian monarch, in which the Syrian king stipulated for a tribute in elephants. There are, even in this medley of incidents, grounds for imagining that Sophagasenus is the Yadu prince of Gujni. Whether, out of Soobahu and Guj, the Greeks manufactured their Sophagasenus, or whether prince Guj could have been entitled Soobhaghsen, in compliment to his mother, Soobhagh-Soondri, of Malwa, must be left for the speculative to decide. It is not unlikely that the nature of the tribute, said to have been elephants, which the Indian agreed to furnish to the Greek prince, may have originated with the name of *Guj*, which smeans 'elephant.'

There is at the same time much that refers to the early progress of Islam in these regions of central Asia. Price, in his excellent history, extracting from the *Kholausut-ul-Akbar*, says "Hejauge was entrusted with the government of Khorasan, and Obaidoolah with Seistan, who had orders from Hejauge, his superior, to invade Cabul, whose prince was Reteil or Retpeil, whom the Author supposes either a Tatar or Hindu prince. Artfully retiring, he drew the Mahomedan army into the defiles, and blocking up the rear, cut off their retreat, and Obaidoolah was compelled to purchase his liberation by the payment of seven hundred thousand dirhems."

This was the seventy-eighth year of the Hegira, or A. D. 697. Conjoined to what follows, it appears to have reference to Rijh, father of Guj. Again

"Obaidoolah and Abdoorehman invaded Seistan with forty thousand men. The prince of Cabul tried the same manœuvre, but was outwitted by the Mahomedan, who conquered a great part of Cabul and acquired great booty, with which he returned to Seistan, to the great displeasure of Hejauge; and Abdoorehman entered into a confideracy with Retpeil to

head of four lakhs of horse, from whom the people fled in dismay. The Raja sent scouts to obtain accurate intelligence, and marched to Harreou to meet him; while the foe encamped two Coss from Koonjsheher.* A battle ensued, in which the invader was defeated with the loss of thirty thousand men, and four thousand on the part of the Hindus. But the foeman rallied, the Raja Rijh, who again encountered him, was wounded and died, just as prince Guj returned with Hansavati, his bride, daughter of Jud-bhan of the east. In two battles the king of Khorasan was vanquished, when he obtained an auxiliary in the king of Room (*Romi pati*), to establish the Koran and the law of the prophet in infidel lands. While the armies of the Asuras were thus preparing their strength, Raja Guj called a council of ministers. There being no stronghold of importance, and it being impossible to stand against numbers, it was determined to erect a fortress amidst the mountains of the north. Having summoned his friends to his aid, he sought council of the guardian goddess of his race; who foretold that, the power of the Hindus was to cease, but commanded him toe erect a fort and call it *Gujni.* While it was approaching completion, news came that the kings of Room and Khorasan were near at hand:

attack Hejauge, and absolve Cabul from tribute. Moghairah was the successor of Abdoorehman in Khorasan, while his father, Mohilel, was employed beyond the Jehoon, but died at Meru of a burning diarrhœa bequeathing his government to Yezzid."

This account of Moghairah's (the governor of Khorasan) death, while carrying on war against the Hindu Retpeil of Cabul, has much analogy to the sudden death of *Mamraiz*, the foe of Rijh of Zabulisthan. One thing is now proved, that princes of the Hindu faith ruled over all these regions in the first ages of Islamism, and made frequent attempts, for centuries after, to reconquer them. Of this fact, Baber gives us a most striking instance in his description of Gujni, or, as he writes, *Ghazni.* He says, "I have seen, in another history, that when the Rai of Hind besieged Subaktegin in Guzni, he ordered dead flesh and other impurities to be thrown into the fountain, when there instantly arose a tempest and hurricane, with rain and snow, and by his device he drove away the enemy." Baber adds, "I made then inquiry in Ghazni for this well, but nobody could give me the slightest information regarding it," p. 150. Doubtless, when Baber conquered India, and became better acquainted with the Hindu warriors, he would have got to the bottom of this anecdote, and have seen that the success of the *ruse* of Subaktegin arose out of the religion of his foes, who could not use water thus contaminated by the flesh of the sacred kine. The celebrated Balabhi was reduced by the same stratagem.

* Neither of these towns appears in any map. "There is a Koonj Reshak in Khorasan, and a Penjher in Balk."—*Sir W. Ousley's Ebn Haukal*, p. 213-223.

Roomi-pat, Khorasan-pat, hae, gai, pakhur, pai,
*Chinta terra, chith legi; sooно Jud-pat Rae.**

"The stick wounded the drum of the Jadoo prince; the army was formed, gifts were distributed, and the astrologers were commanded to assign such a moment for marching as might secure the victory.

"Thursday (*Vrishpatwar*) the 13th of Magh, the enlightened half of the moon, when one Ghurri of the day had fled, was the auspicious hour; and the drum of departure sounded. That day he marched eight Coss, and encamped at Doolapoor. The combined kings advanced, but in the night the Shah of Khorasan died of indigestion. When it was reported to the king of Room (Shah Secunder Roomi) that Shah Mamraiz was dead, he became alarmed and said, 'while we mortals have grand schemes in hand, he above has other views for us.' Still his army advanced like waves of the ocean; caparisons and chains clank on the backs of elephants, while instruments of war resound through the host. Elephants move like walking mountains; the sky is black with clouds of dust; bright helms reflect the rays of the sun. Four Coss (eight miles) separated the hostile armies. Raja Guj and his chieftains performed their ablutions, and keeping the *Joginis*† in their rear, advanced to the combat. Each host rushed on like famished tigers; the earth trembled; the heavens were overcast; nor was aught visible in the gloom but the radiant helm. War-bells resound; horses neigh; masses of men advance on each other, like the dark rolling clouds of Bhadoon. Hissing speeds the feathered dart; the lion-roar of the warriors is re-echoed, the edge of the sword deluges the ground with blood; on both sides the blows resound on the crackling bones. Here was Jud-Rae, there the Khans and Ameers, as if Time had encountered his fellow. Mighty warriors strew the earth; heroes fall in the cause of their lords. The army of the Shah fled; he left twenty-five thousand souls entangled in the net of destruction; he abandoned elephants and horses, and even his throne. Seven thousand Hindus lay dead on the field. The drum of victory resounded, and the Jadoon returned triumphant to his capital.

* "The king of Room and the king of Khorasan, with the horse (*hae*) elephants (*gai or guj*) caparisons (*pakhur*) and foot-soldiers (*pai* or *paek*) [are at hand]. Beware, let it enter your mind, oh Rae, Lord of the Judoos!"

† The unclean spirits of Rajpoot martial mythology, who feed on the slain.

"On Sunday, the 3rd of Bysak, the spring season (*Vasant*), the Rohini Nakhatra, and Samvat Dherma-raja (*Yudishthira*) 3008,* seated on the throne of Gujni, he maintained the Jadoon race. With this victory his power became firm: he conquered all the countries to the west, and sent an ambassador to Cashmeer to call its prince Kandrupkel† to his presence. But the prince refused the summons: he said the world would scoff at him if he attended the stirrup of another without being first worsted in fight. Raja Guj invaded Cashmeer, and married the daughter of its prince, by whom he had a son, called Salbahan.

"When this child had attained the age of twelve, tidings of another invasion came from Khorasan. Raja Guj shut himself up for three entire days in the temple of Culadevi;‡ on the fourth day the goddess appeared and revealed to him his destiny: that Gujni would pass from his hands, but that his posterity would re-inherit it, not as Hindus but as Mooslems; and directed him to send his son, Salbahan, amongst the Hindus of the east, there to erect a city to be named after him. She said that he would have fifteen sons, whose issue would multiply; 'that he (Raja Guj) would fall in the defence of Gujni but would gain a glorious reward hereafter.'

"Having heard his fate revealed, Raja Guj convened his family and kin, and on pretence of a pilgrimage to Jwala-mookhi,§ he caused them to depart, with the prince Salbahan, for the east.

"Soon after the foe approached within five Coss of Gujni. Leaving therein his uncle, Seydeo, for its defence, Raja Guj marched to meet him. The king of Khorasan divided his army into five divisions; the Raja formed his into three: a desperate conflict ensued, in which both the king and the Raja were slain. The battle lasted five *puhars*,‖ and a hundred thousand Meers and thirty thousand Hindus strewed the field. The king's son invested Gujni; for thirty days it was defended by Seydeo, when he performed the *Saka*,¶ and nine thousand valiant men gave up their lives.

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*This date is circumstantial, and might be fixed or disproved by calculation; if the heterogeneous mixture of such widely separated incidents as those in Syro-Macedonian and Mahomedan History did not deter us from the attempt.

† No such name appears in Wilson's *Raj Tarangini.*

‡ Tutelary goddess, or "of the race (*cula*)"

§ This volcano is a well-known place of pilgrimage in the Sewaluk mountains.

‖ A puhar is one-fourth of the day.

¶ For a description of this rite, see Vol. I.

"When tidings of this fatal event were conveyed to Salbahan, for twelve days the ground became his bed.* He at length reached the Punjab, where he fixed on a spot with abundance of water, and having collected his clansmen around him, he laid the foundation of a city which he named after himself, Salbahanpur. The surrounding Bhomias attended, and acknowledge his supremacy. Seventy-two years of the era of Vicrama had elapsed when Salbahanpur was founded, upon Sunday, the 8th of the month of Bhadoon.†

"Salbahan conquered the whole region of the Punjab. He had fifteen sons, who all became Rajas: *viz.*, Balund, Rasaloo, Dhurmungud, Vacha, Roopa, Sundur, Lekh, Juskurn, Naima, Maut, Neepak, Gangeou, Jugeou; all of whom, by the strength of their own arms, established themselves in independence.

"The coco-nut from Raja Jeipal Tuar was sent from Delhi, and accepted.‡ Balund proceeded to Delhi, whose prince advanced to meet him. On his return with his bride, Salbahan determined to redeem Gujni from the foe and avenge his father's death. His crossed the Attok to encounter Jellal, who advanced at the head of twenty thousand men. Crowned with victory, he regained possession of Gujni, where he left Balund, and returned to his capital in the Punjab: he soon after died, having ruled thirty-three years and nine months.

"Balund succeeded. His brothers had now established themselves in all the mountainous tracts of the Punjab. But the

* In conformity with the Hindu ordinances of *matim*, or mourning.

† Here is another circumstantial date, S. 72, or A. D. 16, for the foundation of Salbahana in the Punjab, by the fugitive Yadu prince from Gujni. Of its exact position we have no means of judging, but it could not have been remote from Lahore. It may be deemed a fortunate coincidence that I should discover that ancient inscription (Vol. I.) of this capital, styled *Salpoor*, governed by a Gete or Jit in the fourth century: which suggested the idea (which many facts tend to prove), whether these Yadus (whose illegitimate issue, as will appear in the sequel, are called Juts) may not be the Yuti or Getes from Centra Asia. The coincidence of the date of Salbahan-Yadu with that of the Saca Salivahan, the Tak, will not fail to strike the enquirer into Hindu antiquities: and it is not the least curious circumstance that these Yadus, or Yuti, displaced the Takshac, or Tak, from this region, as will appear immediately. In further corroboration, see Notes 2 and 4 and Inscriptions, 11

‡ At every page of these annals, it is evident that they have been transcribed by some ignoramus, who has jumbled together events of ancient and modern date. The prince of Delhi might have been Jeipal, but if we are to place any faith in the chronology of the Tuar race, no prince of this family could be synchronous with the Yadu Salbahan. I am inclined to think that the emigration of Salbahan's ancestors from Gujni was at a much later period than S. 72, as I shall note as we proceed.

*Toorks** began rapidly to increase, and to subjugate all beneath their sway, and the lands around Gujni were again in their power. Balund had no minister, but superintended in person all the details of his government. He had seven sons: Bhatti, Bhupati, Kullur, Jinj,† Surmor, Bhynsrecha, Mangreo. The second son Bhupati, (*i. e.*, lord of the earth) had a son, Chakito, from whom is descended the Chakito (*Chagitai*) tribe.‡

"Chakito had eight sons, *viz.*, Deosi, Bharoo, Khemkhan, Nahur, Jeipal,§ Dharsi, Beejli-Khan, Shah Summund.

"Balund, who resided at Salbahanpur, left Gujni to the charge of his grandson Chakito; and as the power of the barbarian (*mletcha*) increased, he not only entertained troops of that race, but all his nobles were of the same body. They offered, if he would quit the religion of his fathers, to make him master of Balich Bokhara, where dwelt the Oosbek race, whose king had no offspring but one daughter. Chakito married her, and became king of Balich Bokhara, and lord of twenty-eight thousand horse. Between Balich and Bokhara runs a mighty river, and Chakito was king of all from the gate of Balichshan to the face of Hindustan; and from him is descended the tribe of Chakito Moguls||

"Kullur, third son of Balund, had eight sons, whose descendants are designated Kullur.¶ Their names were, Seodas, Ramdas, Asso, Kistna, Samoh, Gango, Jesso, Bhago; almost

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* *Toork* is the term in the dialects which the Hindus apply to the races from central Asia, the *Turshka* of the *Pooranas*.

† Doubtless the ancestor of the Johya race, termed the Jenjuheh by Baber, and who dwelt with the Juds in the hills of Jud, the Juddoo-ca-dang of the Bhatti MSS.

‡ However curious this assertion, of the Chagitais being descended from the Yadus, it ought not to surprise us: I repeat, that all these tribes, whether termed Indo-Scythic or Tatar, prior to Islamism, professed a faith which may be termed Hinduism.

§ As it is evident the period has reference to the very first years of Islamism, and it is stated that the sons of Guj were to be proselytes, it is by no means improbable that this is Jeipal, the infidel prince of Khwarezm. —See Price's Mahomedan History.

|| This is a most important admission of the proselytism of the ancient Indo-Scythic Yadu princes to the faith of Islam, though there can be no reasonable doubt of it. Temugin, better known by his *nomme de guerre*, Jungeez, the father of Chagitai, according to the Mahomedan historians, is termed an infidel, and so was *Tacash*, the father of Mahomed of Khwarezm.: the one was of the Getic or Yuti race; the other, as his name discloses, of the Tak or Takshac, the two grand races of central Asia.—The insertion of this pedigree in this place completely vitiates chronology: yet for what purpose it could have been interpolated, if not founded on some fact, we cannot surmise.

¶ We can, by means of the valuable translation of the Commentaries of Baber, trace many of these tribes.

all of whom became Moosulmans. They are a numerous race, inhabiting the mountainous countries west of the river,* and notorious robbers.

"Jinj, the fourth son, had seven sons; Champo, Gokul, Mehraj, Hunsa, Bhadon, Rasso, Juggo, all whose issue bore the name of Jinj; † and in like manner did the other sons become the patriarchs of tribes.

"Bhatti succeeded his father Balund. He conquered fourteen princes, and added their fortunes to his own. Among his effects, he reckoned twenty-four thousand mules ‡ laden with treasure; sixty thousand horse, and innumerable foot. As soon as he mounted the *gadi*, he assembled all his forces at Lahore preparatory to the *teeka-dour*§ destined against Bheerbhan Bhagel, lord of Kenekpur. Bheerbhan fell in the battle which ensued, at the head of forty thousand men.

"Bhatti had two sons, Mungul Rao and Musoor Rao. With Bhatti, the patronymic was changed, and the tribe thenceforth was distinguished by his name.

"Mungul Rao succeeded, but his fortune was not equal to that of his fathers. Dhoondi, king of Guzni, with a mighty force, invaded Lahore;|| nor did Mungul Rao oppose him, but

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* It has already been stated, that the fifteen brothers of Balund established themselves in the mountainous parts of the Punjab, and that his sons inherited those West of the Indus, or Damaun. The Afghan tribes, whose supposed genealogy from the Jews has excited so much curiosity, and who now inhabit the regions conquered by the sons of Salbahan, are possibly Yadus, who, on conversion, to give more *eclat* to their antiquity, converted *Yadu* into *Yahudi* or Jew, and added the rest of the story from the *Koran*. That grand division of Afghans called the *Euzofzye* or 'Sons of Joseph,' whose original country was Cabul and Guzni, yet retain the name of Jadoon (vulgar of Yadu), as one of their principal sub-divisions; and they still occupy a position in the hilly region east of the Indus, conquered by the sons of Balund. It would be a curious fact could we prove the Afghans not *Yahudis* but *Yadus*.

† Doubtless the junction of Jinj with that of Johya, another numerous tribe, formed the Jenjuheh of Baber; the Johyas of the Bhatti annals now known only by name, but whose history forms a volume. The sons of Jinj have left numerous traces—Jenjian on the Garah; Jinjinialli in the desert, &c.

‡ Even the mention of an animal unknown in the desert of India, evinces ancient source whence these annals are compiled. Had the Yadu colony at this period obtained a footing in the desert, south of the Sutlej, the computation would have been by camel-loads, not by *mules*.

§ See Vol. I. for an account of this military foray.

|| This would almost imply that Lahore and Salbahan were one and the same place, but from what follows, the intervening distance could not have been great between the two cities. There is a Sangala, south of Lahore, near the altars of Alexander, and a Sailkote in our modern maps. Salbahan, Salbahanpur, or simply Salpoora, may have been erected on the

with his eldest son fled into the wilds on the banks of the river. The foe then invested Salbahanpur, where resided the family of the Raja; but Musoor Rao escaped and fled to the Lakhi Jungle.* There being only a cultivating peasantry in this tract, he overcame them, and became master of the country. Musoor Rao had two sons, Abhe Rao and Sarun Rao. The elder, Abhe Rao, brought the whole Lakhi Jungle under his control, and his issue, which multiplied, became famous as the Abhoria Bhattis. Sarun quarrelled with and separated from his brother, and his issue descended to the rank of cultivators, and are well known as the Sarun Juts.†

"Mungul Rao, the son of Bhatti, and who abandoned his kingdom, had six sons: Mujum Rao, Kullursi, Moolraj, Seoraj, Phool, Kewala.

"When Mungul Rao fled from the king, his children were secreted in the houses of his subjects. A Bhomia named Satidas, of the tribe of *Tak*,‡ whose ancestors had been reduced from power and wealth by the ancestors of the Bhatti prince, determined to avenge himself, and informed the king

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ruins of Kampilanagari. We may hope that researches in that yet untouched region, the Punjab, will afford much to the elucidation of ancient history.

* The Lakhi Jungle is well known in India for its once celebrated breed of horses, extinct within the last twenty years.

† Thus it is that the most extensive agricultural races spread all over India, called *Juts* or *Jits*, have a tradition that they are descended from the Yadu race, (qu. *Yuti?*) and that their original country is Candahar. Such was stated to me as the origin of the Jats of Biana, and Bhurtpur. Why the descendants of Sarun assumed the name of Juts is not stated.

‡ This incidental mention of the race of Tak, and of its being in great consideration on the settlement of the Yadus in the Punjab, is very important. I have given a sketch of this tribe (Vol. I), but since I wrote it, I have discovered the capital of the *Tak*, and on the very spot where I should have expected *the site of Taxila*, the capital of Taxiles, the friend of Alexander. In that sketch I hesitated not to say, that the name was not personal, but arose from his being the head of the *Takshac* or *Naga* tribe, which is confirmed. It is to Baber, or rather to his translator, that I am indebted for this discovery. In describing the limits of Banu, Baber thus mentions it; "And on the west is Desht, which is also called Bazar and Tak;" to which the erudite translator, adds "Tak is said long to have been the capital of Daman." In Mr. Elphinstone's map, Bazar, which Baber makes identical with Tak, is a few miles north of the city of Attoc. There is no question that both the river and city were named after the race of Tak or Takshac, the Nagas, Nagvansi, or '*snake race*,' who spread over India. Indeed, I would assume, that the name of Omphis, which young Taxiles had on his father's death is *Ophis*, the Greek version of Tak, the 'serpent.' The Taks appear to have been established in the same regions at the earliest period. The *Mahabharat* describes the wars between Janmejaya and the Takshacs, to revenge on their king the death of his father Parikshit, emperor of Indraprastha, or Delhi.

that some of the children were concealed in the house of a banker (*sahoocar*). The king sent Tak with a party of troops, and surrounded the house of Sridhar, who was carried before the king, who swore he would put all his family to death if he did not produce the young princes of Salbahana. The alarmed banker protested he had no children of the Raja's, for that the infants who enjoyed his protection were the offspring of a Bhomia, who had fled, on the invasion, deeply in his debt. But the king ordered him to produce them ; he demanded the name of their village, sent for the Bhomias, belonging to it, and not only made the royal infants of Salbahana eat with them, but marry their daughters. The banker had no alternative to save their lives but to consent : they were brought forth in the peasant's garb, ate with the husbandmen (*Juts*), and were married to their daughters. Thus the offspring of Kullur-rai became the Kullorea Jats ; those of Moondraj and Seoraj, the Moonda and Seora Jats ; with the younger boys, Phool and Kewala, who were passed off as a barber (*nar*), and a potter (*khomar*), fell into that class.

"Mungul Rao, who found shelter in the wilds of the Garah, crossed that stream and subjugated a new territory. At this period, the tribe of Baraha* inhabited the banks of the river ; beyond them were the Boota Rajpoots of Bootaban.† In Poogul dwelt the Pramara ;‡ in Dhat the Soda § race : and the Lodra ‖ Rajpoots in Lodorva. Here Mungul Rao found security, and with the sanction of the Soda prince, he fixed his future abode in the centre of the lands of the Lodras, the Barahas, and the Sodas. On the death of Mungul Rao, he was succeeded by

"Mujum Rao, who escaped from Salbahanpur with his father. He was recognized by all the neighbouring princes, who sent the usual presents on his accession, and the Soda prince of Amerkote made an offer of his daughter in marriage, which was accepted, and the nuptials were solemnized at Amerkote. He had three sons, Kehur, Moolraj,¶ and Gogli.

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* The names of these Rajpoot races, several of which are now blotted from the page of existence, prove the fidelity of the original manuscript. The Barahas are now Mahomedans.

† The Boota is amongst the extinct tribes.

‡ Poogul from the most remote times has been inhabited by the Pramar race. It is one of the *No-Koti Maroo-ca* the *nine castles* of the desert.

§ The Sodas of Amerkote have inhabited the desert from time immemorial, and are in all probability the Sogdi of Alexander. See Vol I.

‖ Lodorwa will be described hereafter.

¶ Moolraj had three sons, Rajpal, Lohwa, and Choobar. The elder son had two sons, Ranno and Geegoh ; the first of whom had five sons,

"Kehur became renowned for his exploits. Hearing of a caravan (*kafila*) of five hundred horses going from Arore* to Mooltan, he pursued them with a chosen band disguised as camel-merchants, and came up with his prey across the Punjnud,† where he attacked and captured it, and returned to his abode. By such exploits he became known, and the coconut (*narjil*) was sent to Mujum Rao, and his two elder sons, by Allansi Deora, of Jhalore. The nuptials were celebrated with great splendour, and on their return, Kehur laid the foundation of a castle, which he named Tunnote in honour of Tunno-devi. Ere it was completed, Rao Mujum died.

"Kehur succeeded. On his accession, Tunnote was attacked by Jesrit, chief of the Barahas,‡ because it was erected on the bounds of his tribe; but Moolraj defended it, and the Barahas were compelled to retire.

"On Mungulwar (Tuesday), the full-moon of Magh, S.787§ A.D. 731), the fortress of Tunnote was completed, and a temple

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Dhookur, Pohor, Bood, Koolro, Jeipal, all of whom had issue and became heads of clans. The descendants of Geegoh bore the name of Khengar (*qu.* chiefs of Girnar?). The annals of all these states abound with similar minute genealogical details, which to the Rajpoots are of the highest importance in enabling them to trace the affinities of families, but which it is imperative to omit, as they possess no interest for the European reader. I have extracted the names of the issue of Moolraj to shew this. The Khengars were famed in the peninsula of Saurashtra—nine of them ruled in Joonagur Girnar: and but for this incidental relation, their origin must have ever remained concealed from the archæologist, as the race has long been extinct. On some future day I hope to present a sketch of Khengar's palace, on the sacred mount Girnar, to the public.

* The remains of this once famous town, the ancient capital of the upper valley of the Indus, I had the happiness to discover by means of one of my parties, in 1811 It is the *Alore* of Abul Fazil, the capital of Raja Sehris, whose kingdom extended north to Cashmeer, and south to the ocean; and the *Azour* of D'Anville, who, on the authority of Ebn Haukal says, "*Azour of est presque comparable a Multan pour la grandeur.*" He adds, that Azizi places it "*trente parasanges de Mansora.*" If Mansora is the ancient Bekher (capital of the Sogdi) we should read *three* instead of *thirty*.

† *Punjnud* is the name which the Indus bears immediately below the point of confluence of the five streams (*punj-nadi*). The mere mention of such terms as the *Punjnud*, and the ancient *Arore*, stamps these annals with authenticity, however they may be deformed by the interpolations and anachronisms of ignorant copyists. Of Arore, or the Punjnud, excepting the regular *casids*, or messengers, perhaps not an individual living in Jessulmeer could now speak.

‡ This shews that the Baraha tribe was of the same faith with the Yadu Bhatti; in fact "the star of Islam" did not shine in these regions for some time after, although Omar, in the first century, had established a colony of the faithful at Bekher, afterwards Mansoora. The Barahas are mentioned by Pottinger in his travels in Balochistan.

§ There are but six descents given from Salbahan, the leader of the Yadu colony from Zabulisthan into the Punjab, and Kehur, the founder of

erected to Tunno-Mata. Shortly after a treaty of peace was formed with the Barahas, which was concluded by the nuptials of their chief with the daughter of Moolraj."

Having thus fairly fixed the Yadu Bhatti chieftain in the land of Maruca, it seems a proper point at which to close this initiatory chapter with some observations on the diversified history of this tribe, crowded into so small a compass; though the notes of explanation, subjoined as we proceeded, will render fewer remarks requisite, since with their help the reader may draw his own conclusions as to the value of this portion of the Bhatti annals, which may be divided into four distinct epochs.

1st. That of Heri, the ancestor of the Yadu race.

2nd. Their expulsion, or the voluntary abandonment of India by his children, with their relations of the Hericula and Pandu races, for the countries west of the Indus; their settlements in Marusthali: the founding of Gujni, and combats with the kings of Room and Khorasan.

3rd. Their expulsion from Zabulisthan, colonization of the Punjab, and creation of the new capital of Salbahanpur.

4th. Their expulsion from the Punjab, and settlement in Mer, the rocky oasis of Maroo, to the erection of Tunnote.

It is the more unnecessary to enter into greater details on these outlines of the early Yadu history, since the subject has been in part treated elsewhere.* A multiplicity of scattered facts and geographical distinctions, fully warrants our assent to the general truth of these records, which prove that the Yadu race had dominion in Central Asia, and were again, as Islamism advanced, repelled upon India. The obscure legend of their encounters with the allied Syrian and Bactrian kings would have seemed altogether illusory, did not evidence exist that Antiochus the Great was slain in these very regions by an Indo-Scythian prince, called by the Greek writers Sophagasenas: a name in all probability compounded from Soobahu and his grandson Gaj (who might have used the common affix of *sena*), the Yadu princes of Gujni, who are both stated to have had conflict with the Bactrian (Khorasan) kings.

their first settlement in the desert of India. The period of the first is S. 72, of the other S. 787. Either names are wanting, or the period of Salbahan is erroneous. Kehur's period, *viz.*, S. 787, appears a landmark, and is borne out by numerous subsequent most valuable synchronisms. Were we to admit one hundred years to have elapsed between Salbahan and Kehur, it would make the period of expulsion from Zabulisthan about S. 687, which is just about the era of Mahomed.

* See "Essay on the Hindu and Theban Hercules," Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. III.

Seestan (the region of cold, *see*), and both sides of the valley, were occupied in the earliest periods by another branch of the Yadus; for the Sind-Samma dynasty was descended from Samba (which like Yadu became a patronymic)—of which the Greeks made *Sambus*—and one of whose descendants opposed Alexander in his progress down the Indus. The capital of this dynasty was *Samma-ca-kote*, Samanagari, yet existing on the lower Indus, and which was corrupted into *Minagara* by the Greeks.

It is an interesting hypothesis, that would make the Chagitais descendants of the Yadus.* In like manner, Bappa, the ancestor of the Ranas of Mewar, abandoned Central India after establishing his line in Cheetore, and retired to Khorasan. All this proves that Hinduism prevailed in these distant regions, and that the intercourse was unrestricted between Central Asia and India. We have undiscovered fields of inquiry in Transoxiana, and in the still more accessible region of the Punjab, where much exists to reward the archæologist: Salbahanpur, Kampilnagari, Behera, the hill of Jud, perhaps Bucephalia,† the seven towns of Ooch, but, above all, the capital of Taxiles. Let us hope that, in this age of enterprize, these suggestions may be followed up: we can promise the adventurer a very

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* Mr. Wilson discovered the name of *Pandu* in Ptolemy's Geography of Sogdiana; aad according to Ebn Haukal, the city of Herat is also called Heri. This adjoins Maru, or Murve and to Marusthali the Pandu and Hericula races retired on their exile from India. If ever these remote regions are searched for ancient inscriptions, we may yet ascend the ladder of Time. What was that *Hamiri* language, inscribed on the gate of Samarkand? (Ouseley, Ebu Haukal, p. 254). The lamented death of that enterprizing traveller, Mr. Brown, when he was about visiting Transoxiana, leaves a fine field to the adventurous. The Buddhist colossal sculptures and caves at Baniian, with such inscriptions as they may contain, are of the highest importance; and I have little doubt, will be found of the same character as those discovered in the cave temples of India attributed to the Pandus.

† In a portion of the essay "On the Theban and Hindu Hercules,' which I suppressed as better suited to an intended dissertation "On the Sepulchral Monuments of the Rajpoots," where I trace a close analogy between their customs and those of the Scythic and Scandinavian Warriors, [illegible] erected to Menander, but on observing the geography of St. Croix, in his '*Examen Critique des Historiens d' Alexandre*,' who places the city of Bucephalus on the very spot where the monument found by Mr. E. exists I gave up Menander for Alexander's horse, and this long anterior to its reported excavation by the Chev. Ventura, for whose subsequent observations we impatiently wait.

different result from that which tempts the explorer of barbarous Africa, for here he would penetrate into the first haunts of civilization, and might solve one of the great problems which still distract mankind.

CHAPTER II.

Rao Kehur, contemporary of the Caliph Al Walid.—His offspring become heads of tribes.—Kehur, the first who extended his conquests to the plains.—He is slain.—Tunno succeeds.—He assails the Barahas and Langas.—Tunnote invested by the prince of Mooltan, who is defeated.—Rao Tunno espouses the daughter of the Boota chief.—His progeny.—Tunno finds a concealed treasure.—Erects the castle of Beejnote.—Tunno dies.—Succeeded by Beeji Rae.—He assails the Baraha tribe, who conspire with the Langas to attack the Bhatti prince.—Treacherous massacre of Beeji Rae and his kindred.—Deoraj saved by a Brahmin.—Tunnote taken.—Inhabitants put to the sword.—Deoraj joins his mother in Bootaban.—Erects Deorawul, which is assailed by the Boota chief, who is circumvented and put to death by Deoraj.—The Bhatti prince is visited by a Jogi, whose disciple he becomes.—Title changed from Rao to Rawul.—Deoraj massacres the Langas, who acknowledge his supremacy.—Account of the Langa tribe.—Deoraj conquers Ladorva, capital of the Lodra Rajpoots.—Avenges an insult of the prince of Dhar.—Singular trait of patriotic devotion.—Assaults Dhar.—Returns to Lodorva.—Excavates lakes in Khadal.—Assassinated.—Succeeded by Rawul Moond, who avenges his father's death.—His son Bachera espouses the daughter of Bullub Sen, of Puttun Anhulwarra.—Contemporaries of Mahmoud of Gujni.—Captures a caravan of horses.—The Pahoo Bhattis conquer Poogul from the Johyas.—Doosaj, son of Bachera, attacks the Kheechies.—Proceeds with his three brothers to the land of Kher, where they expouse the Gohilote chief's daughters.—Important synchronisms.—Bachera dies.—Doosaj succeeds.—Attacked by the Soda prince Hamir, in whose reign the Caggur ceased to flow through the desert.—Traditional couplet.—Sons of Doosaj.—The youngest, Lanja Beejirae, marries the daughter of Sidraj Solanki, king of Anhul-

warra.—The other sons of Doosaj.—Jesul, and Beejirae.—Bhojdeo, son of Lanja Beejirae, becomes lord of Lodorva on the death of Doosaj.—Jesul conspires against his nephew Bhojdeo.—Solicits aid from the Sultan of Ghor, whom he joins at Arore—Swears allegiance to the Sultan.—Obtains his aid to dispossess Bhojdeo.—Lodorva attacked and plundered.—Bhojdeo slain.—Jesul becomes Rawul of the Bhattis.—Abandons Lodorva as too exposed.—Discovers a site for a new capital.—Prophetic inscription on the Brimsir-coond, or fountain.—Founds Jessulmeer.—Jesul dies, and is succeeded by Salbahan II.

THE dates of the varied events, related in the preceding chapter, may be of doubtful accuracy, but we have at length arrived on the *terra firma* of the Bhatti chronology. We may distrust the date, 3008 of Yudishthira's era, for the victory obtained by the Jadoon prince of Gujni over the kings of Room and Khorasan ;* as well as that of S. 72 assigned for the exode of Salbahan and his Yadus from Zabulisthan, and their colonization of the Punjab :† but their settlements in the desert, and the foundation of Tunnote, their first seat of power, in S. 787 (A. D. 731), are corroborated by incontrovertible synchronisms in almost every subsequent reign of these annals.

Kehur, a name highly respected in the history of the Bhatti race, and whose exploit has been already recorded, must have been the contemporary of the celebrated Khalif Al Walid, the first whose arms extended to the plains of India, and one of whose earliest conquests and chief positions was Arore, the capital of Upper Sinde.

Kehur‡ had five sons ; *viz.*, Tunno, Ootirao, Chunnur, Kafrio, Thaem. All of them had offspring,§ who became the

* The emperor Baber tells us, in his Commentaries, that the people of India apply the term *Khorasan*, to all the regions west of the Indus.

† Notwithstanding the lapse of eleven hundred years since the expulsion of the Bhattis from the Punjab, and in spite of the revolutions in law, language, and religion, since the descendants of Salbahan abandoned that region, yet, even to this day, there is abundant testimony in its geographical nomenclature that the Bhattis had dominion there. We have *Pindi Bhattia-ca*, *Bhatti-ca-chuk*; in the very position where we should look for Salbahanpur.—See Elphinstone's Map.

‡ Although I omit the inverted commas indicative of translation, the reader is to understand that what follows is a free interpretation of the original chronicle.

§ Ooti-rao had five sons, Sorna, Sehesi, Jeeva, Chako and Ujo ; their issu had the generic term of *Ootirao*. It is thus their clans and tribes are multiplied *ad infinitum*, and since the skill of the genealogist (*bhat*) is

heads of clans, retaining the patronymic. All were soldiers of fortune, and they conquered the lands of the Chunna Rajpoots:* but the latter revenged themselves upon Kehur, whom they attacked and slew as he was hunting.

Tunno succeeded. He laid waste the lands of the Barahas,† and those of the Langaha of Mooltan. But Husein Shah advanced with the Langaha Pathans,‡ clothed in armour with iron helms, with the men of Doodi,§ of Kheechee,‖ the Khokur,¶ the Mogul, the Johya,** the Jood,** and Syed, all mounted on horses, to the number of ten thousand men, to attack the Jadoo. They reached the territory of the Barahas, who joined them, and there they encamped. Tunno collected his brethren

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required to keep them clear of incestuous marriages, even such uninteresting details have some value, as they stamp their annals with authenticity.

* The tribe of Chunna is now extinct.

† These Indo-Scythic tribes were designated by the names of animals. The *Barahas* are the hogs; the *Noomries*, the foxes; *Takshacs*, the snakes; *Aswas* or *Asi*, the horses, &c.

‡ These Langaha Pathans were proselytes from the Solanki Rajpoots, one of the four Agnicula races. Probably they inhabited the district of Lumghan, west of the Indus. It is curious and interesting to find that the Solanki *gotra-acharya*, or 'genealogical creed,' claims Lokote as their settlement. The use of the word *Pathan* by no means precludes there being Hindus.

§ Baber, in his valuable Autobiography, gives us the names of all the tribes he met in his passage into India, and this enumeration goes far to prove the authenticity of the early annals of the Bhattis. Baber does not mention "the men of Doodi."

‖ The introduction of the name of this tribe here is highly important, and very interesting to those who have studied, in the Rajpoot bards, their early history. The bards of the Kheechees give them this northern origin, and state that all *Sindsagur*, one of the *do-abehs* of the Punjab, belonged to them.

¶ The Khokur is most probably the Ghiker. Baber writes the name 'Guker,' a singular race, and decidedly Scythic in their habits even in this day.

** Of the Joodis and Johyas we have already spoken as inhabiting the range called in the native annals *Juddoo-ca-dang*, and by Baber 'the hill of Jud,' skirting the Behat.—The position of Behera is laid down in that monument of genius and industry, the Memoir of Rennel (who calls it Bheera), in 32° N. and 72° 10′ E.: and by Elphinstone in 32° 10′, but a whole degree further to the east, or 73° 15′. This city, so often mentioned in the Yadu-Bhatti annals as one of their intermediate places of repose, on their expulsion from India and migration to Central Asia, has its position minutely pointed out by the Emperor Baber (p. 256), who, in his attack on the hill tribes of Jits, Geojurs, Gukers, &c., adjoining Cashmeer, "expelled Hati Guker from Behreh, on the Behut River, near the cave-temples of Gar-kotri at Bikrum," of which the able annotator remarks, that as well as those of But Bamian, they were probably Buddhist. Baber (p. 294) also found the Jits masters of Sialkote, most likely the Salpoor of the Inscription, conquered from a Jit prince in the twelfth century by the Patun prince, and presumed to be the Salbahanpur founded by the fugitive Yadu prince of Gujni

around him, and prepared for defence. During four days they defended the castle; and on the fifth the Rao ordered the gates to be thrown open, and with his son, Beeji Rao, sallied out sword in hand, and attacked the besiegers. The Barahas were the first to fly, and they were soon followed by the rest of the Asoors. The victors carried the spoils of the field into Tunnote. As soon as the armies of Mooltan and Langaha were driven off, the *coco-nut* came from Jeejoo, chief of the Bootas of Bootaban,* and an alliance, offensive and defensive, was formed against the prince of Mooltan.

Tunno had five sons, Beeji Rae, Makur, Jeytung, Allun, and Rakecho. The second son, Makur, had issue Maipah, who had two sons, Mohola and Decao, the latter of whom excavated the lake known by his name. His issue became carpenters (*sootar*), and are to this day known as the 'Makur sootar.'†

The third son, Jeytung, had two sons, Ruttunsi and Chohir. The first repaired the ruined city of Beekumpur.‡ Chohir had two sons, Kola and Gir-raj, who founded the towns of Kolasir and Girajsir.‡

The fourth son, Allun, had four sons, Deosi, Tirpal, Bhaoni, and Rakecho. The descendants of Deosi became Rebarris (who rear camels), and the issue of Rakecho became merchants (*baniahs*), and are now classed amongst the Oswal tribe.§

Tunno having, by the interposition of the goddess Beejasenni, discovered a hidden treasure, erected a fortress, which he named Beejnote; and in this he placed a statue of the goddess, on the 13th, the enlightened part of the month Megsir, the Rohini Nakshatra, S. 813 (A. D. 757). He died after ruling eighty years.

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* Bootaban, probably from *vanu*, pronounced in the dialect *bun*, the 'wild, or' 'forest' of Boota.

† Illegitimate children can never overcome this natural defect amongst the Rajpoots. Thus we find among all classes of artizans in India, some of royal but spurious descent.

‡ These towns and lakes are well known, but have been seized by Bikaneer.

§ The Oswal is the richest and most numerous of the eighty-four mercantile tribes of India, and is said to amount to one hundred thousand families. They are called '*Oswal*' from their first settlement, the town of Ossi. They are all of pure Rajpoot birth, of no single tribe, but chiefly Puars, Solankis, and Bhattis. All profess the Jain tenets, and it is a curious fact, though little known, that the pontiffs of that faith must be selected from the youth of Ossi. The wealthy bankers and merchants of these regions scattered throughout India, are all known under one denomination, *Marwari*, which is erroneously supposed to apply to the Jodhpur territory, whereas, in fact, it means belonging to the desert. It is singular that the wealth of India should centre in this region of comparative sterility.

Beeji Rae succeeded in S. 870 (A. D. 814). He commenced his reign with the *teeka-dour* against his old enemies, the Barahas, whom he defeated and plundered. In S. 892, he had a son by the Boota queen, who was called Deoraj. The Barahas and Langahas once more united to attack the Bhatti prince; but they were defeated and put to flight. Finding that they could not succeed by open warfare, they had recourse to treachery. Having, under pretence of terminating this long feud, invited young Deoraj to marry the daughter of the Baraha chief, the Bhattis attended, when Beeji Rae and eight hundred of his kin and clan were massacred. Deoraj escaped to the house of the Purohit (of the Barahas, it is presumed), whither he was pursued. There being no hope of escape, the Brahmin threw the Brahminical thread round the neck of the young prince, and in order to convince his pursuers that they were deceived as to the object of their search, he sat down to eat with him from the same dish. Tunnote was invested and taken, and nearly every soul in it put to the sword, so that the very name of Bhatti was for a while extinct.

Deoraj remained for a long time concealed in the territory of the Barahas; but at length he ventured to Boota, his maternal abode, where he had the happiness to find his mother, who had escaped the massacre at Tunnote. She was rejoiced to behold her son's face, and "waved the salt over his head," then threw it into the water, exclaiming "thus may your enemies melt away!" Soon tired of life of dependence, Deoraj asked for a single village, which was promised; but the kin of the Boota chief alarmed him, and he recalled it, and limited his grant to such a quantity of land as he could encompass by the thongs cut from a single buffalo's hide; and this, too, in the depth of the desert. For this expedient he was indebted to the architect Kekeya, who had constructed the castle of Bhutnair.* Deoraj immediately commenced erecting a place of

* This deception practised by the Bhatti chief to obtain land on which to erect a fortress is not unknown in other parts of India, and in more remote regions. Bhutnair owes its name to this expedient, from the division (*bhatna*) of the hide. The etymology of *Calcutta* is the same, but should be written *Khalcutta*, from the cuttings of the hide (*khâl*). Byrsa the castle of Carthage, originates from the same story. If there existed any affinity between the ancient *Pali* language of India and the Punic or Phœnician (as the names of its princes and their adjuncts of *bal* would indicate), and the letters B and Ch were as little dissimilar in Punic as in Sanscrit, then *Byrsa* would become *chursa*, 'hide or skin,' which might have originated the capital of the African Mauritania, as of the Indian Maruthan. Thus Marocco may be from *Maru-ca*, of, or belonging to Maru, *the desert*, also probably the origin of the *Murve* of Iran. The term Moor may likewise be corrupted from Mauri, an inhabitant of Maruca.

strength which he called after himself Deogurh, or Deorawul,* on Monday, the 5th of the month Magh (*soodi*), the Pookh Nakshatra, S. 909.

while the Sehrae of our Indian desert is the brother in name and profession of the Saracen of Arabia, from Sehrā, *a desert*, and zuddun, to *assault*. The Nomadic princes of Mauritania might, therefore, be the *Pali* or shepherd kings of *Maruthan*, the great African desert. And who were these Philita or *Pali* kings of Barbary and Egypt? It is well known that the Berbers who inhabited Abyssinia and the south coast of the Red Sea, migrated to the northern coast, not only occupying it, as well as Mount Atlas, but pushing their tribes far into the grand *sehra*, or desert. To those colonists, that coast owes its name of Barbary. From the days of Solomon and his contemporary Sishac, an intimate communication subsisted between the eastern coast of Africa and India; and I have already hazarded the opinion, that we must look to this coast of Æthiopia and Abyssinia for the Lanka of the Rameses (Rameswar) of India; and from the former country the most skilful archæologists assert that Egypt had her mythology, and more especially that mystery, the prominent feature of both systems—the *Phallic* rites, or worship of the *lingam*. *Berber*, according to Bruce, means a shepherd, and as *ber* is a ship in the language of India, *Berber* is a shepherd in the most literal sense, and consequently the synonym of *Pali*. It has been asserted that this race colonized these coasts of Africa from India about the time of Amenophis, and that they are the *Yksos*, or 'shepherd-kings,' who subjugated Egypt. On this account a comparison of the ancient architectural remains of Abyssinia and Æthiopia with those of the ancient Hindus is most desirable. It is asserted, and with appearance of truth, that the architecture of the Pyramids is distinct from the Pharaonic, and that they are at once Astronomic and Phallic. In India, the symbolic pinnacle surmounting the temples of the sun-god are always pyramidal. If the forthcoming history of the Berbers should reveal the mystery of their first settlements in Abyssinia, a great object would be attained; and if search were made in the old cave-temples of that coast, some remains of the characters they used might aid in tracing their analogy to the ancient Pali of the East: an idea suggested by an examination of the few characters found in the grand desert inhabited by the Tuaricks, which have a certain resemblance to the Punic, and to the unknown characters attributed to the Indo-Scythic tribes of India, as on their coins and cave-temples. Wide asunder as are these regions, the mind that will strive to lessen the historical separation may one day be successful, when connexion between Æthiopia (qu. from *aditya* and contracted *ait*, the Sun?) and Saurashtra, 'the land of the Sun,' or Syria of India, may become more tangible. Ferishta (*vide* Briggs' Translation, Vol. IV., p. 408,) quoting original authorities, says, "inhabitants of Selandip, or the island of Ceylon, were accustomed to send vessels to the coast of Africa, to the Red Sea, and Persian Gulf, from the earliest ages, and Hindu pilgrims resorted to Mecca and Egypt for the purpose of paying adoration to the idols. It is related also that this people trading from Ceylon became converts to the true faith at so early a period as the first caliphs," all which confirms the fact of early intercourse between Egypt and India.

* Deorawul was one of the points of halt in Elphinstone's mission to Cabul. This discloses to us the position of the Boota territory, and as astronomical data are given, those inclined to prove or disprove the Bhatti chronology have ample means afforded.

Soon as the Boota chief heard that his son-in-law was erecting, not a dwelling, but a castle, he sent a force to raze it. Deoraj despatched his mother with the keys to the assailants, and invited the leaders to receive the castle and his homage; when the chief men, to the number of a hundred and twenty, entering, were inveigled, under pretence of consultation, ten at a time, and each party put to death and their bodies thrown over the wall. Deprived of their leaders, the rest took to flight.

Soon after, the prince was visited by his patron, the Jogi who had protected him amongst the Barahas, and who now gave him the title of *Sid.* This Jogi, who possessed the art of transmuting metals, lodged in the same house where Deoraj found protection on the massacre of his father and kindred. One day, the holy man had gone abroad, leaving his *jirghir-kunta*, or 'tattered doublet,' in which was the *Rascoompa*, or 'elixir vessel,' a drop of which having fallen on the dagger of Deoraj and changed it to gold, he decamped with both, and it was by the possession of this he was enabled to erect Deorawul. The Jogi was well aware of the chief whom he now came to visit; and he confirmed him in the possession of the stolen property, on one condition, that he should become his *chela* and disciple, and, as a token of submission and fidelity, adopt the external symbols of the Jogi. Deoraj assented, and was invested with the Jogi robe of ochre.* He placed the *moodra*† in his ear, the little horn round his neck, and the bandage (*langota*) about his loins; and with the gourd (*cupra*) in his hand, he perambulated the dwellings of his kin, exclaiming, *Aluc! Aluc!*‡ The gourd was filled with gold and pearls; the title of *Rao* was abandoned for that of *Rawul*;§ the *teeka* was made on his forehead; and exacting a pledge that these rites of inauguration should be continued to the latest posterity, the Baba Ritta (for such was the Jogi's name) disappeared.

Deoraj determined to wreak his revenge on the Barahas, and he enjoyed it even "to stripping the scarfs from the heads of their females." On his return to Deorawul, he prepared for an attack on Langaha, the heir of which was then on a marriage expedition at Aleepur. There, Deoraj attacked and slew a thousand of them, the rest henceforth acknowledged his supremacy. The Langahas were gallant Rajpoots.

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* Called *peeroo*; garments coloured with this dye are worn by all classes of mendicants.

† The moodra is a round prickly seed worn by the ascetics as ear-rings.

‡ The Supreme Being; the Universal and One God.

§ *Rawul* is still the title of the princes of Jessulmeer, as it once was that of the Mewar house.

As the tribe of Langaha, or Langa, will form this period go hand in hand in all the international wars of the Yadu-Bhattis, from their expulsion from the Punjab to their final settlement in the Indian desert, it is of some interest to trace its origin and destiny. It is distinctly stated that, at this epoch, the Langas were Rajpoots; and they are, in fact, a sub-division of the Solanki or Chalook race, one of the four *Agnicula*; and it is important to observe that in their *gotra-acharya*, or 'genealogical creed,' they claim Lokote in the Punjab as their early location; in all probability prior to their regeneration on Mount Aboo, when they adopted Brahminical principles. From the year S. 787 (A. D. 731), when the castle of Tunnote was erected by the leader of the Bhatti colony, down to S. 1530 (A. D. 1474), a period of seven hundred and forty-three years, perpetual border-strife appears to have occurred between the Bhattis and Langas, which terminated in that singular combat, or duel, of tribe against tribe, during the reign of Rawul Chachik, in the last-mentioned period. Shortly after this, Baber conquered India, and Mooltan became a province of the empire, when the authority of tribes ceased. Ferishta, however, comes to our aid and gives us an account of an entire dynasty of this tribe as kings of Mooltan. The first of this line of five kings began his reign A. H. 847 (A. D. 1443), or thirty years anterior to the death of Rawul Chachik. The Mooslem historian (see Briggs' Ferishta, Vol. IV, p. 388), says that when Khizer Khan Syud was emperor of Delhi, he sent Sheikh Yusooph as his lieutenant to Mooltan, who gained the esteem of the surrounding princes; amongst whom was Rae Sehra, head of the tribe of Langa, who came to congratulate him, and to offer his services and a daughter in marriage. The offer was accepted; constant communication was kept up between Seevee and Mooltan, till at length Rae Sehra disclosed the object of all this solicitude; he threw aside the mask, confined the Sheikh, sent him off to Delhi, and crowned himself king of Mooltan under the title of Kootub-u-din.

Ferishta calls Rae Sehra and his tribe of Langa, Afghans; and Abul Fazl says, the inhabitants of Seevee were of the *Noomrie* (fox) tribe, which is assuredly one of the most numerous of the Jit or Gete race, though they have all, since their conversion, adopted the distinctive term of *Baloch*. The Bhatti chronicle calls the Langas in one page *Pathan*, and in another *Rajpoot*, which are perfectly reconcileable, and by no means indicative that the Pathan or Afghan of that early period, or even in the time of Rae Sehra, was a Mahomedan. The title of Rae is sufficient proof that they were even then Hindus. Mr. Elphinstone scouts the idea of the descent of the Afghan's

from the Jews; and not a trace of the Hebrew is found in the Pooshtoo, or language of this tribe, although it has much affinity to the Zend and Sanskrit. I cannot refrain from repeating my conviction of the origin of the Afghans from the Yadu, converted into *Yakudi* or 'Jew.' Whether these Yadus are or are not *Yuti*, or Getes, remains to be proved.

To the south of Deorawul dwelt the Lodra Rajpoots; their capital was Lodorva, an immense city, having twelve gates. The family Purohit, having been offended, took sanctuary (*sirna*) with Deoraj, and stimulated him to dispossess his old masters of their territory. A marriage was proposed to Nirp-bhan, the chief of the Lodras, which being accepted, Deoraj, at the head of twelve hundred chosen horse, departed for Lodorva. The gates of the city were thrown open as the bridegroom approached; but no sooner had he entered with his suite, than swords were drawn, and Deoraj made himself master of Lodorva.* He married the chief's daughter, left a garrison in Lodorva, and returned to Deorawul. Deoraj was now lord of fifty-six thousand horse, and a hundred thousand camels.†

At this period, a merchant of Deorawul, named Jiskurn, having gone to Dharanagari, was imprisoned by its prince, Brij-bhan Puar, and compelled to pay a ransom for his liberty. On his return to Deorawul, he showed the mark of the iron-collar to his sovereign, who, indignant at the dishonour put upon his subject, swore he would not drink water until he had avenged the insult. But he had not calculated the distance between him and his foe; in order, however, to redeem his pledge, a *Dhar* of clay (*gar-ra-dhar*) was constructed, on which he was about to wreak his vengeance, but there were Pramars in his army, who were at their post ready to defend their mock capital; and, as their astonished prince advanced to destroy it, they exclaimed—

Jan Puar thyan Dhar hyn
Or Dhar thyan Puar

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* We are not told of what race (*cula*) was the Lodra Rajpoot; in all probability it was Pramara, or Puar, which at one time occupied the whole desert of India. Lodorva, as will be seen, became the capital of the Bhattis, until the founding of their last and present capital, Jessulmeer: it boasts a high antiquity, though now a ruin, occupied by a few families of shepherds. Many towns throughout the desert were formerly of celebrity, but are now desolate, through the conjoined causes of perpetual warfare and the shifting sands. I obtained a copper-plate inscription of the tenth century from Lodorva, of the period of Beejiraj in the ornamental Jain character; also some clay signets, given to pilgrims, bearing Jain symbols. All these relics attest the prevailing religion to have been Jain.

† A gross exaggeration of the annalist or a cypher in each added by the copyist.

Dhar binna Puar nuhyn
Or nuhyn Puar binna Dhar,

which may be thus translated:

"Wherever there is a Puar, *there* is a Dhar; and where there is a Dhar *there* is a Puar. There is no Dhar without a Puar; neither is there a Puar without a Dhar."* Under their leaders, Tejsi and Sarung, they protected the mock Dhar, and were cut to pieces to the number of one hundred and twenty. Deoraj approved their valour, and provided for their children. Being thus released from his oath, he proceeded towards Dhar, reducing those who opposed his progress. Brij-bhan defended Dhar during five days, and fell with eight hundred of his men; upon which Deoraj unfurled the flag of victory and returned to his late conquest, the city of Lodorva.

Deoraj had two sons, Moond and Chedoo; the last, by a wife of the Baraha tribe, had five sons, whose descendants were styled Cheda Rajpoots. Deoraj excavated several large lakes in the territory of Khadal (in which Deorawul is situated); one at Tunnote is called Tunno-sirr; another, after himself, Deo-sirr. Having one day gone to hunt, slightly attended, he was attacked by an ambush of the Chunna Rajpoots, and slain with twenty-six of his attendants, after having reigned fifty-five years. His kin and clans shaved, their locks and moustaches excepting.†

Moond, who succeeded and performed all the ceremonies during the twelve days, having made his ablutions with the water from sixty-eight different wells, in which were immersed the leaves of one hundred and eight different shrubs and trees, a female of spotless virtue waved the burning frankincense over his head. Before him was placed the *punj-amrit*, consisting of curds, milk, butter, sugar, and honey; likewise pearls, gems, the royal umbrella, the grass called *dhoob*, various flowers, a looking-glass, a young virgin, a chariot, a flag or banner, the *vela* flower, seven sorts of grain, two fish, a horse, a *nukhunk* (unknown), a bullock, a shell, a lotus, a vessel of water, the tail of the wild ox (*chamar*), a female calf, a litter, yellow clay, and prepared food. Then, seated on the *lion's hide*,—(on which were painted the seven *dwipas* or continents of Hindu cosmography, apparelled in the dress of the Jogi, and covered with ashes (*bhuboot*), with the *moodra* on his ears),

* Dhar, or Dharanagari was the most ancient capital of this tribe, the most numerous of the Agnicula races. See a sketch of the Puars, or Pramaras, Vol. I.

† There is no *interregnum* in Rajwarra; the king never dies.

—the white *chamar* (ox-tail) was waved over his head, and he was inaugurated on the *gadi* of Deoraj, while the Purohit and chiefs presented their offerings. The *teeka-dour* was against the assassins of his father, who had congregated for defence, eight hundred of whom were put to death. Rawul Moond had one son, who was called Bachera. When about fourteen years of age the *coco-nut* came from Bullub-sen Solanki, Raja of Patun.* He forthwith proceeded to Patun, where he married the Solanki princess, and died not long after his father.

Bachera succeeded on Saturday, the 12th Sravan, S. 1035.† The same rites of installation were performed; the *kanferra* (split-eared) Jogi was the first to put the regal *tiluc* on his forehead, and 'his hand upon his back.' Rawul Bachera had five sons, Doosaj, Singh, Bappi Rao, Unkho, and Maall-Pusao; all of whom had issue, forming clans.

A merchant came to Lodorva with a caravan of horses, of which there was one of a race so superior, that a lakh of rupees was fixed as his price; the breed belonged to a Pathan chief, west of the Indus. To obtain it, Doosaj and his son Unkho put themselves at the head of a band, crossed the Indus, slew Gazi Khan, the Pathan chief, and carried off his stud.

Singh had a son, Sacha-rae; his son was Balla, who had two sons, Ruttun and Jugga; they attacked the Puribar prince Juggernath of Mundore, and carried off five hundred camels: their descendants are styled Singrao Rajpoots.

Bappi Rao had two sons, Pahoo and Mandun. Pahoo had likewise two, Beerum and Toolir, whose numerous issue were styled the Pahoo Rajpoots. The Pahoos issued from their abode of Beekumpur, and conquered the lands of Johyas, as far as *Devi-jhal*; and having made Poogul‡ their capital,

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* This affords a most important synchronism, corroborative of the correctness of these annals. Raja Bullub-sen of Patun (Anhulwarra) immediately followed Chamund Rae, who was dispossessed of the throne by Mahomoud of Ghizni, in the year A. D. 1011, or S. 1067. Bullub-sen died the year of his installation, and was succeeded by Doorlubh, whose period has also been synchronically fixed by an inscription belonging to the Pramaras.—See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I., p. 223.

† This date, S. 1035, is evidently an error of the copyist. Bachera married Bullub-sen's daughter in S. 1067, and he died in S. 1100; so that it should be either S. 1055 or 1065. It is important to clear this point, as Rawul Bachera was the oponent of Mahmoud of Ghizni in his invasion of India, A. H. 393, A. D. 1000, = S. 1065 or S. 1066, the Samvat era being liable to a variation of ten years (Colebrooke). If we are right, a passage of Ferishta, which has puzzled the translators, should run thus: "Mahmoud directed his march against the Bhatti, and passing Mooltan, arrived at Behera, a Bhatti city."—Compare Dow, Vol. I., p. 58. (4th edit.) and Briggs, Vol. I., p. 38.

‡ This was one of the points touched at in Mr. Elphinstone's journey.

they dug numerous well in the *thul*, which still go by the name of the Pahoo wells.

Near Khatoh, in the Nagore district of Marwar, there dwelt a warrior of the Kheechee tribe, named Jiddra, who often plundered even to the gates of Poogul, slaying many of the Jytung Bhattis. Doosaj prepared a *kafila* ('caravan,') under pretence of making a pilgrimage to the Ganges, invaded unawares the Kheechee chief's territory, and slew him, with nine hundred of his men.

Doosaj, with his three brothers, went to the land of Kher, where dwelt Pertap Sing, chief of the Gohilotes,* whose daughters they espoused. "In the land of Kher, the Jadoon showered gold, enriching it." In the *daeja* (dower) with his daughter, the Gohilote gave fifteen *Dewa-darries*, or 'virgin lamp-holders'. Soon after, the Baloches made an inroad into the territory of Khadal; a battle ensued, in which five hundred were killed, and the rest fled beyond the river. Bachera died, and was succeeded by

Doosaj, in the month of Asar, S. 1100. Hamir, prince of the Sodas,† made an incursion in his territories, which he plundered. Doosaj, having unavailingly remonstrated, reminding him of ancient ties, he marched into Dhat, and gained a victory. Doosaj had two sons, Jesul and Beejiraj, and in his old age a third son, by a Ranawut princess of the house of Mewar, called *Lanja* Beejirae, who, when Doosaj died, was placed on the throne by the nobles and civil officers of the state. Previous to his elevation, he had espoused a daughter of Sidraj Jey Sing, Solanki. During the nuptial ceremonies, as the mother of the bride was marking the forehead of the bridegroom with the *tiluk*, or 'inauguration mark,' she exclaimed, "My son, do thou become the portal of the north—the barrier between us and the king, whose power is becoming strong"‡ By the princess of Puttun, he had a son, who was

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* The chief of the Gohilotes is now settled at the Bhaonuggur at the estuary of the Myhie; where I visited him in 1823. The migration of the family from Kherdhur occurred about a century after that period, according to the documents in the Rao's family. And we have only to look at the opening of the Annals of Marwar to see that from its colonization by the Rahtores, the Gohil community of *Kherdhur* was finally extinguished. To the general historian these minute facts may be unimportant, but they cease to be so when they prove the character of these annals for fidelity.

† If this is the Hamira alluded to in the Annals of Bikaneer, in whose time the Caggar river ceased to flow in these lands, we have another date assigned to a fact of great physical importance.

‡ Here we have another synchronism. In the *Komarpal Charitra*, or history of the kings of Anhulwarra Puttun, the reign of Sidraj was

named Bhojdeo, and who, by the death of his father, when he attained the age of twenty-five, became lord of Lodorva. The other sons of Doosaj were at this time advanced in manhood, Jesul being thirty-five, and Beejiraj thirty-two years of age.

Some years before the death of Doosaj, Raedhuwal Puar, son (or descendant) of Udyadit of Dhar, had three daughters, one of whom he betrothed to Jeipal (Ajipal) Solanki, son of Sidraj ;* another to Beejiraj Bhatti, and the third to the Rana of Cheetore. The Bhatti prince left Lodorva for Dhar at the head of seven hundred horse, and arrived at the same time with the Seesodia and Solanki princes. On his return to Lodorva, he erected a temple to *Sheslinga*, close to which he made a lake. By the Puar princess he had a son named Rahir, who had two sons, Netsi and Keksi.

Bhojdeo had not long occupied the *gadi* of Lodorva, when his uncle Jesul conspired against him ; but being always surrounded by a guard of five hundred Solanki Rajpoots, his person was unassailable. At this time, the prince of Puttun was often engaged with the king's troops from Tatha. Jesul, in pursuance of his plan, determined to coalesce with the king and cause an attack on Puttun (Anhulwarra), by which alone he could hope for the departure of the Solanki body-guard. Jesul,

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from S.1150 to S.1201, or A. D. 1094 to 1145 ; the point of time intermediate between the invasion of Mahmoud of Ghizni and the final conquest of India by Shabudin, during which there were many irruptions into India by the lieutenants of the monarch of Ghizni. There was one in the reign of Musood, in A. H. 492 (A. D. 1098), four years after the accession of Sidraj ; another in A. D. 1120, in the reign of Byram Shaw, during which, according to Ferishta, the Ghaznevide general, Balin, rebelled and assailed the Hindu Rajas from Nagore, where he established himself. In all probability this is the event alluded to by the queen of Puttun, when she nominated the Bhatti prince as her champion.

* The mention of these simultaneous intermarriages in three of the principal Rajpoot monarchies of that day, *viz.*, Dhar, Puttun, and Cheetore, is important, not only as establishing fresh synchronisms, but as disclosing the intercourse between the Bhattis and the more ancient princely families of India. Udyadit Pramar has been established beyond cavil (see Trans. R. A. S. Vol. I., p. 223), and that of Sidraj, likewise, whose son and successor, Ajipal, had but a short reign when he was deposed by Komarpal, whose date is also found from inscription. It is a singular fact, that all the Rajpoot dynasties of these regions were established about the same epoch, *viz.*, Puttun by the Churas, Cheetore by the Gehlotes, Delhi, refounded by the Tuars, and the Bhatti principality by the descendant of Salbahan. This was in the middle of the eighth century of Vicramaditya, when the older Hindu governments were broken up. The admission of the Bhatti to intermarry with their families proves one of two facts ; either that they were considered Rajpoots, notwithstanding there being inhabitants of the regions beyond the Indus ; or, that the families mentioned, with which they intermarried, were Indo-Scythic like themselves.

with his chief kin, escorted by two hundred horse, marched to the Punjnud, where he saw the king of Ghor, who had just overcome the king of Tatha,* and placed his own garrison there, and accompanied him to Arore, the ancient capital of Sind. There he unfolded his views, and having sworn allegiance to the king, he obtained a force to dispossess his nephew of his territory. Lodorva was encompassed, and Bhojdeo slain in its defence. In two days the inhabitants were to carry off their effects, and on the third the troops of Ghor were permitted the license of plunder. Lodorva was sacked, and Kureem Khan departed for Bekher with the spoils.

Jesul thus obtained the *gadi* of Lodorva; but it being open to invasion, he sought a spot better adapted for defence, and he found one only five Coss (ten miles) from Ladorva. Upon the summit of a rocky ridge, he discovered a Brahmin, whose solitary hermitage adjoined the fountain of Brimsir. Having paid homage, and disclosed the purport of his visit, the recluse related the history of the triple-peaked hill, which overlooked his hermitage. He said, that in the *Treta*, or 'silver age,' a celebrated ascetic called Kak, or Kaga, resided at this fountain, after whom the rivulet which issued thence had its name of Kaga; that the Pandu Arjoon, with Heri Crishna, came there to attend a great sacrifice, on which occasion Crishna foretold that, in some distant age, a descendant of his should erect a town on the margin of that rivulet, and should raise a castle on *Tricuta*, the triple-peaked mount.† While Crishna thus prophesied, it was observed to him by Arjoon that the water was bad, when Crishna smote the rock with his *chakra* (discus), whereupon a sweet spring bubbled up, and on its margin were inscribed the prophetic stanzas which the

* At every step we see, however meagre may be the outline, the correctness of this historical sketch. It was, according to Ferishta, in A. H. 555 (A. D. 1159, or S. 1215), that the prince of Ghor conquered Ghizni, and immediately after overran Mooltan and Sindh (see Briggs, Vol. I., p. 157); and doubtless it was on this occasion that the Bhatti prince swore allegiance to Shabudin, and obtained the force which drove his nephew from Lodorva, which being sacked by his auxiliaries, he founded Jessulmeer in S. 1212. The three years' discrepancy between the Mahomedan and Hindu dates is of little consequence; but even this could be remedied, when we recollect that the Samvat, according to Mr. Colebrooke, is liable to a variation of ten years.

† If there were no better support for the assumed descent of the Bhatti founder of Jessulmeer from the *Yadus* of the *Bharat*, than this prophecy, we should be confirmed in our suspicion that they are a colony of the *Yuti*, and that the Brahmins took advantage of the nominal resemblance to incorporate them in the *Chatees Rajcula*, or thirty-six royal race.

hermit Eesul now pointed out to the Bhatti prince, who read as follows :—

"Oh prince of Jidoo-vansa! come into this land, and on this mountain's top erect a triangular castle.

2.

"Lodorva is destroyed, but only five Coss therefrom is Jesanoh, a site of twice its strength.

3.

"Prince whose name is Jesul, who will be of Yadu race, abandon Lodorpura; here erect thy dwelling."

The hermit Eesul alone knew the existence of the fountain on whose margin these lines were engraved. All that he stipulated for himself was, that the fields to the westward of the castle should retain his name, "the fields of Eesul." He foretold that the intended castle should twice and a half times be sacked; that rivers of blood would flow, and that for a time all would be lost to his descendants.

On *Rubwar*, 'the day of the sun,' (a favourite day for commencing any grand undertaking with all these tribes), the 12th of Sarvan, the enlightened half of the moon, S. 1212 (A. D. 1156), the foundation of Jessulmeer was laid, and soon the inhabitants, with all that was valuable, abandoned Lodorva,* and began to erect new habitations. Jessul had two sons, Kailun and Salbahan. He chose his chief ministers and advisers from the children of Sodil, of the Pahoo tribe, who became too powerful. Their old enemies, the Chunna Rajpoots again invaded the lands of Khadal; but they suffered for their audacity. Jesul survived this event five years, when he died, and was succeeded by his youngest son, Salbahan the II.

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* Lodorva remains in ruins; a journey thither might afford subject-matter for the antiquary, and enable him to throw light upon the origin of the Bhatti tribe. It is ten miles N. W. of the present capital.

CHAPTER III.

Preliminary observations.—The early history of the Bhattis not devoid of interest.—Traces of their ancient manners and religion.—The chronicle resumed.—Jesul survives the change of capital twelve years.—The heir Kailun banished.—Salbahan, his younger brother, succeeds.—Expedition against the Catti or Cathi.—Their supposed origin.—Application from the Yadu prince of Badrinath for a prince to fill the vacant gadi.—*During Salbahan's absence, his son Beejil usurps the* gadi.—*Salbahan retires to Khadal, and falls in battle against the Baloches.—Beejil commits suicide.—Kailun recalled and placed on the* gadi.—*His issue form clans.—Khizzur Khan Baloch again invades Khadal.—Kailun attacks him, and avenges his father's death.—Death of Kailun.—Succeeded by Chachik Deo.—He expels the Chunna Rajpoots.—Defeats the Sodas of Amerkote.—The Rahtores lately arrived in the desert become troublesome.—Important synchronisms.—Death of Chachick.—He is succeeded by his grandson Kurrun, to the prejudice of the elder, Jaetsi, who leaves Jessulmeer.—Redresses the wrongs of a Baraha Rajpoot.—Kurrun dies.—Succeeded by Lakhur Sen.—His imbecile character.—Replaced by his son Poonpal, who is dethroned and banished.—His grandson, Raning-deo, establishes himself at Marote and Poogul.—On the deposal of Poonpal, Jaetsi is recalled and placed on* gadi.—*He affords a refuge to the Purihar prince of Mundore, when attacked by Alla-o-din.—The sons of Jaetsi carry off the imperial tribute of Tatha and Mooltan.—The king determines to invade Jessulmeer.—Jaetsi and his sons prepare for the storm.—Jessulmeer invested.—First assault repulsed.—The Bhattis keep an army in the field.—Rawul Jaetsi dies.—The siege continues.—Singular friendship between his son Ruttun and one of the besieging generals.—Moolraj succeeds.—General assault.—Again defeated.—Garrison reduced to great extremity.—Council of war.—Determination to perform the* saka.—*Generous conduct of the Mahomedan friend of Ruttun to his sons.—Final assault.—Rawul Moolraj and Ruttun and their chief kin fall in battle.—Jessulmeer taken, dismantled and abandoned.*

HAVING thus epitomized the Bhatti annals, from the expulsion of the tribe from the Punjab, and the establishment of

Tunnote in the Indian desert, in A. D. 731, to the foundation of the existing capital, Jessulmeer, in A. D. 1156, we shall continue the sketch to the present day, nearly in the language of the chronicle, adding explanatory notes as we proceed.

The interval between the erection of the castle of Tunnote and the present time is exactly eleven hundred years; during which the historical narrative, whatever may be its value, is at least continuous, and the events recorded are corroborated, even in the darkest period, by numerous synchronisms in the annals of the other states; and viewed synoptically, it presents matter of deep interest to the explorer to Indian history. The period of four hundred and twenty-five years, embraced in the preceding chapter, is full of incidents. It is a record of a people who once deemed their consequence and their fame imperishable. And even were it less diversified by anecdotes descriptive of manners, it would still possess claims to interest as a simple relation of the gradual peopling of a great portion of the Indian desert. We see tribes and cities disappearing; new races and new capitals taking their place; and although not a syllable is written which bears directly upon religion, we can see, incidentally, the analogy of these Indo-Scythic tribes, from Zabulisthan and Salbahana, with the Hindu, confirming what Menu says, that the *Sacas*, *Yavanas*, *Pehlavis*, and the *Khasas* * of Central Asia, were all Chettris or Rajpoots. We now proceed with the chronicle.

Jesul, the founder of Jessulmeer, survived the change of capital only twelve years. His elder son, Kailun, having given displeasure to the Pahoo minister, was expelled, and his younger brother placed upon the *gadi*.

Salbahan, a name of celebrity in the annals, renewed in the son of Jesul, succeeded in S. 1224 (A. D. 1168). His first expedition was against the Catti or Cathi tribe, who, under their leader, Jugbhan dwelt between the city of Jhalore and the Aravulli.† The Cathi Rao was killed and his horses and camels were carried to Jessulmeer. The fame of this exploit exalted the reputation of Salbahan. He had three sons, Beejir, Banar, and Hasso.

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* There is a race in the desert, now Mahomedan, and called *Khossas*. Elphinstone mentions the *Khasa-Khel*. Khasgar is 'the region of the Khasas' the *Casia Regia* of Ptolemy.

† We can scarcely refuse our assent to the belief, that the Cathi, or Catti tribe, here mentioned, is the remnant of the nation which so manfully opposed Alexander. It was then located about Mooltan, at this period occupied by the Langas. The colony attacked by the Bhatti was near the Aravulli, in all probability a predatory band from the region they peopled and gave their name to Cattiawar, in the Saurashtra peninsula.

In the mountains of Badrinath, there was a state, whose princes were of the Jadoon (Yadu) race, descended from the first Salbahan at the period of the expulsion from Gujni. * At this time, the prince of this state dying without issue, a deputation came to Jessulmeer to obtain a prince to fill the vacant *gadi*. Hasso was accordingly sent, but died just as he arrived. His wife, who was pregnant, was taken with the pains of labour on the journey, and was delivered of a son under the shade of a *palas* tree, whence the child was called *Palasee* This infant succeeding, the *raj* (principality) was named after him *Plaseoh*.†

Proposals of marriage came from Maunsi Deora of Sirohi. The Rawul left Jessulmeer to the care of his eldest son Beejil. Soon after his departure, the foster-brother (*dhabhae*) of the young prince propagated the report of the Rawul's death in an encounter with a tiger, and prompted Beejil to assume the dignity. Salbahan, on his return, finding his seat usurped, and having in vain expostulated with his traitorous son, proceeded to Khadal, of which Deorawul is the capital, where he was slain, with three hundred of his followers, in repelling an irruption of the Baloches. Beejil did not long enjoy the dignity: having in a fit of passion struck the *dhabhae*, the blow was returned, upon which, stung with shame and resentment, he stabbed himself with his dagger.

Kailun, the elder brother of Salbahan, who was expelled by the Pahoos was now (A. D. 1200) recalled, and installed at the age of fifty. He had six sons, Chachick Deo, Palhan, Jeichand, Petumsi, Petumchand, and Usrao. The second

* Mr. Elphinstone enumerates the Jadoon as a sub-division of the Eusofzyes, one of the great Afghan tribes, who were originally located about Cabul and Ghizni. I could not resist surmising the probability of the term Jadoon, applied to a sub-division of the Afghan race, originating from the Hindu-Scythic Jadoon, or Yadu; whence the boasted descent of the Afghans from Saul king of the Jews (*Yuhudis*). The customs of the Afghans would support this hypothesis: "The Afghans (says the Emperor Baber, page 159), when reduced to extremities in war, come into the presence of their enemy with grass between their teeth, being as much as to say, 'I am your ox.'" This custom is entirely Rajpoot, and ever recurring in inscriptions recording victories. They have their bards or poets in like manner, of whom Mr. Elphinstone gives an interesting account. In features, also, they resemble the Northern Rajpoots who have generally aquiline noses, or, as Mr. Elphinstone expresses it, in the account of his journey through the desert, "Jewish features;" though this might tempt one to adopt the converse of my deduction, and say, that these *Yadus* of Gujni were, with the Afghans, also of *Yahudi* origin: from the lost tribes of Israel.

† See Mr. Elphinstone's map for the position of the Jadoon branch of the Eusofzyes at the foot of the Sewalik hills.

and third had numerous issue, who are styled Jaseir and Seehana Rajpoots.

Khizzur Khan Baloch, with five thousand men, at this time again crossed the Mehran (Indus), and invaded the land of Khadal, which was the second irruption since he slew Salbahan. Kailun marched against him at the head of seven thousand Rajpoots, and, after a severe engagement, slew the Baloch leader and fifteen hundred of his men. Kailun ruled nineteen years.

Chachick Deo succeeded in S. 1275 (A.D. 1219). Soon after his accession, he carried on war against the Chunna Rajpoots (now extinct), of whom he slew two thousand, capturing fourteen thousand cows, and compelling the tribe to take refuge with the Johyas. Soon after, the Rawul invaded the lands of Rana Urmsi, prince of the Sodas, who, though taken by surprise, assembled four thousand horse: but was defeated, and forced to fly for shelter to the walls of his capital, Amerkote. The Puar was glad to obtain the absence of his foe by the offer of his daughter in marriage.*

The Rahtores, recently established in the land of Kher, had become troublesome neighbours; Chachick obtained the aid of the Soda troops to chastise them, and he proceeded to Jessole and Bhalotra, where they were established: but Chadoo and his son Theedo averted his wrath by giving him a daughteer to wife.†

* In this single passage we have revealed the tribe (*gote*), race (*cula*), capital and proper name, of the prince of *Dhat*. The *Soda* tribe, as before stated, is an important branch of the Pramara (Puar) race, and with the *Oomras* and *Soomras* gave dynasties to the valley of Sinde from the most remote period. The *Soda*, I have already observed, were probably the *Sogdi* of Alexander, occupying Upper Sinde when the Macedonian descended that stream. The *Soomra* dynasty is mentioned by Ferishta from ancient authorities, but the Mahomedan historians knew nothing, and cared nothing, about Rajpoot tribes. It is from such documents as these scattered throughout the annals of these principalities, and from the ancient Hindu epic poems, that I have concentrated the "Sketches of the Rajpoot Tribes," introductory to the first volume, which, however slight they appear, cost more research than the rest of the book. I write this note chiefly for the information of the patriarch of oriental lore on the Continent, the learned and ingenuous De Sacy. If this Meator ask, "Where are now the Sodas?" I reply the ex-prince of Amerkote, with whose ancestors Hemayoon took refuge,—in whose capital in the desert the great Akber was born—and who could on the spur of the moment oppose four thousand horse to invasion, has only one single town, that of Chore, left to him. The Rahtores, who, in the time of Urmsi Rana and Rawul Chachick, were hardly known in *Marudes*, have their flag waving on the battlements of the "immortal castle," (*amurcuta*), and the Ameers of Sinde have incorporated the greater part of Dhat with their state of Hydrabad.

† To those interested in the migration of these tribes, it must be

Rawul Chachick ruled thirty-two years. He had only one son, Tej Rao, who died at the age of forty-two, from the small-pox, leaving two sons, Jaetsi and Kurrun. To the youngest the Rawul was much attached; and having convened the chiefs around his death-bed, he entreated they would accede to his last wish, that his youngest grandson might be his successor.

Kurrun having succeeded, his elder brother, Jaetsi, abandoned his country, and took service with the Mahomedans in Guzerat. About this time, Mozuffer Khan, who occupied Nagore with five thousand horse, committed great outrages. There was a Bhomia of the Baraha tribe, named Bhagaoti-das, who resided fifteen Coss from Nagore, and was master of one thousand five hundred horse. He had an only daughter, who was demanded by the Khan, and being unwilling to comply, and unable to resist, he resolved to abandon the country. For this purpose he prepared carriages, in which he placed his family and chattles, and at night proceeded towards Jessulmeer; but the Khan, gaining intelligence of his motions, intercepted the convoy. A battle ensued, in which four hundred of the Barahas were killed, and his daughter and other females were carried off. The afflicted Baraha continued his route to Jessulmeer, and related his distress to Rawul Kurrun, who immediately put himself at the head of his followers, attacked the Khan, whom he slew, with three thousand of his people, and re-inducted the Bhomia in his possessions. Kurrun ruled twenty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son.*

Lakhun Sen, in S. 1327 (A. D. 1271). He was so great a simpleton, that when the jackals howled at night, being told that it was from being cold, he ordered quilted dresses (*duglas*) to be prepared for them. As the howling still continued, although he was assured his orders had been fulfilled, he commanded houses to be built for the animals in the royal preserves (*rumna*), many of which yet remain. Lakhun was the contemporary of Kanirdeo Sonigurra, whose life was saved by his (Lakhun's) wife's knowledge of omens. Lakhun was ruled by this Rani, who was of the Soda tribe. She invited her brethren from Amerkote: but the madman, her husband, put them to death, and threw their bodies over the walls. He was allowed to rule four years, and was then replaced by his son,

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gratifying to see these annals thus synchronically corroborating each other. About two centuries before this, in the region of Doosaj, when the Bhatti capital was at Lodorva, an attack was made on the land of Kher, *then* occupied by the Gohilotes, who were, as related in the Annals of Marwar, dispossessed by the Rahtores. None but an inquirer into these annals of the desert tribes can conceive the satisfaction arising from such confirmations.

Poonpal. This prince was of a temper so violent that the nobles dethroned him, and recalled the exiled Jaetsi from Guzerat. Poonpal had a residence assigned him in a remote quarter of the state. He had a son, Lakumsi, who had a son called Rao Raningdeo, who by a stratagem pointed out by a Khurl* Rajpoot, took Marote from the Johyas, and Poogul from the Thories, thieves by profession, whose chief, styled Rao, he made captive; and in Poogul he settled his family. Rao Raning had a son called Sadool, who alternately bathed in the sea of pleasure, and struggled in that of action: to their retreat the father and son conveyed the spoils seized from all around them.

Jaetsi obtained the *gadi* in S. 1332 (A. D. 1276). He had two sons, Moolraj and Ruttunsi. Deoraj, the son of Moolraj, espoused the daughter of the Sonigurra chief of Jhalore. Mahomed [Khooni] Padsha invaded the dominions of Rana Roopsi, the Purihar prince of Mundore,† who, when defeated, fled with his twelve daughters, and found refuge with the Rawul, who gave him Baroo as a residence.

Deoraj, by his Sonigurra wife, had three sons, Janghan, Sirwun, and Hamir. This Hamir was a mighty warrior, who attacked Kompoh Sen of Mehwo, and plundered his lands. He had issue three sons, Jaito, Loonkurn and Mairoo. At this period, Ghori Alla-o-din commenced the war against the castles of India. The tribute of Tatha and Mooltan, consisting of fifteen hundred horses and fifteen hundred mules laden with treasure and valuables, was at Bekher in progress to the king at Delhi. The sons of Jaetsi determined to lay an ambush and capture the tribute. Disguised as grain-merchants, with seven thousand horse and twelve hundred camels, they set out on their expedition, and on the banks of the Punjnud found the convoy, escorted by four hundred Mogul and the like number of Pathan horse. The Bhattis encamped near the convoy; and in the night they rose upon and slew the escort, carrying the treasure to Jessulmeer. The survivors carried the news to the king, who prepared to punish this insult. When tidings reached Rawul Jaetsi that the king was encamped on the *Anasagur* at Ajmeer, he prepared Jessulmeer for defence. He laid in immense stores of grain, and deposited all round the ramparts of the fort large round stones to hurl on the besiegers. All the aged, the infirm, and his female grand-children, were removed into the interior of the desert, while the country

* This tribe is unknown to Central India.

† The title, tribe, and capital of this race, shew that the Bhattis were intimately connected with the neighbouring states.

around the capital for many miles was laid waste, and the towns made desolate. The Rawul, with his two elder sons and five thousand warriors, remained inside for the defence of the castle, while Deoraj and Hamir formed an army to act against the enemy from without. The Sooltan in person remained at Ajmeer, and sent forward an immense force of Khorasanis and Koreishes, cased in steel armour, "who rolled on like the clouds in Bhadoon." The fifty-six bastions were manned, and three thousand seven hundred heroes distributed amongst them for their defence, while two thousand remained in reserve to succour the points attacked. During the first week that the besiegers formed their entrenchments, seven thousand Moosulmans were slain, and Meer Mohabet and Alli Khan remained on the field of battle. For two years the invaders were confined to their camp by Deoraj and Hamir, who kept the field. after cutting off their supplies, which came from Mundore, while the garrison was abundantly furnished from Khadal, Barmair, and Dhat. Eight years* had the siege lasted, when Rawul Jaetsi died, and his body was burnt inside the fort.

During this lengthened siege, Ruttunsi had formed a friendship with the Nawab Maboob Khan, and they had daily friendly meetings under a *khaijra* tree, between the advanced posts, each attended by a few followers. They played at chess together, and interchanged expressions of mutual esteem. But when duty called them to oppose each other in arms, the whole world was enamoured with their heroic courtesy. Jaetsi had ruled eighteen years when he died.

Moolraj III., in S. 1350 (A. D. 1294), ascended the *gadi* surrounded by foes. On this occasion, the customary rejoicings on installation took place, at the moment when the two friends, Ruttunsi and Maboob Khan, had met, as usual, under the *khaijra* tree. The cause of rejoicing being explained to the Nawab, he observed that the Sooltan had heard of, and was offended with, these meetings, to which he attributed the protracted defence of the castle, and acquainted Ruttunsi that next day a general assault was commanded, which he should lead in person. The attack took place; it was fierce, but the defence was obstinate, and the assailants were beaten back with the loss of nine thousand men. But the foe obtained reinforcements, and towards the conclusion of the year, the garrison was reduced to the greatest privations, and the blockade being perfect, Moolraj assembled his kinsmen and thus addressed

* This can mean nothing more than that desultory attacks were carried on against the Bhatti capital. It is certain that Alla never carried his arms in person against Jessulmeer.

them: "For so many years we have defended our dwellings; but our supplies are expended, and there is no passage for more. What is to be done?" The chiefs, Sehir and Bikumsi, replied, "a *saka* must take place; we must sacrifice ourselves:" but that same day the royal army, unaware of the distress of the besieged, retreated.

The friend of Kuttunsi had a younger brother, who, on the retreat of the royal forces, was carried inside the fort, when, seeing the real state of things, he escaped and conveyed intelligence of it, upon which the siege was renewed. Moolraj reproached his brother as the cause of this evil, and asked what was fit to be done? to which Ruttunsi replied, "there is but one path open; to immolate the females, to destroy by fire and water whatever is destructible, and to bury what is not; then open wide the gates, and sword in hand rush upon the foe, and thus attain *swerga*." The chiefs were assembled: all were unanimous to make *Jesa-nuggur* resplendent by their deeds, and preserve the honour of the Jadoo race. Moolraj thus replied: "you are of a warlike race, and strong are your arms in the cause of your prince; what heroes excel you, who thus tread in the Chetrie's path? In battle, not even the elephant could stand before you. For the maintenance of my honour the sword is in your hands; let Jessulmeer be illumined by its blows upon the foe." Having thus inspired the chiefs and men, Moolraj and Ruttun repaired to the palace of their queens. They told them to take the *sohog*,* and prepare to meet in heaven, while they gave up their lives in defence of their honour and their faith. Smiling, the Soda Rani, replied, "this night we shall prepare, and by the morning's light we shall be inhabitants of *swerga*" (heaven); and thus it was with the chiefs and all their wives. The night was passed together for the last time in preparation for the awful morn. It came; ablutions and prayers were finished, and at the *Rajdwara*† were convened *bala*, *prude*, and *bridu*.‡ They bade a last farewell to all their kin; the *johur* commenced, and twenty-four thousand females, from infancy to old age, surrendered their lives, some by the sword, others in the volcano of fire. Blood flowed in torrents, while the smoke of the pyre ascended to the heavens: not one feared to die, every valuable was consumed with them, not the worth of straw was preserved for the foe. This work

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* *Sohagun*, one who becomes *sati* previous to her lord's death. *Dohagun*, who follows him after death.

† Literally, 'the royal gate'; an allusion to the female apartments, or *Raj-loca*.

‡ *Bala* is under sixteen; *prude*, middle-aged; *bridu*, when forty.

done, the brothers looked upon the spectacle with horror. Life was now a burthen, and they prepared to quit it. They purified themselves with water, paid adoration to the divinity, made gifts to the poor, placed a branch of the *toolsi** in their casques, the *saligram** round their neck; and having cased themselves in armour and put on the saffron robe, they bound the *mor*† (crown) around their heads, and embraced each other for the last time. Thus they awaited the hour of battle. Three thousand eight hundred warriors, with faces red with wrath, prepared to die with their chiefs.

Ruttunsi had two sons, named Garsi and Kanur, the eldest only twelve years of age. He wished to save them from the impending havoc, and applied to his courteous foeman. The Mooslem chief swore he would protect them, and sent two confidential servants to receive the trust; to whom, bidding them a last farewell, their father consigned them. When they reached the royal camp, they were kindly welcomed by the Nawab, who, putting his hand upon their heads, soothed them, and appointed two Brahmins to guard, feed and instruct them.

On the morrow, the army of the Sooltan advanced to the assault. The gates were thrown wide, and the fight began. Ruttun was lost on the sea of battle; but one hundred and twenty Meers fell before his sword ere he lay in the field. Moolraj plied his lance on the bodies of the barbarians: the field swam in blood. The unclean spirits were gorged with slaughter; but at length the Jidoon chief fell, with seven hundred of the choice of his kin. With his death the battle closed; the victors ascended the castle, and Maboob Khan caused the bodies of the brothers to be carried from the field and burned. The *saka* took place in S. 1351, or A. D. 1295. Deoraj, who commanded the force in the field, was carried off by a fever. The royal garrison kept possession of the castle during two years, and at length blocked up the gateways, and dismantled and abandoned the place, which remained long deserted, for the Bhattis had neither means to repair the *kangras* (battlements), nor men to defend them.

* The funeral qualities of the *toolsi* plant, and the emblematic *saligram*, or stone found in the Gunduc river, have been often described.

† On two occasions the Rajpoot chieftain wears the *mor*, or 'coronet;' on his marriage, and when going to die in battle, symbolic of his nuptials with the *Apsara*, or 'fair of heaven.'

CHAPTER IV.

The Rahtores of Mehwo settle amidst the ruins of Jessulmeer.—Driven out by the Bhatti chieftain Doodoo, who is elected Rawul.—He carries off the stud of Feeroz Shah.—Second storm and Saka *of Jessulmeer.—Doodoo slain.—Moghul invasion of India.—The Bhatti princes obtain their liberty.—Rawul Gursi re-establishes Jessulmeer.—Kehur, son of Deoraj.—Disclosure of his destiny by a prodigy.—Is adopted by the wife of Rawul Gursi, who is assassinated by the tribe of Jesur.—Kehur proclaimed.—Bheem's Lady becomes* Sati.*—The succession entailed on the sons of Hamir.—Matrimonial overture to Jaita from Mewar.—Engagement broken off.—The brothers slain.—Penitential act of Rao Raning.—Offspring of Kehur.—Soma, the elder, departs with his* bussie *and settles at Giraup.—Sons of Rao Raning become Mooslems to avenge their father's death.—Consequent forfeiture of their inheritance.—They mix with the Abhoria Bhattis.—Kailun, the third son of Kehur, settles in the forfeited lands.—Drives the Dahyas from Khadal.—Kailun erects the fortress of Kerroh on the Behah or Gara.—Assailed by the Johyas and Langas under Ameer Khan Korai, who is defeated.—Subdues the Chahils and Mohils.—Extends his authority to the Punjnud.—Rao Kailun marries into the Samma family.—Account of the Samma race.—He seizes on the Samma dominions.—Makes the river Indus his boundary.—Kailun dies.—Succeeded by Chachik.—Makes Marote his head-quarters.—League headed by the chief of Mooltan against Chachik, who invades that territory, and returns with a rich booty to Marote.—A second victory.—Leaves a garrison in the Punjab.—Defeats Maipal, chief of the Doondis.—Asini or Aswini Kote.—Its supposed position.—Anecdote.—Feud with Satilmer.—Its consequences.—Alliance with Hybut Khan.—Rao Chachik invades Peeleebunga.—The Khokurs or Ghikers described.—The Langas drive his garrison from Dhooniapur.—Rao Chachik falls sick.—Challenges the prince of Mooltan.—Reaches Dhooniapur.—Rites preparatory to the combat.—Worship of the sword.—Chachik is slain with all his bands.—Koombho, hitherto insane, avenges his father's feud.—Birsil re-establishes Dhooniapur.—Repairs to Kerore,—Assailed by the Langas and*

Baloches.—Defeats them.—Chronicle of Jessulmeer resumed.—Rawul Bersi meets Rao Biveil on his return from his expedition in the Punjab.—Conquest of Mooltan by Baber.—Probable conversion of the Bhattis of the Punjab.—Rawul Bersi, Jait, Noonkurn, Bheem, Munohur-das, and Subbul Sing, six generations.

SOME years subsequent to this disastrous event in the Bhatti annals, Jugmal, son of Maloji Rahtore, chief of Mehwo, attempted a settlement amidst the ruins of Jessulmeer, and brought thither a large force, with seven hundred carts of provisions. On hearing this, the Bhatti chiefs, Doodo and Tiluksi, the sons of Jesir, assembled their kinsmen, surprised the Rahtores, drove them from the castle, and captured the supplies. Doodo, for this exploit, was elected Rawul, and commenced the repairs of Jessulmeer. He had five sons. Tiluksi, his brother, was renowned for his exploits. He despoiled the Baloch, the Manguleo, the Mehwo, and the Deoras and Sonigurras of Aboo and Jhalore felt his power. He even extended his raids to Ajmeer, and carried off the stud of Feeroz Shah from the Anasagur (lake), where they were accustomed to be watered. This indignity provoked another attack upon Jessulmeer, attended with the same disastrous results. Again the *saka* was performed, in which sixteen thousand females * were destroyed; and Doodo, with Tiluksi and seventeen hundred of the clan, fell in battle, after he had occupied the *gādi* ten years.

On the death of Rawul Doodo, in S. 1362 (A. D. 1306), the young princes, Gursi and Kanur, by the death of their patron Maboob, were left to the protection of his sons, Zoolficar and Gazi Khan. Kanur went privately to Jessulmeer, and Gursi obtained leave to proceed westward to the Mehwo tract, where he married Bimaladevi, a widow, sister to the Rahtore, who had been betrothed † to the Deora. While engaged in these nuptials, he was visited by his relation Soningdeo, a man of gigantic strength, who agreed to accompany him on his return to Delhi. The king made trial of his force, by giving him to string an iron bow sent by the king of Khorasan, which the nervous Bhatti not only bent but broke. The invasion of Delhi by Timoor Shah ‡ having

* The Rajpoots, by their exterminating *sakas*, facilitated the views of the Mahomedans. In every state we read of these horrors.

† The mere act of being betrothed disqualifies from a second marriage; the affianced becomes a *raud* (widow), though a *komari* (maid).

‡ Even these anachronisms are proofs of the fidelity of these Annals. Ignorant native scribes, aware but of one great Moghul invasion, consi-

occurred at this time, the services of Gursi were so conspicuous that he obtained a grant of his hereditary dominions, with permission to re-establish Jessulmeer. With his own kindred, and the aid of the vassals of his friend Jugmal of Mehwo, he soon restored order, and had an efficient force at command. Hamir and his clansmen gave their allegiance to Gursi, but the sons of Jesir were headstrong.

Deoraj, who married the daughter of Roopra, Rana of Mundore, had a son named Kehur, who, when Jessulmeer was about to be invested by the troops of the Sooltan, was conveyed to Mundore with his mother. When only twelve years of age, he used to accompany the cowherds of the old Rao's kine, and his favourite amusement was penning up the calves with twigs of the *ak*, to imitate the picketting of horses. One day, tired of this occupation, young Kehur fell asleep upon the hole of a serpent, and the reptile issuing therefrom, arose and spread its hood over him as he slept. A *Charun* (bard, or genealogist), passing that way, reported the fact and its import immediately to the Rana, who, proceeding to the spot, found it was his own grandson whom fate had thus pointed out for sovereignty. Gursi, having no offspring by Bimaladevi, proposed to her to adopt a son. All the Bhatti youth were assembled, but none equalled Kehur, who was chosen. But the sons of Jesir were displeased, and conspired to obtain the *gadi*. At this time, Rawul Gursi was in the daily habit of visiting a tank, which he was excavating, and they seized an occasion to assassinate him; whereupon, in order to defeat their design, Bimaladevi immediately had Kehur proclaimed. The widowed queen of Gursi, with the view of securing the completion of an object which her lord had much at heart, namely finishing the lake *Gursi-sirr*, as well as to ensure protection to her adopted son Kehur, determined to protract the period of self-immolation; but when six months had elapsed, and both these objects were attained, she finished her days on the pyre. Bimaladevi named the children of Hamir as the adopted sons and successors of Kehur. These sons were Jaita and Loonkurn.

der the invader to be Timoor; but there were numerous Moghul invasions during the reign of Alla-oo-din. In all probability that for which the services of the Bhatti prince obtained him the restoration of his dominions, was that of Eibuk Khan, general of the King of Transoxiana, who invaded India in A. H. 705 (A. D. 1305), and was so signally defeated, that only three thousand out of fifty-seven thousand horse escaped the sword, and these were made prisoners and trod to death by elephants, when pillars of skulls were erected to commemorate the victory.—See Briggs' Ferishta, vol. i., p. 364.

The coco-nut was sent by Koombho, Rana of Cheetore, to Jaita. The Bhatti prince marched for Mewar, and when with twelve Coss of the Aravulli hills, was joined by the famous Sankala Meeraj, chief of Salbanny. Next morning, when about to resume the march, a partridge began to call from the right: a bad omen, which was interpreted by the brother-in-law of the Sankala, deeply versed in the science of the *Sookuni* and the language of birds.* Jaita drew the rein of his horse, and to avert the evil, halted that day. Meanwhile, the partridge was caught and found to be blind of an eye, and its ovary quite filled. The next morning, as soon as they had taken horse, a tigress began to roar, and the *Sookuni* chieftain was called upon again to expound the omen. He replied that the secrets of great houses should not be divulged, but he desired them to despatch a youth, disguised as a female *Nae* (barbar class), to Komulmeer, who there would learn the cause. The youth gained admission to "the ruby of Mewar,' (*Lala-Mewari*), who was anointing for the nuptials. He saw things were not right, and returning made his report; upon hearing which, the Bhatti prince married Marrud, the daughter of the Sankala chief. The Rana was indignant at this insult, but a sense of shame prevented his resenting it; and instead of proclaiming the slight, he offered his daughter's hand to the famous Kheechee prince, Achildas of Gagrown, and it was accepted. † Jaita met his death, together with his brother Loonkurn, and his brother-in-law, in an attempt to surprise Poogul: he fell with a hundred and twenty followers. When the old Rao, Raningdeo, discovered against whom he had thus successfully defended himself, he clad himself in black garments, and in atonement performed pilgrimage to all the shrines in India. ‡ On his return, he was forgiven and condoled with by Kehur.

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* It is scarcely necessary to repeat that this is a free translation of the chronicle.

† The Kheechee prince, we may suppose, had no follower skilled in omens—they lived very happily, as appears by the Kheechee chronicle, and she bore him a son, who was driven from Gagrown. The scandal propagated against the 'ruby of Mewar' was no doubt a *ruse* of the Sankla chief, as the conclusion shews. However small the intrinsic worth of these anecdotes, they afford links of synchronisms, which constitute the value of the annals of all these states.

‡ Sadoo was the son and heir of Raningdeo, and it was from this portion of the Bhatti annals I extracted that singular story, related in Vol. I., to illustrate the influence which the females of Rajpootana have on national manners. The date of this tragical event was S. 1462, according to the Bhatti annals; and Rana Mokul, the contemporary of Rawul Jait and Rao Raningdeo, was on the throne of Mewar

Kehur had eight sons. 1st. Somaji, who had a numerous offspring, called the Soma-Bhattis; 2nd. Lukmun; 3rd. Kailun, who forcibly seized Beekumpur, the appanage of his elder brother Soma, who departed with all his *bussie*,* and settled at Giraup; 4th. Kilkurn; 5th. Satul, who gave his name to an ancient town, and called it Satulmeer. The names of the rest were Beejo, Tunno, and Tejsi.

When the sons of Raningdeo became converts to Islam, in order to avenge their father's feud with the Rahtore prince of Nagore, they forfeited their inheritance of Poogul and Marote, and thenceforward mixed with the Abhoria Bhattis, and their descendants are termed Momun Bhutti. On this event, Kailun, the third son of the Rawul, took possession of the forfeited lands, and besides Beekumpur, regained Deorawul, which had been conquered by their ancient foes, the Dahya Rajpoots.

Kailun built a fort on the Beyah, called, after his father, Kerroh, or Kerore, which again brought the Bhattis into collision with the Johyas and Langas, whose chief, Amur Khan Korai, attacked him, but was defeated. Kailun became the terror of the Chahils,† the Mohils,† and Joyhas,† who lived in this quarter, and his authority extended as far as the Punjnud. Kailun married into the Samma family of Jam,‡

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from S. 1454 to S. 1475. The annals of this state notice the marriage of the '*Ruby*' to Dheruj, son of Achidas, but say nothing on the other point. A vague recollection of some matrimonial insult being offered, evidently yet prevails, for when a marriage was contracted in A. D. 1821, through the author's intervention, between the Rana of Oodipur's daughter and the present Rawul Guj Sing of Jessulmeer, it was given out that there was no memorial of any marriage-alliance between the two houses. After all, it may be a vain-glorious invention of the Bhatti annalist.

* This term *bussie* has been explained in vol. i.. The *bussie* is a slave in the mildest sense; one who in distress sells his liberty. His master cuts the *choti*, or lock of hair, from the centre of the head, as a mark of bondage. They are transferable, like cattle. This custom prevails more in the desert states than in central Rajwarra; there every great man has his *bussie*. Shiam Sing Champawut of Pokurn had two hundred when he fled to Jeypur, and they all fell with him fighting against the Mahrattas. All castes, Brahmins and Rajpoots, become *bussies*; they can redeem their liberty by purchase.

† These three tribes are either extinct, or were lost on becoming proselytes to Islamism.

‡ The Samma or Summa tribe, which is well known in Mahomedan history, as having given a dynasty to Sinde in modern times, is a great branch of the Yadus, and descended from *Samba*, son of Crishna; and while the other branch colonized Zabulisthan, maintaining the original name of Yadus, the sons of Samba made his name the patronymic in Seistan and the lower valley of the Indus. Samma-ka-kote, or Sammanagar,

and arbitrated their disputes on succession, which had caused much bloodshed. Shujahit Jam, whom he supported, accompanied him to Marote, on whose death, two years after, Kailun possessed himself of all the Samma territory, when the Sinde river became the boundary of his dominion. Kailun died at the age of seventy-two, and was succeeded by* Chachik-deo, who made Marote his head-quarters, to cover his territories from the attacks of Mooltan, which took umbrage at the return of the Bhattis across the Garah. The chief of Mooltan united in a league all the ancient foes of the Bhattis, the Langas, the Johyas, the Kheeches, and all the tribes of that region. Chachik formed an army of seventeen thousand horse and fourteen thousand foot, and crossed the Beyah to meet his foes. The encounter was desperate; but the Bhattis were victorious, and returned with rich spoil to Marote. In the year following another battle took place, in which seven hundred and forty Bhattis were slain, and three thousand of the men of Mooltan. By this success, the conquests of Chachik were extended, and he left a garrison (*thanna*) under his son in Asini-kote, beyond the Behah, and returned to Poogul. He then attacked Maipal, chief of the Doondis, whom he defeated. After this victory he repaired to Jessulmeer, to visit his brother Lukmun, reserving the produce of the lands dependent on Asini-kote †

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was the capital, which yet exists, and doubtless originated the Minagara of the Greeks. Sambus, the opponent of Alexander, it is fair to infer, was the chief of the Samma tribe. Samba, meaning 'of, or belonging to *Sham Sam*' (an epithet of Crishna, from his dark complexion), was son of Jambuvati, one of the eight wives of this deified Yadu. The Jharejas of Cutch and Jams of Sinde and Saurashtra are of the same stock. The Sind-Samma dynasty, on the loss of their faith and coming into contact with Islam, to which they became proselytes, were eager to adopt a pedigree which might give them importance in the eyes of their conquerors; *Sam* was transformed into *Jam*, and the Persian king, Jamshid, was adopted as the patriarch of the Sammas, in lieu of the legitimate Samba. Ferishta gives an account of this dynasty but was ignorant of their origin. He says, "The Zemindars of Sinde were originally of two tribes or families, Somuna and Soomura; and the chief of the former was distinguished by the appellation of Jam."—Briggs' Ferishta, vol. iv., p. 422. The historian admits they were Hindus until A. H. 782 (A. D. 1380, S. 1436); a point of little doubt, as we see the Bhatti prince intermarrying with this family about twenty years subsequent even to the date assigned by Ferishta for their proselytism.

I may here again state, once for all, that I append these notes in order not to interfere with the text, which is abridged from the original chronicle.

* It is said that Rinmul succeeded; but this was only to the northern portion, his appanage; he lived but two months.

† Position unknown, unless it be the *Tehin-kot* of D'aville, at the confluence of the river Cabul with the Indus. There is no doubt that

for his expenses at court. On his return home by Baroo, he was accosted by a Jinj Rajpoot,* pasturing an immense flock of goats, who presented the best of his flock, and demanded protection against the raids of Birjung Rahtore. This chief had wrested the celebrated fortress of Satulmeer,† the abode of wealthy merchants, from a Bhatti chief, and extended his forays far into the desert, and the Jinj was one of those who had suffered by his success. Not long after Rao Chachik had passed by the pastures of the Jinj, he received a visit from him, to complain of another inroad, which had carried off the identical goat, his offering. Chachik assembled his kinsmen, and formed an alliance with Shomar Khan, chief of the Seta tribe,‡ who came with three thousand horse. It was the custom of the Rahtores of Satulmeer to encamp their horse at a *tank* some distance from the city, to watch, while the chief citizens used daily to go abroad. Chachik surprised and made prisoners of the whole. The bankers and men of wealth offered large sums for their ransom; but he would not release them from bondage, except on condition of their settling in the territory of Jessulmeer. Three hundred and sixty-five heads of families embraced this alternative, and hence Jessulmeer dates the influx of her wealth. They were distributed over the principal cities, Deorawul, Poogul, Marote, &c.§ The three sons of the Rahtore were also made prisoners; the two youngest were released, but Mairah, the eldest, was detained as a hostage for his father's good conduct. Chachik dismissed his ally, the Seta chief, whose grand-daughter, Sonaldevi, he married. The father of the bride Hybat Khan,‖ gave with her, in *daeja* (dower), fifty horses, thirty-five slaves, four palkis, and two hundred female camels, and with her Chachik returned to Marote.

this castle of the Bhatti prince was in the Punjab; and coupled with his alliance with the chief of Sebat or Swat, that it is the Tehin-kot, or Ashnagur of that celebrated geographer, whence the Acesines of the Greeks.

* I may here repeat that the Jinj and Johya were no doubt branches of the same race, the Jenjuheh of Baber, who locates them about the mountains of Joude.

† Now belonging to Marwar, and on its north-western frontier; but I believe in ruins.

‡ Most likely the Swatees, or people of Swat, described by Mr. Elphinstone (vol. i., p. 506), as of Indian origin, and as possessing a kingdom from the Hydaspes to Jellalabad, the *Suastene* of Ptolemy.

§ It must not be forgotten that Satulmee was one of the Bhatti castles wrested from them by the Rahtores, who have greatly curtailed their frontiers.

‖ From this and many other instances we come to the conclusion that the Tatar or Indo-Scythic title of Khan is by no means indicative of the

Two years after this, Chachik made war on Thir-raj Khokur, the chief of Peeleebunga,* on account of a horse stolen from a Bhatti. The Khokurs were defeated and plundered; but his old enemies the Langas, taking advantage of this occasion, made head against Chachik, and drove his garrison from the new possession of Dhooniapur.† Disease at length seized on Rawul Chachik, after a long course of victorious warfare, in which he subdued various tracts of country, even to the heart of the Punjab. In this state he determined to die as he has lived, with arms in his hands; but having no foe near, with whom to cope, he sent an embassy to the Langa prince of Mooltan, to beg, as a last favour, the *jood-dan*, or 'gift of battle,' that his soul might escape by the steel of his foeman, and not fall a sacrifice to slow disease.‡ The prince, suspecting treachery, hesitated; but the Bhatti messenger pledged his word that his master only wished an honourable death, and that he would only bring five hundred men to the combat. The challenge being accepted, the Rawul called his clansmen around him, and on recounting what he had done, seven hundred select Rajpoots, who had shared in all his victories, volunteered to take the last field, and make *sunkluf* (oblation) of their lives with their leader. Previous to setting forth, he arranged his affairs. His son Guj Sing, by the Seta Rani, he sent with her to her father's house. He had five other sons, *viz.*, Koombho, Birsil, Bheemdeo, (by Lala Rani, of the Soda tribe), Rutto and Rindheer, whose mother was Soorajdevi, of Chohan race. Birsil, his eldest son, he made heir to all his dominions, except the land of Khadal (whose chief town is Deorawul), which he bestowed upon Rindheer, and to both he gave the *tika*, making them separate

Mahomedan faith. Here we see the daughter of the prince of *Swat*, or Suvat, with a genuine Hindi name.

* The position of *Peeleebunga* is unknown; in all probability it has undergone a metamorphosis with the spread of 'the faith', over those regions. As before mentioned, I believe this race, called *Khokur*, to be the Ghiker, so well known to Baber, and described as his inveterate foes in all his irruptions into India. Their manners, especially that distinctive mark, polyandrism, mentioned by Ferishta, mark the Ghikers as Indo-Scythic. The names of their chiefs are decidedly Hindu. They were located with the Joudis in the upper part of the Punjab, and according to Elphinstone, they retain their old position, contiguous to the Eusofzye *Jadoons*.

† Dhooniapur is not located.

‡ In this chivalrous challenge, or demand of the *jood-dan*, we recognize another strong trait of Scythic manners, as depicted by Herodotus. The ancient Getæ of Transoxiana could not bear the idea of dying of disease; a feeling which their offspring carried with them to the shores of the Baltic, to Yeut-land or Jutland?

states. Birsil marched to Kerore,* his capital, at the head of seventeen thousand men.

Meanwhile, Rawul Chachik marched to Dhooniapur, 'to part with life.' There he heard that the prince of Mooltan was within two Coss. His soul rejoiced; he performed his ablutions, worshipped the sword† and the gods, bestowed charity, and withdrew his thoughts from this world.

The battle lasted four *ghurris* (two hours), and the Jadoon prince fell with all his kin after performing prodigies of valour. Two thousand Khans fell beneath their swords: rivers of blood flowed in the field; but the Bhatti gained the abode of Indra, who shared his throne with the hero. The king crossed the Behah, and returned to Mooltan.

While Rindheer was performing at Deorawul the rites of the twelve days of *matum*, or 'mourning,' his elder brother, Koombho, afflicted with insanity, rushed into the assembly, and swore to avenge his father's death. That day he departed, accompanied by a single slave, and reached the prince's camp. It was surrounded by a ditch eleven yards wide, over which the Bhatti leaped his horse in the dead of night, reached the harem, and cut off the head of Kaloo Shah, with which he rejoined his brethren at Deorawul. Birsil re-established Bhooniapur, and then went to Kerore. His old foes, the Langas, under Hybat Khan, again attacked him, but they were defeated with great slaughter. At the same time, Husein Khan Baloch invaded Beekumpur.‡

Rawul Bersi, who at this time occupied the *gadi* of Jessulmeer, went forth to meet Rao Birsil on his return from his expedition in the Punjab. In S. 1530 (A. D. 1474), he made the gates and palace of Beekumpur.

We may, in this place, desert the literal narrative of the chronicle; what follows is a record of similar border-feuds and petty wars, between 'the sons of Kailun,'§ and the chiefs of

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* This fortress, erected by Rao Kailun, is stated to be twenty-two Coss, about forty miles, from Bahwulpur; but though the direction is not stated, there is little doubt of its being to the northward, most probably in that *do-abeh* called *Sind-Sagur*.

† Couple this martial rite with the demand of *jood-dan*, and there is an additional reason for calling these Yadus Indo-Scythic; see vol. i., for an account of the worship of the sword, or *Kharg-thapna*.

‡ The foregoing (from page 1096), including the action of Kailun, Chachik, and Birsil, must be considered as an episode, detailing the exploits of the Raos of Poogul, established by Kailun, third son of Rawul Kehur, of Jessulmeer. It was too essential to the annals to be placed in a note.

§ Rao Kailun had established his authority over nine castles, heads of districts, *viz.*, Asini, or Aswini-kote, Beekumpur, Marote, Poogul, Deorawul,

the Punjab, alternately invaders and invaded, which is pregnant with mighty words and gallant deeds, but yielding no new facts of historical value. At length, the numerous offspring of Kailun separated, and divided amongst them the lands on both sides of the Garah ; and as Sultan Baber, soon after this period made a final conqest of Mooltan from the Langas, and placed therein his own governor, in all probability the Bhatti possessors of Kerore-kot and Dhooniapur, as well as Poogul and Marote, (now Mahomedans), exchanged their faith (sanctioned even by Menu) for the preservation of their estates.* The bard is so much occupied with this Poogul branch that the chronicle appears almost devoted solely to them.

He passes from the main stem, to Rawuls Jait, Noonkurn, Bheem, Munohur-das, to Subbul Sing, five generations, with little further notice than the mere enumeration of their issue. With this last prince, Subbul Sing, an important change occurred in the political condition of the Bhattis.

Kehrore (twenty-two Coss, or about forty miles, from Bahwulpur), Goomun, Bahun, Nadno, and Matailoh, on the Indus.

* There never was anything so degrading to royalty as the selfish protection guaranteed to it by this Lycurgus of the Hindus, who says. "Against misfortune, let him preserve his wealth ; at the expense of his wealth, let him preserve his wife ; but let him at all events preserve himself, even at the hazard of his wife and riches."—*Menu on Government, or on the Military Class.* The entire history of the Rajpoots shews they do not pay much attention to such unmanly maxims.

The quotation from Menu which the author gives here, is not [illegible]ly interpreted ; nor has it been selected from its proper context. [illegible] must have been only an exploitation of some passage in Menu designed as a direction for some other occupation of life ; for, the highest sacrifices are enjoined for the defence of the country wherever occasion requires.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER V.

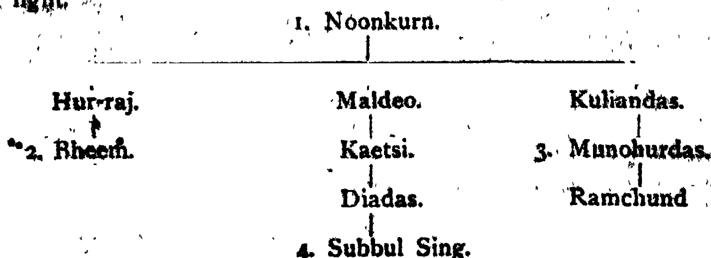
Jessulmeer becomes a fief of the empire.—Changes in the succession.—Subbul Sing serves with the Bhatti contingent.—His services obtain him the gadi *of Jessulmeer.—Boundaries of Jessulmeer at the period of Baber's invasion.—Subbul succeeded by his son, Umra Sing, who leads the* tika-dour *into the Baloch territory.—Crowned on the field of victory.—Demands a relief from his subjects to portion his daughter.—Puts a chief to death who refuses.—Revolt of the Chunna Rajpoots.—The Bhatti chiefs retaliate the inroads of the Rahtores of Bikaneer.—Origin of frontier-feuds.—Bhattis gain a victory.—The princes of Jessulmeer and Bikaneer are involved in the feuds of their vassals.—Raja Anop Sing calls on his chiefs to revenge the disgrace.—Invasion of Jessulmeer.—The invaders defeated.—The Rawul recovers Poogul.—Makes Barmair tributary.—Umra dies.—Succeeded by Jeswunt.—The chronicle closes.—Decline of Jessulmeer—Poogul.—Barmair.—Filodi wrested from her by the Rahtores.—Importance of these transactions to the British Government.—Khadal to the Gara seized by the Daodpotras.—Akhi Sing succeeds.—His uncle, Tej Sing, usurps the government.—The usurper assassinated during the ceremony of* Las.*—Akhi Sing recovers the* gadi.*—Reigns forty years.—Bahwul Khan seizes on Khadal.—Rawul Moolraj—Suroop Sing Mehta made minister.—His hatred of the Bhatti nobles.—Conspiracy against him by the heir-apparent, Rae Sing.—Deposal and confinement of the Rawul.—The prince proclaimed.—Refuses to occupy the* gadi.*—Moolraj emancipated by a Rajpootni.—Resumption of the* gadi.*—The prince Rae Sing receives the* black khelat *of banishment.—Retires to Jodhpur.—Outlawry of the Bhatti nobles.—Their lands sequestrated, and castles destroyed.—After twelve years, restored to their lands.—Rae Sing decapitates a merchant,—Returns to Jessulmeer.—Sent to the fortress of Dewoh.—Salim Sing becomes minister.—His character.—Falls into the hands of his enemies, but is saved by the magnanimity of Zoorawur Sing.—Plans his destruction, through his own brother's wife.—Zoorawur is poisoned.—The Mehta then assassinates her and her husband—Fires the castle of Dewoh.—Rae Sing burnt to death.—Murder of his sons.—The minister proclaims Guj Sing.—Younger sons of Moolraj fly to Bikaneer.—The longest reigns*

in the Rajpoot annals are during ministerial usurpation.—Retrospective view of the Bhatti history.—Reflections.

WE have now reached that period in the Bhatti annals, when Shah Jehan was emperor of India. Elsewhere, we have minutely related the measure which the great Akber adopted to attach his Rajpoot vassalage to the empire; a policy pursued by his successors. Subbul Sing, the first of the princes of Jessulmeer, who held his dominions as a fief of the empire, was not the legitimate heir to the '*gadi* of Jessul.'* Munohurdas had obtained the *gadi* by the assassination of his nephew, Rawul Nathoo, the son and heir of Bheem, who was returning from his nuptials at Bikaneer, and had passed the day at Filodi, then a town of Jessulmeer, when poison was administered to him by the hands of a female. But it was destined that the line of the assassin should not rule, and the dignity fell to Subbul Sing, the third in descent from Maldeo, second son of Rawul Noonkurn.

The good qualities of young Subbul, and the bad ones of Ramchund, son of the usurper, afforded another ground for the preference of the former. Moreover, Subbul was nephew to the prince of Amber, under whom he held a distinguished post in the government of Peshore, where he saved the royal treasure from being captured by the Afghan mountaineers. For this service, and being a favourite of the chiefs who served with their contingents, the king gave Jeswunt Sing of Jodhpur command to place him on the *gadi*. The celebrated Nahur Khan Koompawut† was entrusted with this duty, for the performance

* Noonkurn had three sons, Hur-raj, Maldeo, and Kaliandas; each had issue. Hur-raj had Bheem (who succeeded his grandfather Noonkurn). Maldeo had Kaetsi, who had Dialdas, father of Subbul Sing, to whom was given in appanage the town of Mundilla, near Pukurn. The third son, Kaliandas, had Munohur-das, who succeeded Bheem. Ramchund was the son of Munohur-das. A slip from the genealogical tree will set this in clear light.



† Another synchronism (see Annals of Marwar for an account of Nahur Khan) of some value, since it accounts for the first abstraction of territory by the Rahtores from the Bhattis.

of which he received the city and domain of Pokurn, ever since severed from Jessulmeer.

This was the first considerable abstraction from the territories which had been progressively increased by Rawul Jessul and his successors, but which have since been woefully curtailed. A short time before Baber's invasion, the dependencies of Jessulmeer extended on the north to the Garah river,* west to the Mehran or Indus; and on the east and south, they were bounded by the Rahtores of Bikaneer and Marwar, who had been gradually encroaching, for two centuries, and continue to do so to this day. The entire *thul* of Barmair and Kottorah, in the south, were Bhatti chieftainships and eastward to the site of Bikaneer itself.

Umra Sing, son of Subbul, succeeded. He led the *tikadour* against the Baloches, who had invaded the western tracts, and was installed on the field of victory. Soon after, he demanded aid from his subjects to portion his daughter, and being opposed by his Rajpoot minister, Raghonath, he put him to death. The Chunna Rajpoots, from the north-east, having renewed their old raids, he in person attacked and compelled them to give bonds, or written obligations, for their future good conduct.

Provoked by the daily encroachments of the Kandulote Rahtores, Soonder-das and Dilput, chiefs of Beekumpur, determined to retaliate: "let us get a name in the world," said Dilput, "and attack the lands of the Rahtores." Accordingly, they invaded, plundered, and fired the town of Jujoo, on the Bikaneer frontier. The Kandulotes retaliated on the towns of Jessulmeer, and an action took place, in which the Bhattis were victorious, slaying two hundred of the Rahtores. The Rawul partook in the triumph of his vassals. Raja Anop Sing of Bikaneer was then serving with the imperial armies in the Dekhan. On receiving this account, he commanded his minister to issue a summons to every Khandulote capable of carrying arms to invade Jessulmeer, and take and raze Beekumpur, or he would consider them traitors. The minister issued the summons; every Rahtore obeyed it, and he added, as an auxiliary, a Pathan chief with his band from Hissar. Rawul Umra collected his Bhattis around him, and instead of awaiting the attack, advanced to meet it; he slew many of the chiefs, burnt the frontier towns, and recovered Poogul,

* The Garah is invariably called the Behah in the chronicle. Garah, or Gharra, is so called, in all probability, from the mud (*gar*) suspended in its waters. The Garah is composed of the waters of Behah and Sutlej.

forcing the Rahtore chiefs of Barmair and Kottorah to renew their engagements of fealty and service.

Umra had eight sons, and was succeeded by Jeswunt, the eldest, in S. 1758 (A. D. 1702), whose daughter was married to the heir-apparent of Mewar.

Here ends the chronicle, of which the foregoing is an abstract: the concluding portion of the annals is from a MS. furnished by a living chronicler corrected by other information. It is but a sad record of anarchy and crime.

Soon after the death of Rawul Umra, Poogul, Barmair, Filodi, and various other towns and territories in Jessulmeer, were wrested from this state by the Rahtores.*

The territory bordering the Garah was taken by Daod Khan, an Afghan chieftain from Shikarpur, and it became the nucleus of a state called after himself Daodpotra.

Jeswunt Sing succeeded. He had five sons, Juggut Sing, who committed suicide, Esuri Sing, Tej Sing, Sirdar Sing and Sooltan Sing. Juggut Sing had three sons, Akhi Sing, Bood Sing and Zoorawur Sing.

Akhi Sing succeeded. Bood Sing died of the small-pox; Tej Sing, uncle to the Rawul, usurped the government, and the princes fled to Delhi to save their lives. At this period, their grand-uncle, Hurri Sing (brother of Rawul Jeswunt), was serving the king, and he returned in order to displace the usurper. It is customary for the prince of Jessulmeer to go annually in state to the lake Gursi-sirr, to perform the ceremony of *Las*, or clearing away the accumulation of mud sand. The Raja first takes out a handful, when rich and poor follow his example. Hurri Sing chose the time when this ceremony was in progress to attack the usurper. The attempt did not altogether succeed; but Tej Sing was so severely wounded that he died, and was succeeded by his son, Sowae Sing, an infant of three years of age. Akhi Sing collected the Bhattis from all quarters, stormed the castle, put the infant to death, and regained his rights.

Akhi Sing ruled forty years. During this reign, Bahwul

* The most essential use to which my labour can be applied, is that of enabling the British Government, when called upon to exercise its functions, as protector and arbitrator of the international quarrels of Rajpootana, to understand the legitimate and original grounds of dispute. Here we perceive the germ of the border-feuds, which have led to so much bloodshed between Bikaneer and Jessulmeer, in which the former was the first aggressor; but as the latter, for the purpose of redeeming her lost territory, most frequently appears as the agitator of public tranquillity, it is necessary to look for the remote cause in pronouncing our award.

Khan, son of Daod Khan, took Derawul and all the tract of Khadal, the first Bhatti conquest, and added it to his new state of Bahwulpoor, or Daodpotra.

Moolraj succeeded in S. 1818 (A. D. 1762). He had three sons, Rae Sing, Jaet Sing, and Man Sing. The unhappy choice of a minister by Moolraj completed the demoralization of the Bhatti principality. This minister was named Suroop Sing, a Bania of the Jain faith and Mehta family, destined to be the exterminators of the laws and fortunes of the 'sons of Jessul.' The cause of hatred and revenge of this son of commerce to the Bhatti aristocracy arose out of a disgraceful dispute regarding a *Bukhtun*, a fair frail one, a favourite of the Mehta, but who preferred the Rajpoot, Sirdar Sing, of the tribe of Aef. The Bhatti chief carried his complaint of the minister to the heir-apparent, Rae Sing, who had also cause of grievance in the reduction of his income. It was suggested to the prince to put this presumptuous minister to death; this was effected by the prince's own hand, in his father's presence; and as the Mehta, in falling, clung to Moolraj for protection, it was proposed to take off Moolraj at the same time. The proposition, however, was rejected with horror by the prince, whose vengeance was satisfied. The Rawul was allowed to escape to the female apartments; but the chieftains, well knowing they could not expect pardon from the Rawul, insisting on investing Rae Sing, and if he refused, on placing his brother on the *gadi*, the *an* of Rae Sing was proclaimed; but no entreaty or threat would induce him to listen to the proposal of occupying the throne; in lieu of which he used a pallet (*khat*). Three months and five days had passed since the deposal and bondage of Moolraj, when a female resolved to emancipate him: this female was the wife of the chief conspirator and confidential adviser of the regent prince. This noble dame, a Rahtore Rajpootni, of the Mahecha clan, was the wife of Anop Sing of Jinjiniali, the premier noble of Jessulmeer, and who, wearied with the tyranny of the minister and the weakness of the prince, had proposed the death of the one and the deposal of the other. We are not made acquainted with any reason, save that of *swamdherma*, or 'fealty,' which prompted the Rahtorni to rescue her prince even at the risk of her husband's life; but her appeal to her son Zoorawur, to perform his duty, is preserved, and we give it *verbatim*: "should your father oppose you, sacrifice him to your duty, and I will mount the pyre with his corpse." The son yielded obedience to the injunction of his magnanimous parent, who had sufficient influence to gain over Arjoon, the brother of her husband, as well as Megh Sing, Chief of Baroo. The three chieftains

forced an entrance into the prison where their prince was confined, who refused to be released from his manacles, until he was told that the Mahechi had promoted the plot for his liberty. The sound of the grand *nakarra*, proclaiming Moolraj's repossession of the *gadi*, awoke his son from sleep; and on the herald depositing at the side of his pallet the sable *siropa*,* and all the insignia of exile,—the black steed and black vestments,—the prince, obeying the command of the Rawul, clad himself therein, and accompanied by his party, bade adieu to Jessulmeer and took the road to Kottoroh. When he arrived at this town, on the southern frontier of the state, the chief proposed to 'run the country'; but he replied, "the country was his mother, and every Rajpoot his foe who injured it." He rapaired to Jodhpur, but the chieftains abided about Sheo Kottoroh and Barmair, and during the twelve years they remained outlaws, plundered even to the gates of Jessulmeer. In the first three years they devastated the country, their castles were dismantled, the wells therein filled up, and their estates sequestrated. At the end of the twelve, having made the *tilak*, or oath against further plunder, their estates were restored, and they were re-admitted into their country.

The banished prince remained two years and-a-half with Raja Beejy Sing, who treated him like a son. But he carried his arrogant demeanour with him to Jodhpur; for one day, as he was going out to hunt, a Bania, to whom he was indebted, seized his horse by the bridle, and invoking the *an* of Beejy Sing, demanded payment of his debt. The prince, in turn, required him, with the invocation "by Moolraj!" to unloose old. But the man of wealth, disregarding the appeal, insolently replied, "what is Moolraj to me?" It was the last word he spoke; the sword of Rae Sing was unsheathed, and the Bania's head rolled on the ground; then turning his horse's head to Jessulmeer, exclaimed, "better be a slave at once, than live on the bounty of another." His unexpected arrival outside his native city brought out the entire population ro see him. His father, the Rawul, sent to know what had occasioned his presence, and he replied, that it was merely preparatory to pilgrimage. He was refused admittance; his followers were disarmed, and he was sent to reside at the fortress of Dewoh, together with his sons Abhe Sing and Dhonkul Sing, and their families.

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* *Siropa* is the rajpoot term for *Khelat*, and is used by those who, like the Rana of Oodipoor, prefer the vernacular dialect to the corrupt Jargon of the Islamite. *Sir-o-pa* (from 'head' *sir*, to 'foot' *pa*) means a complete dress; in short, *cap-a-pied*

Salim Sing, who succeeded his father as prime minister of Jessulmeer was but eleven years of age at the time of his murder. His young mind appears, even at that early age, to have been a hot-bed for revenge; and the seeds which were sown quickened into a luxuriance rarely equalled even in those regions, where human life is held in little estimation. Without any of that daring valour which distinguishes the Rajpoot, he overcame, throughout a long course of years, all who opposed him, uniting the subtlety of the serpent to the ferocity of the tiger. In person he was effeminate, in speech bland; pliant and courteous in demeanour; promising without hesitation, and with all the semblance of sincerity, what he never had the most remote intention to fulfil. Salim, or, as he was generally designated by his tribe, *the Mehta*, was a signal instance of a fact of which these annals exhibit too many examples, namely, the inadequacy of religious professions, though of a severe character, as a restraint on moral conduct; for though the tenets of his faith (the Jain) imperatively prescribe the necessity of "hurting no sentient being," and of sitting in the dark, rather than by luring a moth into the flame of a lamp, incur the penalty attached to the sin of insect-murder, this man has sent more of "the sons of Jessoh" to *Yamaloka*,* than the sword of their external foes during his long administration. He had scarcely attained man's estate when the outlawed chiefs were restored to their estates by a singular intervention. Raja Bheem Sing had acceded to the *gadi* of Marwar, and the Mehta was chosen by the prince of Jessulmeer, as his representative, to convey his congratulations, and the *tika* of acknowledgment on his succession, to Raja Beejy Sing. On his return from this mission, he was waylaid and captured by the outlawed chieftains, who instantly passed sentence of death upon the author of their miseries. The sword was uplifted, when, 'placing his turban at the feet of Zoorawur Sing,' he implored his protection—and he found it! Such is the Rajpoot, —an anomaly amongst his species; his character a compound of the opposite and antagonistical qualities which impel mankind to virtue and to crime. Let me recall to the mind of the reader, that the protector of this vampire was the virtuous son of the virtuous Rajpootni who, with the elevation of mind equal to whatever is recorded of Greek or Roman heroines, devoted herself, and a husband whom she loved, to the one predominant sentiment of the Rajpoot, *swamdherma*, or 'fealty to the sovereign.' Yet had the wily Mehta effected the disgrace of this brave chief, to whom the Rawul owed his release

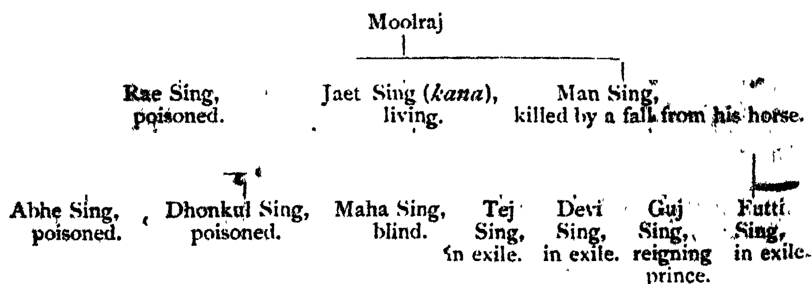
* Pluto's realm.

from bondage and restoration to his throne, and forced him to join the outlaws against the sand-hills of Barmair. Nothing can paint more strongly the influence of this first of the Bhatti chiefs over his brethren than the act of preserving the life of their mortal foe, thus cast into their hands; for not only did they dissuade him from the act, but prophesied his repentance of such mistaken clemency. Only one condition was stipulated, their restoration to their homes. They were recalled, but not admitted to court, a distinction reserved for Zoorawur alone.

When Rao Sing was incarcerated in Dewoh, his eldest son, Abhe Sing, *Rajkumar*, heir-apparent, with the second son, Dhonkul, were left at Barmair, with the outlawed chiefs. The Rawul, having in vain demanded his grand-children, prepared an army and invested Barmair. It was defended during six months, when a capitulation was acceded to, and the children were given up to Moolraj on the bare pledge of Zoorawur Sing, who guaranteed their safety; and they were sent to the castle of Dewoh, where their father was confined. Soon after the castle was fired and Rae Sing and his wife were consumed in the flames. On escaping this danger, which was made to appear accidental, the young princes were confined in the fortress of Ramgurh, in the most remote corner of the desert, bordering the valley of Sinde, for their security and that of the Rawul (according to the Mehta's account), and to prevent faction from having a nucleus around which to form. But Zoorawur, who entertained doubts of the minister's motives, reminded the Rawul that the proper place for the heir-apparent was the court, and that his honour stood pledged for his safety. This was sufficient for the Mehta, whose mind was instantly intent upon the means to rid himself of so conscientious an adviser. Zoorawur had a brother named Kaitsi, whose wife, according to the courtesy of Rajwarra had adopted the minister as her brother. Salim sounded his adopted sister as to her wish to see her husband become lord of Jinginialli. The tempter succeeded: he furnished her with poisoned comfits, which she administered to the gallant Zoorawur; and her lord was inducted into the estates of Jinginialli. Having thus disposed of the soul of the Bhatti nobility, he took off in detail the chiefs of Baroo, Dangri, and many others, chiefly by the same means, though some by the dagger. Kaitsi, who, whether innocent, or a guilty participant in his brother's death, had benefited thereby was marked in the long list of proscription of this fiend, who determined to exterminate every Rajpoot of note. Kaitsi knew too much, and those connected with him shared in this dangerous knowledge: wife, brother, son, were therefore destined to fall by the same blow. The immediate cause

of enmity was as follows. The minister, who desired to set aside the claims of the children of Rae Sing to the *gadi*, and to nominate the youngest son of Moolraj as heir-apparent, was opposed by Kaitsi, as it could only be effected by the destruction of the former; and he replied, that "no co-operation of his should sanction the spilling of the blood of any of his master's family." Salim treasured up the remembrance of this opposition to his will, though without any immediate sign of displeasure. Soon after, Kaitsi and his brother Suroop were returning from a nuptial ceremoney at Kunero, in the district of Bhalotra. On reaching Beejoraye, on the Jessulmeer frontier, where the ministers of the Mehta's vengeance were posted, the gallant Zoorawur and his brother were conducted into the castle, out of which their bodies were brought only to be burnt. Hearing of some intended evil to her lord, Kaitsi's wife, with her infant son, Megha, sought protection in the minister's own abode, where she had a double claim, as his adopted sister, to sanctuary and protection. For five days, the farce was kept up of sending food for herself and child; but the slave who conveyed it remarking, in coarse, unfeeling language, that both her husband and her brother were with their father's, she gave a loose to grief and determined on revenge. This being reported to the Mehta, he sent a dagger for her repose.

The princes, Abhe Sing and Dhonkul Sing, confined in the fortress of Ramgurh, after the murder of Kaitsi were carried off, together with their wives and infants, by poison. The murderer then proclaimed Guj Sing, the youngest but one of all the posterity of Moolraj, as heir-apparent. His brothers sought security in flight from this fiend-like spirit of the minister, and are now refugees in the Bikaneer territory. The following slip from the genealogical tree will shew the branches so unmercifully lopped off by this monster:



Maha Sing, being blind of one eye* (*kana*) could not succeed; and Man Sing being killed by a fall from his horse, the Mehta was saved the crime of adding one more "mortal murther to his crown."

It is a singular fact, that the longest reigns we know of in Rajwarra occurred during ministerial usurpations. The late Maharao of Kotah occupied the *gadi* upwards of half a century, and the Rawul Moolraj swayed the nominal sceptre of this *oasis* of the desert upwards of fifty-eight years. His father ruled forty years, and I doubt whether, in all history, we can find another instance of father and son reigning for a century. This century was prolific in change to the dynasty, whose whole history is full of strange vicissitudes. If we go back to Jeswunt Sing, the grandfather of Moolraj, we find the Bhatti principality touching the Garah on the north which divided it from Mooltan, on the west it was bounded by the Punjnud, and thus included a narrow slip of the fertile valley of Sinde; and we have seen it stretch, at no remote period, even to the ancient capital Mansoora better known to the Hindu as Rori-Bekher, the islandic capital of the Sogdi (*Soda*) of Alexander. To the south, it rested on Dhat, including the castles of Sheo Kottoroh, and Barmair, seized on by Marwar; and in the east embraced the districts of Filodi, Pokurn, and other parts, also in the possession of Marwar and Bikneer. The whole of the state of Bhawulpur is formed out of the Bhatti dominion, and the Rahtores have obtained therefrom not a small portion of their western frontier. abstraction of territory will account for the heart-burnings border feuds which continually break out between the

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* A person blind of one eye is incompetent to succeed, according to Hindu law. *Kana* is the nickname given to a person labouring under this personal defect, which term is merely an anagram of *anka*, 'the eye.' The loss of an eye does not deprive an occupant of his rights—of which we had a curious example in the siege of the imperial city of Delhi, which gave rise to the remark, that the three greatest men therein had only the complement of one man amongst them; the Emperor had been deprived of both eyes by the brutality of Gholam Kadir; the besieging chief Holcar was *kana*, as was the defender, Sir D. Ochterlony. Holcar's name has become synonimous with *kana*, and many a horse, dog and man, blind of an eye, is called after this celebrated Mahratta leader. The Hindus, by what induction I know not, attach a degree of moral obliquity to every individual *kana* and appear to make no distinction between the natural and the acquired defect; though to all *kanas* they apply another and more dignified appellation, *Sukrachaya*, the Jupiter of their astromythology, which very grave personage came by his misfortune in no creditable way,—for, although the *guru*, or spiritual head of the Hindu Gods, he set as bad a moral example to them as did the classical Jupiter to the tenants of the Greek and Roman Pantheon.

Bhattis and Rahtores, and "the children of David (*Daud-putras*.)"

Could the same prophetic steel which carved upon the pillar of Brimsir the destinies of the grandson of the deified Heri, eleven hundred years before Christ, have subjoined to that of Jessoh the fate which awaited his descendant Moolraj, he would doubtless have regarded the prophecy as conveying a falsehood too gross for belief. That the offspring of the deified prince of Dwarica, who founded Guzni, and fought the united kings of Syria and Bactria, should, at length, be driven back on India, and compelled to seek shelter under the sign of the cross, reared amidst their sandhills by a handful of strangers, whose ancestors, when they were even in the maturity of their fame, were wandering in their native woods, with painted bodies, and offering human sacrifices to the sun-god,—more resembling Balsiva then Balcrishna,—these would have seemed prodigious too wild for faith.

CHAPTER. VI.

Rawul Moolraj enters into treaty with the English.—The Raja dies.—His grandson, Guj Sing, proclaimed.—He becomes a mere puppet in the minister's hands.—Third article of the Treaty.—Inequality of the alliance.—Its importance to Jessulmeer.—Consequences to be apprehended by the British Government.—Dangers attending the enlarging the circle of our political connections.—Importance of Jessulmeer in the event of Russian invasion.—British occupation of the valley of the Indus considered.—Salim Sing's administration resumed.—His rapacity and tyranny increase.—Wishes his office to be hereditary.—Report of the British agent to his Government.—Palliwals self-exiled.—Banker's families kept as hostages.—Revenues arising from confiscation.—Wealth of the minister.—Border-feud detailed to exemplify the interference of the paramount power.—The Maldotes of Baroo.—Their history.—Nearly exterminated by the Rahtores of Bikaneer.—Stimulated by the minister Salim Sing.—Cause of this treachery.—He calls for British interference.—Granted.—Result.—Rawul Guj Sing arrives at Oodipoor.—Marries the Rana's daughter.—Influence of this lady.

It was in the *Samvat* (era) of Vicrama, 1818, that Rawul Moolraj was inaugurated on the throne of Jessoh; and it was

in the year of our Lord 1818, that a treaty of "perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests" was concluded between the Honorable East India Company and Maha Rawul Moolraj, the Raja of Jessulmeer, his heirs and successors, the latter agreeing "to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and with submission to its supremacy."* This was almost the last act of Rawul Moolraj, who had always been a mere puppet in the hands of Mehta Salim Sing or his father. He died A. D. 1820, when his grandson, Guj Sing, was proclaimed.

Rawul Guj Sing was fitted, from his years, his past seclusion, and the examples which had occurred before his eyes, to be the submissive pageant Salim Sing required. Isolated, in every sense, from intercourse with the rest of mankind, by the policy of the minister, he had no community of sympathy with them, and no claim upon their aid. Surrounded by the creatures of Salim Sing, who, even to their daily dole, ascribe everything to this man's favour, each word, each gesture, is watched and reported. The prince himself, his wives and family, are alike dependents on the minister's bounty, often capriciously exercised. If he requires a horse, he must solicit it; or if desirous of bestowing some recompense, he requests to be furnished with the means, and deems himself fortunate if he obtain a moiety of his suit.

It will be observed from the date of this treaty (Dec. 1818), that Jessulmer was the last of the states of India received under the protection of the British Government. Its distance made it an object of little solicitude to us; and the minister, it is said, had many long and serious consultations with his oracles before he united his destiny with ours. He doubted the security of his power if the Rawul should become subordinate to the British Government; and he was only influenced by the greater risk by being the sole state in Rajwarra without the pale of its protection, which would have left him to the mercy of those enemies whom his merciless policy had created around him. The third and most important article of the treaty † tranquillized his apprehensions as to external foes; with these apprehensions all fear as to the consequence arising from ministerial tyranny towards the princely exiles was banished, and we shall presently find that this alliance, instead of checking his rapacity and oppression, incited them. But it is necessary

* See Appendix No. III. for a copy of this treaty.

† Art. III. "In the event of any serious invasion directed towards the overthrow of the principality of Jessulmeer, or other danger of great magnitude occurring to that principality, the British Government will exert

in the first place, to bestow a few remarks on the policy of the alliance as regards the British Government.

Its inequality requires no domonstration: the objects to be attained by it to the respective parties having no approximation to parity. The advantages to Jessulmeer were immediate; and to use the phraseology of the treaty, were not only of "great magnitude," but were vitally important. From the instant the treaties were exchanged, her existence as a permanent state, which was not worth half a century's purchase, was secured. Her power had been gradually declining, and reign after reign was narrowing her possessions to the vicinity of the capital. One state, Bhawulpur, had been formed from her northern territory; while those of Sinde, Bikaneer and Jodhpur, had been greatly aggrandized at her expense; and all were inclined, as occasion arose to encroach upon her feebleness. The faithless character of the minister, Salim Sing afforded abundant pretexts for quarrel, and the anarchy of her neighbours proved her only safeguard during the later years of her independent existence. Now, the British Government having pledged itself to exert its power for the protection of the principality, in the event of any "serious invasion," her fears either of Sindies, Daodputras or of Rahtores, are at rest. The full extent of this pledge may not have been contemplated when it was given; like all former alliances, it is the base of another step in advance. Instead of restricting the vast circle of our political connexions, it at once carried us out of India, placing us in actual contact and possible collision with the rulers of Sinde and the people beyond the Indus. Marwar and Bikaneer being already admitted to our alliance, the power of setting their feuds with the Bhattis is comparatively simple; but with Daodputra we have no political connexions, and with Sinde, only those of "perpetual friendship, and mutual intercourse:" but no stipulation ensuring respect to our remonstrances in case of the aggression of their subjects on our Bhatti ally. Are we then to push our troops through the desert to repel such acts, or must we furnish pecuniary subsidies (the cheapest mode), that she may entertain mercenaries for that object? We must view it, in this light, as an event, not only not improbable, but of very likely occurrence. Our alliance with Cutch involved us in this perplexity in 1819. Our armies were formed and moved to the frontier, and a declaration of war was avoided only by accepting a tardy *amende* in no way commensurate with

its power for the protection of the principality, provided that the quarrel be not ascribable to the Raja of Jessulmeer.

the insult of invading, massacring, and pillaging our allies.* In this instance, our means of chastisement were facilitated by our maritime power of grappling with the enemy, but if the insult preceeds from the government of Upper Sinde (only nominally dependent on Hyderabad), or from Bhawulpur, how are we to cope with these enemies of our ally? Such wars might lead us into a *terra incognita* beyond the Indus, or both the spirit and letter of the treaty will be null.

What, therefore, are the advantages we can hold out to ourselves for the volunteer of our amity and protection to this oasis of the desert? To have disregarded the appeal of Jessulmeer for protection, to have made her the sole exception in all Rajpootana from our amicable relations, would have been to consign her to her numerous enemies, and to let loose the spirit of rapine and revenge, which it was the main object of all these treaties to suppress: the Bhattis would have become a nation of robbers, the Bedouins of the Indian desert. Jessulmeer was the first link in a chain of free states, which formerly united the commerce of the Ganges with that of the Indus, but which interminable feuds had completely severed; the possibility of reunion depending upon a long continuance of tranquillity and confidence. This object alone would have warranted our alliance with Jessulmeer. But if we look to futurity, to the possible invasion of India, which can be best effected through the maritime provinces of Persia, the valley of the Indus will be the base of the invader's operations. The possession of Jessulmeer would then be of vital importance by giving us the command of Upper Sinde, and enabling us to act against the enemy simultaneously with our armies east of the Delta, the most practicable point of advance into India. We may look upon invasion by the ancient routes pursued by Alexander, Mahmood, and Timoor, as utterly visonary, by an army encumbered with all the *materiel* necessary to success, and thus the valley of Sinde presents the only practicable route. But it would be a grand error, both in a political and military point of view, to possess ourselves of this

* The attitude assumed by the energetic Government of Bombay, Mr. Elphinstone, on that occasion, will for a long time remain a lesson to the triumvirate government of Sinde. To the Author it still appears a subject of regret that, with the adequte preparation, the season, and every thing promising a certainty of success, the pacific tone of Lord Hasting's policy should have prevented the proper assertion of our dignity, by chastising an insult, aggravated in every shape. A treaty of amity and mutual intercourse was the result of this armament; but although twelve years have since elapsed, our intercourse has remained *in statu quo*: but this is no ground for quarrel.

valley, even if an opportunity were again to occur. It is true, the resources of that fertile region, so analogous to Egypt, would soon, under our management, maintain an army sufficient to defend it; and this would bring us at once into contact with the power (Persia) which cling to us for support; and will be adverse to us only when rendered subservient to Russia. It were well to view the possible degradation and loss of power to Russia, in Europe, as likely to afford a fresh stimulant to her ancient schemes of oriental aggrandisement. By some, these schemes are looked upon as Quixotic, and I confess myself to be of the number. The better Russia is acquainted with the regions she would have to pass, the less desire will she evince for an undertaking, which, even if successfull in the outset, would be useless; for if she conquered, she could not maintain India. But, to me, it still appears imperative that this power should formally renounce such designs; the state of perpetual preparation rendered necessary by her menacing position, being so injurious to our finances, is worse than the actual attempt, which would only entail upon her inevitable loss. We lost through our unwise economy, a noble opportunity of maintaining an ascendancy at the court of Caubul, which would have been easily prevailed upon, for pecuniary aid, to make over to us the sovereignty of Sinde (were this desirable), which is still considered a grand division of Caubul.

But setting the political question aside, and considering our possession of the valley of Sinde only in a military point of view, our occupation of it would be prejudicial to us. We should have a long line to defend, and rivers are no barriers in modern warfare. Whilst an impassable desert is between us, and we have the power, by means of our allies, of assailing an enemy at several points, though we are liable to attack but from one, an invader could not maintain himself a single season. On this ground, the maintenance of friendship with this remote nook of Rajpoot civilization is defensible, and we have the additional incitement of rescuing the most industrious and wealthy commercial communities in India from the fangs of a harpy: to whom, and the enormities of his government, we return.

No language can adequately represent the abuse of power with which the treaty has armed the rapacious minister of Jessulmeer, and it is one of the many instances of the inefficacy of our system of alliances to secure prosperity, or even tranquillity to these long-afflicted regions, which although rescued from external assailants, are still the prey of discord and passion within. It will not be difficult, at the proper time

and place, to make this appear.* The Mehta felt the advantages which the treaty gave him, in respect to neighbouring states; but he also felt that he had steeped himself too deeply in the blood of his master's family, and in that of his noblest chieftains, to hope that any repentance, real or affected, could restore to him the confidence of those he had so outraged. With commercial men, with the industrious husbandman or pastoral communities, he had so long forfeited all claim to credit, that his oath was not valued at a single grain of the sand of their own desert dominion.

The bardic annalist of Rajpootana, when compelled to record the acts of a tyrant, first announces his moral death: then comes the metempsychosis,—the animating his frame with the spirit of a demon. In this manner is delineated the famed Visaldeo, the Chohan king of Ajmeer. Whether the Bhatti minister will obtain such a posthumous apology for his misdeeds, a future historian will learn; but assuredly he is never mentioned, either in poetry or prose, but as a vampire, draining the life-blood of a whole people. For a short time after the treaty was formed, he appeared to fall in with the march of universal reformation; but whether it was that his crimes had outlawed him from the sympathies of all around, or that he could feel no enjoyment but in his habitual crimes, he soon gave ampler indulgence to his rapacious spirit. The cause of his temporary forbearance was attributed to his anxiety to have an article added to the treaty, guaranteeing the office of prime minister in his family, perhaps with a view to legalize his plunder; but seeing no hope of fixing an hereditary race of vampires on the land, his outrages became past all endurance, and compelled the British agent, at length, to report to his government (on the 17th December 1821), that he considered the alliance disgraceful to our reputation, by countenancing the idea that such acts can be tolerated under its protection. Representations to the minister were a nullity; he protested against their fidelity; asserted in specious language his love of justice and mercy; and recommenced his system of confiscations, and punishments, with redoubled severity. All Rajwarra felt an interest in these proceedings, as the bankers of Jessulmer, supported by the capital of that singular class, the Palliwals, are spread all over India. But this rich community amounting to five thousand families, are nearly all in voluntary exile

* It is my intention (if space is left) to give a concise statement of the effects of our alliances, individually and collectively, in the states of Rajwarra, with a few hints towards amending the system, at the conclusion of this volume.

and the bankers fear to return to their native land with the fruits of their industry, which they would renounce for ever, but that he retains their families as hostages. Agriculture is almost unknown, and commerce, internal or external, has ceased through want of security. The sole revenue arises from confiscation. It is asserted that the minister has amassed no less than *two crores*, which wealth is distributed in the various cities of of Hindusthan, and has been obtained by pillage and the destruction of the most opulent families of his country during the last twelve years. He has also, it is said, possessed himself of all the crown-jewels and property of value, which he has sent out of the country. Applications were continually being made to the British agent for passports (*perwanas*), by commercial men, to withdraw their families from the country. But all have some ties which would be hazarded by their withdrawing, even if such a step were otherwise free from danger; for while the minister afforded passports, in obedience to the wish of the agent, he might cut them off in the desert. This makes many bear the ills they have.

We shall terminate our historical sketch of Jessulmer with the details of a border-feud, which called into operation the main condition of the British alliance,—the right of universal arbitration in the international quarrels of Rajpootana. The predatory habits of the Maldotes of Baroo originated a rupture, which threatened to involve the two states in war, and produced an invasion of the Rahtores, sufficiently serious to warrant British interference. It will hardly be credited that this aggression, which drew down upon the Maldotes the vengeance of Bikaneer, was covertly stimulated by the minister for the express purpose of their extirpation, for reasons which will appear presently; yet he was the first to complain of the retaliation. To understand this matter, a slight sketch of the Maldote tribe is requisite.

The Maldotes, the Kailuns, the Birsungs, the Pohurs, and Tezmalotes, are all Bhatti tribes; but, from their lawless habits, these names have become, like those of Bedouin, Kuzzak, or Pindarri, synonimous with 'robber.' The first are descended from Rao Maldoo, and hold the fief *(putta)* of Baroo, consisting of eighteen villages, adjoining the tract called Khari-putta, wrested from the Bhattis by the Rahtores of Bikaneer, who, to confess the truth, morally deserve the perpetual hostility of this Bhatti lord-marcher, inasmuch as they were the intruders, and have deprived them (the Bhattis) of much territory. But the Rahtores, possessing the strongest, about twenty-five years ago exercised it in the most savage manner; for having invaded Baroo, they put almost the entire community to the sword, without

respect to age or sex, levelled the towns, filled up the wells, and carried off the herds and whatever was of value. The survivors took shelter in the recesses of the desert, and propagated a progency, which, about the period of connection with the British, re-occupied their deserted lands. The minister, it is asserted, beheld the revival of this infant colony with no more favourable eye than did their enemies of Bikaneer, whom, it is alleged, he invited once more to their destruction. The lawless habits of this tribe would have been assigned by the minister as his motive for desiring their extermination; but if we look back, we shall discover the real cause in his having incurred the lasting enmity of this clan for the foul assassination of their chief, who had been a party to the views of the heir-apparent, Rae Sing, to get rid of this incubus on their freedom. The opportunity afforded to take vengeance on the Maldotes arose out of a service indirectly done to the British Government. On the revolt of the Peshwa. he sent his agents to Jessulmeer to purchase camels. One herd, to the number of four hundred, had left the Bhatti frontiers, and whilst passing through the Bikaneer territory, were set upon by the Maldotes, who captured the whole, and conveyed them to Baroo. It is scarcely to be supposed that such an aggression on the independence of Bikaneer would have prompted her extensive armament, or the rapidity with which her troops passed the Bhatti frontier to avenge the insult, without some private signal from the minister, who was loud in his call for British interference; though not until Nokha and Baroo, their principal towns, were levelled, the ef killed, the wells filled up, and the victorious army follow-up its success by a rapid march on Beekumpur, in which the iscal lands began to suffer. The minister then discovered he had overshot the mark, and claimed our interference,* which was rapid and effectual; and the Bikaneer commander the more willingly complied with the request to retire within his own frontier, having effected more than his object.

The tortuous policy, the never-ending and scarcely-to-be-comprehended border-feuds of those regions, must, for a long while, generate such appeals. Since these associated bands attach no dishonour to their predatory profession, it will be some time before they acquire proper notions; but when they

* The Author has omitted to mention that he was Political Agent for Jessulmeer; so that his control extended uninterruptedly, almost from Sinde to Sinde: i.e., from the Indus, or great Sindh, to the *Choota-Sindh*, or little river. There are several streams designated Sindh, in Central India, a word purely Tatar, or Scythic. *Aba-sin*, 'the Father River,' is one of the many names of the Indus.

discover there is no retreat in which punishment may not reach them, they will learn the benefits of cultivating the arts of peace, of whose very name no trace exists in their history.

We have lost sight of the Rawul, the title of the prince of Jessulmeer, in the prominent acts of his minister. Guj Sing, who occupies the *gadi* of Jessoh, to the prejudice of his elder brothers, who are still in exile in Bikaneer, appears very well suited to the minister's purpose, and to have little desire beyond his horses, and vegetating in quiet. The physiognomists of Jessulmeer, however prognosticate the development of moral worth in due season: a consummation devoutly to be wished, and the first symptom of which must be the riddance of his minister by whatever process. The artful Salim deemed that it would redound to his credit, and bolster up his interest, to seek a matrimonial alliance with the Rana's family of Mewar. The overture was accepted, and the coco-symbol transmitted to the Rawul, who put himself at the head of the Bhatti chivalry to wed and escort his bride through the desert. The Rahtore princes of Bikaneer and Kishengurh, who were at the same time suitors for the hands of another daughter and a grand-daughter of the Rana, simultaneously arrived at Oodipoor with their respective *corteges*; and this triple alliance threw a degree of splendour over the capital of the Seesodias, to which it had long been a stranger. Guj Sing lives very happily with his wife, who has given him an heir to his desert domain. The influence of high rank is seen in the respect paid to the Ranawut-ji (the title by which she is designated), even by the minister, and she exerts this influence most humanely for the amelioration of her subjects.*

* I had the honour of receiving several letters from this queen of the desert, who looked to her father's house and his friends, as the best objects for support, whilst such a being as Salim was the master of her own and her husband's destiny.

CHAPTER VII.

Geographical position of Jessulmeer.—Its superficial area.—List of its chief towns.—Population.—Jessulmeer chiefly desert.— Muggro, *a rocky ridge, traced from Cutch.* Sirrs, *or salt-marshes.—Kanoad Sirr.—Soil.—Productions.—Husbandry.—Manufactures.—Commerce.—*Kuttars, *or caravans.—Articles of trade.—Revenues.—Land and transit taxes.—*Dhanni, *or Collector.—Amount of land-tax exacted from the cultivator.—*Dhooa, *hearth-tax,—*Thali *or tax[1] on food.—*Dind *or forced contribution.—Citizens refuse to pay.—Enormous wealth accumulated by the minister by extortion.—Establishments.—Expenditure.—Tribes.—*Bhattis.*—Their moral estimation.—Personal appearance and dress.—Their predilection for opium and tobacco.—*Palliwals, *their history.—Numbers wealth, employment.—Curious rite or worship.—Palli coins.—*Pokurna *Brahmins. Title.—Numbers.—Singular typical worship.—Race of Jut.—Castle of Jessulmeer.*

The country still dependent on the Rawul extends between 70° 30′ and 72° 30′ E. long, and between the parallels of 26° 20′ and 27° 50′ N. lat, though a small strip protrudes, in the N. E. angle as high as 28° 30′. This irregular surface may be roughly estimated to contain fifteen thousand square miles. The number of towns, villages, and halmets, scattered over this wide space, does not exceed two hundred and fifty ; some estimate it at three hundred, and others depress it to two hundred : the mean cannot be wide of the truth. To enable the reader to arrive at a conclusion as to the population of this region, we subjoin a calculation, from data furnished by the best-informed natives, which was made in the year 1815 ; but we must add, that from the tyranny of the minister, the population of the capital (which is nearly half of the country), has been greatly diminished.

Towns.	Fiscal and Feudal.	Number of Houses.	Number of Inhabitants.	Remarks.
Jessulmeer ...	Capital ...	7,000	35,000	The chief has the title of Rao, and twenty-four villages dependent not included in this estimate.
Beekumpoor ...	Puttaet ...	500	2,000	
Seeruroh ...	Do. ...	300	1,200	Kailun Bhatti — the Kailun tribe extends to Poogul.
Nachna ...	Do. ...	400	1,600	Rawulete chief.
Katori ...	Fiscal ...	300	1,200	
Kabah ...	Do. ...	300	1,200	
Kooldurro ...	Do. ...	200	800	
Suttoh ...	Puttaet ...	300	1,200	
Jinjinialli ...	Do. ...	300	1,200	Rawulote first noble of Jessulmeer.
Devi-Kote ...	Fiscal ...	200	800	
Bhaup ..	Do. ...	200	800	
Balana	Puttaet ...	150	600	
Sutiasoh ...	Do. ...	100	400	
Baroo ...	Do. ...	200	800	Maldote: has eighteen villages attached, not included in this.
Chaun ...	Do. ...	200	800	
Loharki ...	Do. ...	150	600	All of the Rawulote clan.
Noantulloh ..	Do. ...	150	600	
Lahti ...	Do. ...	300	1,200	
Danguri ...	Do. ...	150	600	
Beejoraye ...	Fiscal ...	200	800	
Mundaye ...	Do.	200	800	
Ramgurh ...	Do. ...	200	800	
Birsilpoor ...	Puttaet ...	200	800	
Girajsir ...	Do. ...	150	600	
			56,400	
Two thousand and twenty-five villages and hamlets, from four to fifty houses; say, each average twenty, at four inhabitants each.			18,000	
Total			74,400	

According to this census, we have a population not superior to one of the secondary cities of Great Britain, scattered over fifteen thousand square miles, nearly one-half, too, belonging to the capital, which being omitted, the result would give from two to three souls only for each square mile.

Face of the Country.—The greater part of Jessulmer is *thul* or *rooe*, both terms meaning 'a desert waste'. From Lowar,

on the Jodhpur frontier, to Kharra, the remote angle touching Sinde, the country may be described as a continuous tract of arid sand, frequently rising into lofty *teebas* (sand hills), in some parts covered with low jungle. This line, which nearly bisects Jessulmeer, is also the line of demarcation of positive sterility and comparative cultivation. To the north, is one uniform and naked waste; to the south, are ridges of rock termed *mugro rooe*, and light soil.

The ridge of hills is a most important feature in the geology of this desert-region. It is to be traced from Cutch Bhooj, strongly or faintly marked, according to the nature of the country. Sometimes it assumes, as at Chohtun, the character of a mountain; then dwindles into an insignificant ridge scarcely discernible, and often serves as a bulwark for the drifting sands, which cover and render it difficult to trace it at all. As it reaches the Jessulmeer country it is more developed; and at the capital, erected on a peak about two hundred and fifty feet high, its presence is more distinct, and its character defined. The capital of the Bhattis appears as the nucleus of a series of ridges, which diverge from it in all directions for the space of fifteen miles. One branch terminates at Ramghur, thirty-five miles north-west of Jessulmeer; another branch extends easterly to Pokurn (in Jodhpur), and thence, in a north-east direction, to Filodi; from whence, at intervals, it is traceable to Gurriala, nearly fifty miles due north. It is a yellow-coloured sand-stone, in which ochre is abundantly found, with which the people daub their houses.

Those barren ridges, and the lofty undulating *teebas* of sand, are the only objects which diversify the almost uniform sterility of these regions. No trees interpose their verdant foliage to relieve the eye, or shelter the exhausted frame of the traveller. It is nearly a boundless waste, varied only by a few stunted shrubs of the acacia or *mimosa* family, some succulent plants, or prickly grapes, as the *bhoorut* or burr, which clings to his garment and increases his miseries. Yet compared with the more northern portion, where "a sea of sand without a sign of vegetation"* forms the prospect, the vicinity of the capital is a paradise.

* So Mr. Elphinstone describes the tract about Poogul, one of the earliest possessions of the Bhattis, and one of the *No-koti Maru-ca*, or 'nine castles of the desert,' around whose sand-hills as brave a colony was reared and maintained as ever carried lance. Rao Raning was lord of Poogul, whose son originated that episode given in Vo. I. Even these sand-hills, which in November appeared to Mr. Elphinstone without a sign of vegetation, could be made to yield good crops of bajra.

There is not a running stream throughout Jessulmeer; but there are many temporary lakes or salt-marshes, termed *sirr*, formed by the collection of waters from the sand-hills, which are easily dammed in to prevent escape. They are ephemeral, seldom lasting but a few months; though after a very severe monsoon they have been known to remain throughout the year. One of these, called the Kanoad Sirr, extends from Kanoad to Mohungurh, covering a space of eighteen miles, and in which some water remains throughout the year. When it overflows, a small stream issues from the Sirr, and pursues an easterly direction for thirty miles before it is absorbed: its existence depends on the parent lake. That salt which it produces is the property of the crown, and adds something to the revenue.

Soil, husbandry, and products.—Notwithstanding the apparent poverty of this desert soil, nature has not denied it the powers of production; it is even favourable to some grains, especially the *bajra*, which prefers a light sand. In a favourable season, they grow sufficient for the consumption of two and even three years, and then they import only wheat from Sinde. When those parts favourable for *bajra* have been saturated with two or three heavy showers, they commence sowing, and the crops spring up rapidly. The great danger is that of too much rain when the crops are advanced, for having little tenacity, they are often washed away. The *bajra* of the sand-hills is deemed far superior to that of Hindusthan, and prejudice gives it a preference even to wheat, which does not bear a higher price, at times of scarcity. *Bajra*, in plentiful seasons, sells at one and a half maunds for a rupee:* but this does not often occur, as they calculate five bad seasons for a good one. *Jooar* is also grown, but only in the low flats. Cotton is produced in the same soil as the *bajra*. It is not generally known that this plant requires but a moderate supply of water; deteriorated in the plains of India from over-irrigation; at least such is the idea of the desert farmer, who perhaps does not make sufficient allowance for the cooler substratum of his sand-hills, compared with the black loam of Malwa. A variety of pulses grow on the sheltered sides of the *teebas*, as *mong*, *moth*, &c.; also the oil-plant (*til*), and abundance of the *gowar*, a diminutive melon, not larger than a hen's egg, which is sent hundrens of miles, as a rarity. Around the capital, and between the ridges where soil is deposited or formed, and where they dam-up the waters, are grown considerable quantities of wheat of very good quality, turmeric,

* About a hundredweight for two shillings.

and garden-stuffs. Barley and *gram* are, in good seasons, reared in small quantities, but rice is entirely an article of import from the valley of Sinde.

Implements of husbandry.—Where the soil is light, it will be concluded that the implements are simple. They have two kinds of plough, for one or two oxen, or for the camel, which animal is most in requisition. They tread out the grain with oxen, as in all parts of India, and not unfrequently they yoke the cattle to their *hakerries*, or carts, and pass the whole over the grain.

Manufactures.—Thre is little scope for the ingenuity of the mechanic in this tract. They make coarse cotton cloths, but the raw material is almost all exported. Their grand article of manufacture is from the wool of the sheep pastured in the desert, which is fabricated into *looes*, or blankets, scarfs,† petticoats, turbans, of every quality. Cups and platters are made from a mineral called *aboor*, a calcareous substance, of a dark chocolate ground, with light brown vermiculated stripes; female ornaments of elephant's teeth, and arms of an inferior quality. These comprehend the artificial productions of this desert capital.

Commerce.—Whatever celebrity Jessulmeer possesses, as a commercial mart, arises from its position as a place of transit between the eastern countries, the valley of the Indus, and those beyond that stream, the *Kuttars* (the term for a caravan of camels) to and from Hydrabad, Rory-Bekher, Shikarpoor and Ootch, from the Gangetic provinces, and the Punjab, passing through it. The indigo of the Doab, the opium of Kotah and Malwa, the famed sugar-candy of Bikaneer, iron implements from Jeypoor, are exported to Shikarpur * and lower Sinde; whence elephant's teeth (from Africa), dates, coconuts, drugs, and chundus, § are imported, with pistachios and dried fruits from Bhawulpoor.

Revenues and taxes.—The personal revenue of the princes of Jessulmeer ‡ is, or rather was, estimated at upwards of four lakhs of rupees, of which more than one lakh was from the land. The transit duties were formerly the most certain and

† I brought home several pairs of these, with crimson borders, sufficiently fine to be worn as a winter-shawl in this countury.

* Shikarpoor, the geat commercial mart of the valley of Sinde, west of the Indus.

[§ Chunda]s is a scented wood for *mallas*, or 'chaplets'.

‡ I have no correct data for estimating the revenues of the chieftains. They are generally almost double the land-revenue of the princes in other states of Rajwarra; perhaps about two lakhs, which ought to bring into the field seven hundred horse.

most prolific branch of the fiscal income; but the bad faith of the minister, the predatory habits of the Bhatti chiefs proceeding mainly from thence, and the general decrease of commerce, have conspired nearly to annihilate this source of income, said at one time to reach three lakhs of rupees. These imports are termed *dan*, and the collector *dannie*, who was stationed at convenient points of all the principal routes which diverge from the capital.

Land tax.—From one-fifth to one-seventh of the gross produce of the land is set aside as the tax of the crown, never exceeding the first nor falling short of the last.* It is paid in kind, which is purchased on the spot by the Palliwal Brahmins, or Banias, and the value remitted to the treasury.

Dhoou.—The third and now the most certain branch of revenue is the *dhoou*, literally 'smoke', and which we may render 'chimney' or hearth-tax,' though they have neither the one nor the other in these regions. It is also termed, *thali*, which is the brass or silver platter out of which they eat, and is tantamount to at able-allowance. It never realizes above twenty thousand rupees anually, which, however, would be abundant for the simple fare of Jessulmeer. No house is exempt from the payment of this tax.

Dind.—There is an arbitrary tax levied throughout these regions, universally known and detested under the name of *dind*, the make-weight of all their budgets of ways and means. It was first imposed in Jessulmeer in S. 1830 (A. D. 1774) under the less odious appellation of "additional *dhoou*, or *thali*," and the amount was only two thousand seven hundred rupees, to be levied from the monied interest of the capital. The Mahesris agreed to pay their share, but the Oswals (the two chief mercantile classes) holding out, were forcibly sent up to the castle, and suffered the ignominious punishment of the bastinado. They paid the demand, but immediately on their release entered into a compact on oath, never again to look on the Rawul's (Moolraj's) face, which was religiously kept during their mutual lives. When he passed though the streets of this capital, the Oswals abandoned their shops and banking-houses, retiring to the interior of their habitations

* This, if strictly true and followed, is according to ancient principles: Menu ordains the sixth. I could have wished Colonel Briggs to have known this fact, when he was occupied on his excellent work on the Land-tax of India; but it had entirely escaped my recollection. In this most remote corner of Hindusthan, in spite of oppression, it is curious to observe the adherence to primitive custom. These notes on the sources of Revenue in Jessulmer were communicated to me so far back as 1811, and I laid them before the Bengal Government in 1814-15.

in order to avoid the sight of him. This was strenuously perservered in for many years, and had such an effect upon the prince, that he visited the principal persons of this class, and 'spreading his scarf" (*pulla pussaona*), * entreated forgiveness giving a writing on oath never again to impose *dind*, if they would make the *dhooa* a permanent tax. The Oswals accepted the repentance of their prince, and agreed to his terms. In S. 1841 and 1852, his necessities compelling him to raise money, he obtained by loan, in the first period, twenty-seven thousand, and in the latter, forty thousand rupees, which he faithfully repaid. When the father of the present minister came into power, he endeavoured to get back the bond of his sovereign abrogating the obnoxious *dind*, and offered, as a bait, to renounce the *dhooa*. The Oswals placed more value on the virtue of this instrument than it merited, for in spite of the bond, he in S. 1857 levied sixty thousand, and in 1863 eighty thousand, rupees. A visit of the Rawul to the Ganges was seized upon as a fit opportunity by his subjects to get this oppression redressed, and fresh oaths were made by the prince, and broken by the minister, who has bequeathed his rapacious spirit to his son.

Since the accession of Guj Sing, only two years ago † Salim Sing has extorted fourteen lakhs (£140,000) Burdbhan, a merchant of great wealth and respectability, and whose ancestors are known and respected throughout Rajwarra as *Sahoocars*, has been at various times stripped of all his riches by the minister and his father, who, to use the phraseology of the sufferers, "will never be satisfied while a rupee remains in Jessulmeer."

Establishments, Expenditure.—We subjoin a rough esimate of the household establishment, &c., of this desert king.

	Rs.
Burr ‡	20,000
Rozgar Sirdar §	40,000

* *[P]ussaona*, or 'speading the cloth or scraf,' is the figurative language of intreaty, arising from the act of speading the garment, preparatory to bowing the head thereon in token of perfect submission.

† This was writen in 1821-2

‡ The *Burr* includes the whole household or personal attendants, the guards and slaves. They receive rations of food, and make up the rest of their subsistence by labour in the town. The *Burr* consists of about 1,000 people, and is estimated to cost 20,000 rupees anually.

§ Rozgar-Sirdar is an allownee termed *kansa*, or 'dinner,' to the feudal chieftains who attend the Presence. Formerly they had an order upon the Dannis, or collectors of the transit-duties ; but being vexations, Pansa Saha,

Sebundies or Mercenaries ‖ ...	...	75,000
Household horse, 10 elephants, 200 camels, and chariots	...	36,000
500 Bargeer horse ...	...	60,000
Rani's or queen's establisment	...	15,000
The wardrobe	...	5,000
Gifts	...	5,000
The kitchen	...	5,000
Guests, in hospitality	...	5,000
Feasts, entertainments ...	...	5,000
Annual purchase of horses, camels, oxen &c.	...	20,000
TOATL............ ..	Rs.	2,91,000

The ministers and officers of government receive assignments on the transit-duties, and some have lands. The whole of this state-expenditure was more than covered, in some years, by the transit-duties alone; which have, it is asserted, amounted to the almost incredible sum of three lakhs, or £30,000.

Tribes—We shall conclude our account of Jessulmeer with a few remarks on the tribes peculiar to it; though we reserve the general enumeration for a sketch of the desert.

Of its Rajpoot population, the Bhattis, we have already given* an outline in the general essay on the tribes.* Those which occupy the present limits of Jessulmeer retain their Hindu notions, though with some degree of laxity from their intercourse with the Mahomedans on the northern and western frontiers; while those which long occupied the north-east tracts towards Phoolra and the Garah, on becoming proselytes to Islam ceased to have either interest in or connection with the parent state. The Bhatti has not, at present, the same martial reputation as the Rahtore, Chohan, or Seesodia, but he is deemed at least to equal if not surpass the Cuchwaha, or any of its kindred branches, Nirooka or Shekhavat. There are occasional instances of Bhatti intrepidity as daring as may be found amongst any other tribe; witness the feud between the chiefs of Poogul and Mundore. But this changes not the national characteristic as conventionally established; though were we to go back to the days of Chivalry and Prithiraj, we should select Achilesa Bhatti, one of the bravest of his cham-

minister to Rawul Chaitra, commuted it for a daily allowance, varging with the rank of the person, from half a silver rupee to seven rupees each daily. This disbursement is calculated at 40,000 rupees anually.

‖ Sebundies are mercenary soldiers in the fort, of whom 1,000 are estimated to cost 75,000 rupees anually.

* Vol. 1,

pions, for the portrait of his race. This Bhatti Rajpoot is, as to physical power, not perhaps so athletic as the Rahtore, or so tall as the Cuchwaha, but generally fairer than either, and possessing those Jewish features which Mr. Elphinstone remarked as characteristic of the Bikaner Rajpoots. The Bhatti intermarries with all the families of Rajwarra, though seldom with the Ranas of Mewar. The late Juggut Sing of Jeipoor had five wives of this stock, and his posthumous son, real or reputed, has a Bhattiani for his mother.

Dress.—The dress of the Bhattis consists of a *jamah*, or tunic of white cloth or chinz reaching to the knee; the *cumurbund*, or ceinture, tied so high as to present no appearane of waist; trowsers very loose, and in many folds, drawn tight at the ancle, and a turban, generally of a scarlet colour, rising conically full a foot from the head. A dagger is stuck in the waist band; a shield is suspended by a thong of deer-skin from the left shoulder, and the sword is girt by a belt of the same material. The dress of the common people is the *dhoti*, or loin-robe, generally of woolen stuff, with a piece of the same material as turban. The dress of the Bhattianis which discriminates the sex, consists of a *ghagra* or petticoat, extending to thirty feet in width, made generally of the finer woollen, dyed a brilliant red, with a scarf of the same material. The grand ornament of rich and poor, though varying in the materials, is the *chaori*, or rings of ivory or bone, with which they cover their arms from the shoulders to the wrist.* They are in value from sixteen to thirty-five rupees a set, and imported from Muska-Mandive, though they also manufacture them at Jessulmeer. Silver *kurris* (massive rings or anklets) are worn by all classes, who deny themselves the necessaries of life until they attain this ornament. The poorer Rajpootnis are very masculine, and assist in all the details of husbandry.

* The chaori of ivory, bone, or shell, is the most ancient ornament of the Indo-Scythic dames, and appears in old sculpture and painting. I was much struck with some ancient sculptures in a very old Gothic church at Moissac, in Languedoc. The porch is the only part left of this most antique fane, attributed to the age of Dagobert. It represents the conversion of Clovis, and when the subject was still a matter of novelty. But interesting as this is, it is as nothing when campared to some sculptered figures below, of a totally distinct age; in execution as far superior as they are dissimilar in character, which is decidedly Asiatic: the scarf, the *champakulli* or necklace, representing the buds of the jessamine (*champa*), and *chaoris*, such as I have been describing. To whom but the Visigoths can we ascribe them?—and does not this supply the connecting link of this Asiatic race, destined to change the moral aspect of Europe? I recommend all travellers, who are interested in tracing such analogies, to visit the church at Moissac, though it is not known as an object of curiosity in the neighbourhood.

The Bhatti is to the full as addicted as any of his brethren to the immoderate use of opium. To the *umlpani*, or 'infusion,' succeeds the pipe, and they continue inhaling mechanically the smoke long after they are insensible to all that is passing around them; nay, it is said, you may scratch or pinch them while in this condition without exciting sensation. The *hooka* is the dessert to the *umlpani*; the panacea for all the ills which can overtake a Rajpoot, and with which he can at any time enjoy a paradise of his own creation. To ask a Bhatti for a whiff of his pipe would be deemed a direct insult.

Palliwals.—Next to the lordly Rajpoots, equalling them in numbers and far surpassing them in wealth, are the Palliwals. They are Brahmins, and denominated *Palliwal* from having been temporal proprietors of *Palli*, and all its lands, long before the Rahtores colonized Marwar. Tradition is silent as to the manner in which they became possessed of this domain; but it is connected with the history of the *Pali*, or pastoral tribes, who from the town of Palli to Palithana, in Saurashtra, have left traces of their existence; and I am much mistaken if it will not one day be demonstrated, that all the ramifications of the races figuratively denominated *Agnicula*, were Pali in origin: more especially the Chohans, whose princes and chiefs for ages retained the distinctive affix of *Pal.*

These Brahmins, the Palliwalls, as appears by the Annals of Marwar, held the domain of Palli when Seoji, at the end of the twelfth century, invaded that land from Canouj, and by an act of treachery first established his power. It is evident however, that he did not extirpate them, for the cause of their migration to the desert of Jessulmeer is attributed to a period of a Mahomedan invasion of Marwar, when a general war-contribution (*dind*) being imposed on the inhabitants, the Palliwals pleaded *caste*, and refused. This exasperated the Rajá; for as their habits were almost exclusively mercantile, their stake was greater than that of the rest of the community, and he threw their principal men into prison. In order to avenge this, they had recourse to a grand *chandi*, or 'act of suicide'; but instead of gaining their object, he issued a manifesto of banishment to every Palliwal in his dominions. The greater part took refuge in Jessulmeer, though many settled in Bikaner, Dhat and the valley of Sinde. At one time, their number in Jessulmeer was calculated to equal that of the Rajpoots. Almost all the internal trade of the country passes through their hands, and it is chiefly with their capital that its merchants trade in foreign parts. They are the

Metayers, of the desert, advancing money to the cultivators, taking the security of the crop; and they buy up all the wool and *ghee* (clarified butter), which they transport to foreign parts. They also rear and keep flocks. The minister, Salim Sing, has contrived to diminish their wealth, and consequently to lose the main support of the country's prosperity. They are also subject to the visits of the Maldotes, Tejmalotes, and other plunderers; but they find it difficult to leave the the country owing to the restrictive *cordon* of the Mehta. The Palliwals never marry out of their own tribe; and, directly contrary to the laws of Menu, the bridegroom gives a sum of money to the father of the bride. It will be deemed a curious incident in the history of superstition, that a tribe, Brahmin by name, at least, should worship the bridle of a horse. When to this is added the fact, that the most ancient coins discovered in these regions bear the Pali character and the effigies of the horse, it aids to prove the Scythic character of the early colonists of these regions, who, although nomadic (*Pali*), were aquestrian. There is little doubt that the Palliwal Brahmins are the remains of the priests of the Palli race, who, in their pastoral and commercial pursuits, have lost their spiritul power.

Pokurna Brahmins.—Another singular tribe, also Brahminical, is the Pokurna, of whom it is calculated there are fifteen hundred to two thousand families in Jessulmeer. They are also numerous in Marwar and Bikaner, and are scattered over the desert and valley of the Indus. They follow agricultural and pastoral pursuits chiefly, having little or no concern in trade. Tradition of their origin is singular: it is said that they were *Bildars*, and excavated the sacred lake of Poshkur or Pokur, for which act they obtained the favour of the deity and the grade of Brahmins, with the title of *Pokurna*. Their chief object of emblematic worship, the *khodalu*, a kind of pick-axe used in digging, seems to favour this tradition.

Juts or *Jits.*—The Juts here, as elsewhere, form a great part of the agricultural population: there are also various other tribes, which will be better described in a general account of the desert.

Castle of Jessulmeer.—The castle of this desert king is erected on an almost isolated peak, from two hundred and fifty feet in height, a strong wall running round the crest of the hill. It has four gates, but very few cannon mounted. The city is to the north, and is surrounded by a *scherpunna* or circumvallation, encompassing a space of nearly three miles having three gates and two wickets. In the city are some

good houses belonging to rich merchants, but the greater part consists of huts. The Raja's palace is said to possess some pretension to grandeur, perhaps comparative. Were he on good terms with his vassalage, he could collect for its defence five thousand infantry and one thousand horse, besides his camel-corps; but it may be doubted whether, under the oppressive system of the monster who has so long continued to desolate that region, one-half of this force could be brought together.*

* It has been reported that the dagger has since rid the land of its tyrant. The means matter little, if the end is accomplished. Even assassination loses much of its odious character when resorted to for such a purpose.

SKETCH

OF THE

INDIAN DESERT.

CHAPTER I.

General aspect.—Boundaries and divisions of the desert.—Probable etymology of the Greek oasis.—Absortion of the Caggar river.—The Looni, or salt-river.—The Runn, or Rin.—Distinction of thul *and* rooe.—Thul *of Looni.—Jhalore.—Sewanchi.—Macholah and Morseen.—Beenmal and Sanchore.—Bhadrajoon.—Mehwo.—Bhalotra and Tilwara.—Eendovati.—Gogadeo-ca-thul.—*Thul *of Tirruroe.—*Thul *of Khawur.—Mallinath-ca-thul, or Barmair.—Kherdhur.—Junah Chotun.—Nuggur Goorah.*

HAVING never penetrated personally farther into the heart of the desert than Mundore, the ancient capital of all Maroosthali, the old castle of Hissar on its north-eastern frontier, and Aboo, Nehrwalla, and Bhooj, to the south, it may be necessary, before entering upon the details, to deprecate the charge of presumption or incompetency, by requesting the reader to bear in mind, that my parties of discovery have traversed it in every direction, adding to their journals of routes living testimonies of their accuracy, and bringing to me natives of every *thul* from Bhutnair to Omurkote, and from Aboo to Arore.* I wish it, however, to be clearly understood, that I look upon this as a mere outline, which, by shewing what might be done, may stimulate further research; but in the existing dearth of information on the subject, I have not hesitated to send it forth, with its almost inevitable errors, as (I trust) a pioneer to more extended and accurate knowledge.

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* The Journals of all these routes, with others of Central and Western India, form eleven moderate-sized folio volumes, from which an itinerary of these regions might be constructed. It was my intention to have drawn up a more perfect and detailed map from these, but my health forbids the attempt. They are now deposited in the archives of the Company, and may serve, if judiciously used, to fill up the only void in the great map of India, executing by their commands.

After premising thus much, let us commence with details which, but for the reasons already stated, should have been comprised in the geographical portion of the work, and which, though irrelevant to the historical part, are too important to be thrown into notes. I may add, that the conclusions formed, partly from personal observation, but chiefly from the sources described above, have been confirmed by the picture drawn by Mr. Elphinstone of his passage through the northern desert in the embassy to Cabul, which renders perfectly satisfactory to me the views I before entertained. It may be well, at this stage, to mention that some slight repetitions must occur as we proceed, having incidentally noticed many of the charateristic features of the desert in the Annals of Bikaner, which was unavoidable from the position of that state.

The hand of Nature has defined, in the boldest characters, the limits of the great desert of India, and we only require to follow minutely the line of demarcation; though, in order to be distinctly understood, we must repeat the analysis of the term *Marroosthali*, the emphatic appellation of this 'region of death.' The word is compounded of the Sanscrit *mri*, 'to die,' and *sthali*, 'arid or dry land,' which last, in the corrupted dialect of those countries, becomes *thul*, the converse of the Greek *oasis*, denoting tracts particularly sterile. Each *thul* has its distinct denomination, as the '*thul* of Kawur,' '*thul* of Goga,' &c.; and the cultivated spots, compared with these, either as to number or magnitude, are so scanty, that instead of the ancient Roman simile, which likened Africa to the leopard's hide, reckoning the spots thereon as the *oases*, I would compare the Indian desert to that of the tiger, of which the long dark stripes would indicate the expansive belts of sand, elevated upon a plain only less sandy, and over whose surface numerous thinly-peopled towns and hamlets are scattered.

Maroosthali is bounded on the north by the flat skirting the Garah; on the south by that grand salt-marsh, the Rin, and Koliwarra; on the east by Aravulli; and on the west by the valley of Sinde. The two last boundaries are the most conspicuous, especially the Aravulli, but for which impediment, Central India would be submerged in sand; nay, lofty and continuous as is this chain, extending almost from the sea to Delhi, wherever there are passages or depressions, these floating sand-clouds are wafted through or over, and form a little *thul* even in the bosom of fertility. Whoever has crossed the Bunas near Tonk, where the sand or some miles resembles waves of the sea, will comprehend his remark Its western boundary is alike defined, and will

recall to the English traveller, who may be destined to journey up the valley of Sinde, the words of Napoleon on the Lybain desert: "Nothing so much resembles the sea as the desert; or a coast, as the valley of the Nile:" for this substitute "Indus," whence, in journeying northward along its banks from Hydrabad to Ootch, the range of vision will be bounded to the east by a bulwark of sand, which, rising often to the height of two hundred feet above the level of the river, leads one to imagine that the chasm, now forming this rich valley, must have originated in a sudden melting of all the glaciers of Caucasus, whose congregated waters made this break in the continuity of Maroosthali, which would otherwise be united with the deserts of Arachosia.

We may here repeat the tradition illustrating the geography of the desert, *i. e.*, that in remote ages it was ruled by princes of the Powar (Pramara) race, which the *sloca*, or verse of the bard, recording the names of the nine fortresses (*No-koti Maroo-ca*), so admirably adapted by their position to maintain these regions in subjection, further corroborates. We shall divest it of its metrical form, and begin with Poogul, to the north; Mundore, in the centre of all Maroo; Aboo, Kheraloo, and Parkur, to the south; Chotun, Omurkote, Arore, and Ladorva to the west; the possession of which assuredly makes the sovereignty of the desert. The antiquity of this legend is supported by the ommission of all modern cities, the present capital of the Bhattis not being mentioned. Even Lodorva and Arore, cities for ages in ruins, are names known only to a few who frequent the desert; and Chotun and Kheraloo, * but for the traditional stanzas which excited our research, might never have appeared on the map.

We purpose to follow the natural divisions of the country, or those employed by the natives, who, as stated above, distinguish them as *thuls*; and after describing these in detail with a summary notice of the principal towns whether ruined or existing, and the various tribes, conclude with the chief lines of route diverging from, or leading to, Jessulmeer.

The whole of Bikaner, and that part of Shekhavati north of the Aravali, are comprehended in the desert. If the reader will refer to the map, and look for the town of Kanorh, within the British frontier, he will see what Mr. Elphinstone considered as the commencement of the desert, in his interesting expedition to Cabul.† "From Delly to Canound (the Kanroh of my map), a distance of one hundred miles is through the

* Unfortunately ommited in the Map; it is fifteen miles north of Chotun.

† It left Delhi the 23th October 1808.

British Dominions, and need not be described. It is sufficient to say, that the country is sandy, though not ill cultivated. On approaching Canound, we had the first specimen of the desert, to which we were looking forward with anxious curiosity. Three miles before reaching that place we came to sand hills, which at first were covered with bushes, but afterwards were naked piles of loose sand, rising one after another, like the waves of the sea, and marked on the surface by the wind like drifted snow. There were roads through them, made solid by the treading of animals; but off the road our horses sunk into the sand above the knee." Such was the opening scene; the route of the embassy was by Singana, Jhoonjoonoo, to Chooroo, when they entered Bikaner. Of Shekhavati, which he had left, Mr. Elphinstone says: "it seems to lose its title to be included in the desert, when compared with the two hundred and eighty miles between its western frontier and Bahawulpur, and, even of this, only the last hundred miles absolutely destitute of inhabitants, water, or vegetation. Our jurney from Shekhavati to Poogul, was over hills and valleys of loose and heavy sand. The hills were exactly like those which are sometimes formed by the wind on the sea-shore, but far exceeding them in height, which was from twenty to a hundred feet. They are said to shift their position and alter their shapes according as they are affected by the wind, and in summer the passage is rendered dangerous by the clouds of moving sand; but when I saw the hills (in winter), they seemed to have a great degree of permanence, for they bore grass, besides *Phoke*, the *babool*, and *bair* or jujube, which altogether gave them an appearance that sometimes amounted to verdure. Amongst the most dismal hills of sand, one occasionally meets with a village, if such a name can be given to a few round huts of straw, with low walls and conical roofs, like little stacks of corn." This description of the northern portion of the desert, by an author whose great characteristics are accuracy and simplicity, will enable the reader to form a more correct notion of what follows. *

With these remarks, and bearing in mind what has already been said of the physiognomy of these regions, we proceed to particularize the various *thuls* and *oases* in this "region of death." It will be convenient to disregard the ancient Hindu

* "Our marches," says Mr. Elphinstone, "were seldom very long. The longest was twenty-six miles, and the shortest fifteen; but the fatigue which our people suffered, bore no proportion to the distance. Our line when in the closest order, was two miles long. The path by which we travelled wound much, to avoid the sand-hills. It was too narrow to allow of two camels going abreast; and if an animal stepped to one side, it sunk in the sand as in snow," &c., &c.—*Account of the Kingdom of Cabul*, Vol. 1, p. 13.

geographical division, which makes Mundore the capital of *Maroosthali*, a distinction both from its character and position better suited to Jessulmeer, being nearly in the centre of what may be termed entire desert. It is in fact an *oasis*, every where insulated by immense masses of *thul*, some of which are forty miles in breadth, without the trace of man, or aught that could subsist him. From Jessulmeer we shall pass to Marwar, and without crossing the Looni, describe Jhalore and Sewanchi; then conduct the reader into the almost unknown *raj* of Parkur and Vira-Bah, governed by princes of the Chohan race, with the title of Rana. Thence, skirting the political limits of modern Rajpootana, to the regions of Dhat and Oomursoomra, now within the dominion of Sinde, we shall conclude with a very slight sketch of Daudputra, and the valley of the Indus. These details will receive further illustration from the remarks made on every town or hamlet diverging from the "hill of Jessoh" (*Jessulmeer*). Could the beholder, looking westward from this 'triple-peaked hill,'* across this sandy ocean to the blue waters (*Nilab*)† of the Indus, embrace in his vision its whole course from Hydrabad to Ootch, he would perceive, amidst these valleys of sand-hills, little colonies of animated beings, congregated on every spot which water renders habitable. Throughout this tract, from four hundred to five hundred miles in longitudinal extent, and from one hundred of diagonal breadth, are little hamlets, consisting of the scattered huts of the shepherds of the desert occupied in pasturing their flocks or cultivating these little *oases* for food. He may discern a long line of camels (called *kutar*, a name better known than either *kafila* or *carwan*), anxiously toiling through the often doubtful path, and the Charun conductor, at each stage, tying a knot on the end of his turban. He may discover, lying in ambush, a band of Sehraes, the Bedouins of our desert (*sehra*), either mounted on camels or horses, on the watch to dispoil the caravan, or engaged in the less hazardous occupation of driving off the flocks of the Rajur or Mangulia shepherds, peacefully tending them about the *turs* or *bawas*, or hunting for the produce stored amidst the huts of the ever green *jhal*, which serve at once as grain-pits and shelter from the sun. A migratory band may be seen flitting with their flocks from ground which they have exhausted, in search of fresh pastures;

> "And if the following day they chance to find
> A new repast, or an untasted spring,
> Will bless their stars, and think it luxury!"

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* *Tri-cuta*, the epithet bestowed on the rock on which the castle of Jessulmeer is erected.

† A name often given by Ferishta to the Indus.

Or they may be seen preparing the *rabri*, a mess quite analogous to the *kouskous* of their Numidian brehern, or quenching their thirst from the *Wah* of their little *oasis*, of which they maintain sovereign possession so long as the pasture lasts, or till they come in conflict with some more powerful community.

We may here pause to consider whether in the *bah*, *bawa*, or wah, of the Indian desert, may not be found the *oasis* of the Greeks, corrupted by them from *el-wah*, or as written by Belzoni (in his account of the Libyan desert, while searching for the temple of Ammon), *Elloah*. Of the numerous terms used to designate water in these arid regions, as *par*, *rar*, *tir*, *de* or *day*, *bah*, *bawa*, *wah*, all but the latter are chiefly applicable to springs or pools of water, while the last (*wah*), though used often in a like sense, applies more to a water-course or stream. *El-wah*, under whatever term, means—'*the water*.' Again *dey* or *de*, is a term in general use for a pool, even not unfrequently in running streams and large rivers, which, pausing to flow in dry weather, leave large stagnant masses, always called *de*. There are many of the streams of Rajpootana, having such pools, particularized *hati-de*, or 'elephant-pool,' denoting a sufficiency of water even to drown that animal. Now the word *de* or *day* added to the generic term for water, *wah*, would make *wadey* (pool of water), the Arabian term for a running stream, and commonly used by recent travellers in Africa for these habitable spots. If the Greeks took the word *wadey* from any MS., the transposition would be easily accounted for: *wadey* would be written thus وادي and by the addition of a point وذي *wazey*, easily metamorphosed, for a euphonous termination, into *oasis*.*

* When I penned conjectural etymology, I was not aware that any speculation had been made upon this word: I find, however, the late M. Langles suggested the derivation of *oasis* (variously written by the Greeks *auasis*, *iasis* and *huasis*) from the Arabic واح and Dr. Watt, in a series of interesting etymologies (see *Asiatic Journal* May 1813), suggests वसि *vasi* from वस *vas*, 'to inhabit.' *Vasi* and *huasis* quasi *vasis* are almost identical. My friend Sir W. Ouseley gave me nearly the same signification of وادي *Wadey*, as appears in Johnson's edition of Richardson, *viz.*, a valley, a desert, a channel of river—a river, وادي الكبير *wadey-al-kabir*, 'the great river,' corrupted into Guadalquiver, which example is also given in d'Herbelot (see *Vadi Gehennem*), and by Thompson who traces the word *water* through all the languages of Europe—the Saxon *wæter*, the Greek *hudor*, the Islandic *udr*, the Slavonic *wod* (whence *woder* and *oder*, 'a river'): all appear derivable from the Arabic *wad* 'a river'—or the Sanscrit *wah*; and if Dr. W. will refer to p. 341 of the Itinerary, he will find a singular confirmation of his etymology in the word *bas* (classically *vas*) applied to one of these *habitable* spots. The word

At the risk of somewhat of repetition, we must here point out the few grand features which diversify this sea of sand, and after defining the difference between *rooe* and *thul*, which will frequently occur in the itinerary, at once plunge *in medias res.*

We have elsewhere mentioned the tradition of the absorption of the Caggar river, as one of the causes of the comparative depopulation of the northern desert. The couplet recording it I could not recall at the time, nor any record of the Soda prince Hamir, in whose reign this phenomenon is said to have happened. But the utility of these ancient traditional couplets, to which I have frequently drawn the reader's attention, has again been happily illustrated, for the name of Hamir has been incidentally discovered from the trivial circumstance of an intermarriage related in the Bhatti annals. His contemporary of Jessulmeer was Doosauj, who succeeded in S. 1100 or A. D. 1044, so that we have a precise date assigned, supposing this to be the Hamir in question. The Caggar, which rises in the Sewaleek, passes Hansi Hissar, and flowed under the walls of Bhutnair, at which place they yet have their wells in its bed. Thence it passed Rung-mahel, Bullur, and Phoolra, and through the flats of Khadal (of which Derrawul is the capital), emptying itself according to some below Ootch, but according to Abu-Birkat (whom I sent to explore in 1809, and who crossed the dry bed of a stream called the *Khuggur*, near Shahgurh), between Jessulmeer and Rori-Bekher. If this could be authenticated, we should say at once that, united with the branch from Dura, it gave its name to the Sangra, which unites with the Looni, enlarging the eastern branch of the Delta of the Indus.

The next, and perhaps the most remarkable feature in the desert, is the Looni, or Salt river, which with its numerous feeders, has its source in the springs of the Aravali. Of Marwar it is a barrier between the fertile lands and the deserts; and as it leaves this country for the *thul* of the Chohans, it divides that community, and forms a geographical demarcation; the eastern portion being called the Raj of Sooe-Bah; and the western part, Parkur, or *beyond the Khar*, or Looni.

We shall hereafter return to the country of the Chohans, which is bounded to the south by that singular feature in the physiognomy of the desert, The Runn, or Rin, already slightly touched upon in the geographical sketch prefixed to this work. This immense salt-marsh, upwards of one hundred and fifty

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bustee, also of frequent occurence therein, is from *vasna*. to inhabit; *vasi*, an inhabitant; or *vas*, a habitation, perhaps derivable from *wah*, indispensable to an oasis!

miles in breadth, is formed chiefly by the Looni, which, like the Rhone, after forming Lake Leman, resumes its name at its further outlet, and ends as it commences with a sacred character, having the temple of Narayan as its embouchure, where it mingles with the ocean, and that of Brahma at its source of Poshkur. The Runn, or Rin, is a corruption of *Aranya*, or 'the waste'; nor can any thing in nature be more dreary in the dry weather than this parched desert of salt and mud, the peculiar abode of the *khur-gudda*, or wild-ass, whose love of solitude has been commemorated by an immortal pen. That this enormous depository of salt is of no recent formation we are informed by the Greek writers, whose notice it did not escape, and who have preserved in *Erinos* a nearer approximation to the original *Aranya* than exists in our 'Rin' or 'Runn'. Although mainly indebted to the Looni for its salt, whose bed and that of its feeders are covered with saline deposits, it is also supplied by the over flowings of the Indus, to which grand stream it may be indebted for its volume of water. We have here another strong point of physical resemblance between the valleys of the Indus and the Nile, which Napoleon at once referred to the simple operations of nature; I allude to the origin of Lake Mœris, a design too vast for man.*

As the reader will often meet with the words *thul* and *rooe*, he should be acquainted with the distinction between them. The first means an arid and bare desert; the other is equally expressive of desert, but implies the presence of natural vegetation; in fact, the jungle of the desert.

Thul of the Looni.—This embraces the tracts on both sides of the river, forming Jhalore and its dependencies. Although the region south of the stream cannot be included in the *thul*, yet it is so intimately connected with it that we shall not forego the only opportunity we may have of noticing it.

Jhalore.—This tract is one of the most important divisions of Marwar. It is separated from Sewanchi by the Sookri and Khari,† which, with many smaller streams, flow through them

*"The greatest breadth of the valley of the Nile is four leagues, the least, one:" so that the narrowest portion of the valley of Sinde equals the largest of the Nile. Egypt alone is *said* to have had eight millions of inhabitants; what then might Sinde maintain! The condition of the peasantry, as described by *Bourrienne*, is exactly that of Rajpootana: "the villages are fiefs belonging to any one on whom the prince may bestow them; the peasantry pay a tax to their superior, and are the actual proprietors of the soil: amidst all the revolutions and commotions, their privileges are not infringed." This right (still obtaining), taken away by Joseph, was restored by Sesotrsis.

† Another salt river.

from the Aravali and Aboo, aiding to fertilize its three hundred and sixty towns and villages, forming a part of the fiscal domains of Marwar. Jhalore, according to the geographical stanza so often quoted, was one of the 'nine castles of Maroo', when the Pramar held paramount rule in Maroosthali. When it was wrested from them we have no clue to discover; but it had long been held by the Chohans, whose celebrated defence of their capital against Alla-o-din, in A.D. 1301, is recorded by Ferishta, as well as in the chronicles of their bards. This branch of the Chohan race was called *Mallani*, and will be again noticed, both here and in the annals of Harouti. It fromed that portion of the Chohan sovereignty called the *Happa* Raj, whose capital was Junah-Chotun, connecting the sway of this race in the countries along the Looni from Ajmer to Parkur, which would appear to have crushed its Agnicula brother, the Pramar, and possessed all that region marked by the course of the 'Salt River' to Parkur.

Sonagir, the 'golden mount,' is the more ancient name of this castle and was adopted by the Chohans as distinctive of their tribe, when the older term, Mallani, was dropped for Sonigurra. Here they enshrined their tutilary divinity, Mallinath, 'god of the Malli' who maintained his position until the sons of Seoji entered these regions, when the name of Sonagir was exchanged, for that of Jholare, contracted from Jhalinder-nath, whose shrine is about a coss west of the castle. Whether Jhalinder-nath, 'the divinity of Jhalinder,' was imported from the Ganges, or left as well as the god of the *Malli* by the *ce-devant* Malianis, is uncertain: but should this prove to be a remnant of the foes of Alexander, driven by him from Mooltan, * its probability is increased by the caves of Jhalinder (so celebrated as a Hindu pilgrimage even in Baber's time) being in their vicinity. Be this as it may, the Rahtores, like the Roman conquerors, have added these indigenous divinities to their own pantheon: a drawing of Mallinath is given from the sculpture of Mundore. The descendants of the expatriated Sonigurras now occupy the lands of Cheetulwano, near the *furca* of the Looni.

Jhalore comprehends the inferior districts of Sewanchi, Beenmal, Sanchore, Morseen, all attached to the *khalisa* or

* Mooltan and Junah (Chetun, qu. Chohan-tan,) have the same signification, 'the ancient abode,' and both were occupied by the tribe of Malli or Mallani, said to be of Chohan race; and it is curious to find at Jhalore (classically Jhalinder,) the same divinities as in their haunts in the Punjab, *viz.* Mall-nath, Jhalinder-nath, and Balnath. Abulfazil says, (p. 108, vol. ii,) "the of Bulnauth is in the middle of Sind-sagur;" and Baber (p. 263,) places *Balinat-jogi* below the hill of Jud, five marches east of the Indus," the very spot claimed by the Yadus, when led of India by their deified leader Buldeo, or Balnath.

fisc; besides the great *puttaets*, or chieftainships, of Bhadrajoon, Mehwo, Jessole, and Sindri—a tract of ninety miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth, with a fair soil, water near the surface, and requiring only good government to make it as productive as any of its magnitude in these regions, and sufficient to defray the whole personal expenses of the Rajas of Jodpoor, or about nine lakhs of rupees; but in consequence of the anarchy of the capital, the corruption of the managers, and the raids of the Sehraes of the desert and the Meenas of Aboo and the Aravali, it is deplorably deteriorated. There are several ridges (on one of which is the castle) traversing the district but none uniting with the table-land of Mewar, though with breaks it may be traced to near Aboo. In one point it shews its affinity to the desert, *i.e.*, in its vegetable productions, for it has no other timber than the *jhal* the *babool*, the *khureel*, and other shrubs of the *thul*.

The important fortress of Jhalore, guarding the southern frontier of Marwar, stands on the extremity of the range extending north to Sewanoh. It is from three to four hundred feet in height, fortified with a wall and bastions, on some of which cannons are mounted. It has four gates; that from the town is called the *Sooruj-pol*, and to the north-west is the Bal-pol ('the gate of Bal,' the sun-god), where there is a shrine of the Jain pontiff, Parswanath. There are many wells, and two considerable *bawaris*, or reservoirs of good water, and to the north a small lake formed by damming-up the streams from the hills; but the water seldom lasts above half the year. The town, which contains three thousand and seventeen houses, extends on the north and eastern side of the fort, having the Sookrie flowing about a mile east of it. It has a circumvallation as well as the castle, having guns for its defence; and is inhabited by every variety of tribe, though strange to say, there are only five families of Rajpoots in its motley population. The following census was made by one of my parties, in A.D 1813.

	Houses.
Mallis, or gardeners	140
Tailis, or oilmen, here called *ghatchi* ...	100
Khomars, or potters	60
Thataires, or braziers	30
Cheepas, or printers	20
Bankers, merchants and shop-keepers ...	1,156
Moosulmaun families	936
Khuteeks, or butchers	20
Naes, or barbers	16
Khulals, or spirit-distillers	20

Weavers	100
Silk weavers	15
Yatis (Jain priests)	2
Brahmins	100
Goojurs	40
Rajpoots	5
Bhojuks	20
Meenas	60
Bhils	15
Sweetmeat-shops	8
Ironsmiths and carpenters (*Lohars* and *Sootars*)	14
Chooriwallas, or bracelet-manufacturers ...	4

The general accuracy of this census was confirmed.

Sewanchi is the tract between the Looni and Sookrie, of which Sewanoh, a strong castle placed on the extremity of the same range with Jhalore, is the capital. The country requires no particular description, being of the same nature as that just depicted. In former times it constituted, together with Nagore, the appanage of the heir-apparent of Marwar ; but since the setting up of the pretender, Dhonkul Sing, both have been attached to the fisc : in fact, there is no heir to Maroo ! Ferishta mentions the defence of Sewanoh against the arms of Alla-o-din.

Macholah* and Morseen are the two principal dependencies of Jhalore within the Looni, the former having a strong castle guarding its south-east frontier against the depredations of the Meenas ; the latter, which has also a fort and town of five hnndred houses, is on the western extremity of Jhalore.

Beenmal and *Sanchore* are the two principal subdivisions to the south, and together nearly equal the remainder of the province, each containing eight villages. These towns are on the high road to Cutch and Guzzerat, which has given them from the most remote times a commercial celebrity. Beenmal is said to contain fifteen hundred houses, and Sanchore about half the number. Very wealthy *Mahajuns*, or 'merchants,' used to reside here, but insecurity both within and without has much injured these cities, the first of which has its name *Mal* (not *Mahl*, as in the Map), from its wealth as a mart. There is a temple of Baraha (Varaha, the incarnation of the hog), with a great sculptured boar. Sanchore possesses also a distinct celebrity from being the cradle of a class of Brahmins called Sanchora, who are the officiating priests of some of the most celebrated temples in these regions, as that of Dwarica.

* Omitted in the map.

Mathura, Poshkur, Nuggur-Parkur, &c. The name of Sanchore is corrupted from Sati-poora, Sati, or Suttee's town, said to be very ancient.

Bhadrajoon.—A slight notice is due to the principal fiefs of Jhalore, as well as the fiscal towns of this domain. Bhadrajoon is a town of five hundred houses (three-fourths of which are of the Meean class), situated in the midst of a cluster of hills having a small fort. The chief is of the Joda clan; his fief connects Jhalore with Palli in Godwar.

Mehwo is a celebrated little tract on both banks of the Looni, and one of the first possesssions of the Rahtores. It is properly speaking, in Sewanchi, to which it pays a tribute, besides service when required. The chief of Mehwo has the title of Rawul, and his usual residence is the town of Jessole. Soorut Sing is the present chief; his relative Soorajmul, holds the same title and the fief and castle of Sindri, also on the Looni, twenty-two miles south of Jessole. A feud reigns between them: they claim co-equal rights, and the consequence is that neither can reside at Mehwo, the capital of the domain. Both chiefs deemed the profession of robber no disgrace, when this memoir was written (1813); but it is to be hoped they have seen the danger, if not the error, of their ways, and will turn to cultivating the fertile tracts along the 'Salt River, which yield wheat, jooar, and bajra in abundance.

Bhalotra, Tilwarra, are two celebrated names in the geography of this region, and have an annual fair, as renowned in Rajpootana as that of Leipsic in Germany. Though called the Bhalotra *mela* (literally, 'an assemblage, or concourse of people'), it was held at Tilwarra, several miles south, near an island of the Looni, which is sanctified by a shrine of Malli-nath, 'the divinity of the Malli,' who, as already mentioned, is now the patron god of the Rahtores. Tilwarra forms the fief of another relative of the Mehwo family, and Bhalotra, which ought to belong to the fisc, did and may still belong to Ahwa, the chief noble of Marwar. But Bhalotra and Sindri have other claims to distinction, having with the original estate of Droonara, formed the fief of Doorgadas, the first character in the annals of Maroo, and whose descendant yet occupies Sindri. The fief of Mehwo, which includes them all, was rated at fifty thousand rupees annually. The *Puttaets* with their vassalage occasionally go to court, but hold themselves exempt from service except on emergencies. The call upon them is chiefly for the defence of the frontier, of which they are the *sim-iswara,* or lord-marchers.

Eendovati.—This tract, which has its name from the Rajpoot tribe of Eendo, the chief branch of the Purihars, (the

ancient sovereigns of Mundore, extends from Bhalotra north, and west of the capital, Jodpoor, and is bounded on the north by the *thul* of Goga. The *thul* of Eendovati embraces a space of about thirty coss in circumference.

Gogadeo-ca-thul.—The *thul* of Goga, a name celebrated in the heroic history of the Chohans, is immediately north of Eendovati, and one description will suit both. The sand ridges (*thul-ca-teeba*) are very lofty in all this tract; very thinly inhabited; few villages; water far from the surface, and having considerable jungles. Thobe, Phulsoond, and Beemasir are the chief towns in this *rooe.* They collect rain-water in reservoirs called *tanka,* which they are obliged to use sparingly, and often while a mass of corruption, producing that peculiar disease in the eyes called *rat-andha* (corrupted by us to *rotunda*) or night-blindness,* for with the return of day it passes off.

The thul of Tirruroe intervenes between that of Gogadeo and the present frontier of Jessulmeer, to which it formerly belonged. Pokurn is the chief town, not of Tirruroe only, but all the desert interposed between the two chief capitals of Maroosthali. The southern part of this *thul* does not differ from that described, but its northen portion, and more especially for sixteen to twenty miles around the city of Pokurn, are low disconnected ridges of loose rock, the continuation of that on which stands the capital of the Bhattis, which give, as we have already said, to this oasis the epithet of *Mer* or rocky. The name of Tirruroe is derived from *tirr,* which signifies moisture, humidity from springs, or the springs themselves, which rise from this *rooe.* Pokurn, the residence of Salim, Sing (into the history of whose family we have so fully entered in the annals of Marwar), is a town of two thousand houses, surrounded by a stone wall, and having a fort, monnting several guns on its eastern side. Under the west side of the town, the inhabitants have the unusual sight in these regions of running water, though only in the rainy season, for it is soon absorbed by the sands. Some say it comes from the Sirr of Kanoad, others from the springs in the ridge; at all events, they derive a good and plentiful supply of water from the wells excavated in its bed. The chief of Pokurn, besides its twenty four villages, holds lands between the Looni and Bandy rivers to the amount of a *lakh* of rupees. Droonara and Munzil, the fief of the loyal Doorgadas, are now in the hands of the

* It is asserted by the natives to be caused by a small thread-like worm which also forms in the eyes of horses. I have seen it in the horse, moving about with great velocity. They puncture and discharge it with the aqueous humour.

traitor Salim. Three coss to the north of Pokurn is the village of Ramdeora, so named from a shrine to Ramdeo, one of the Paladins of the desert and which attracts people from all quarters to the *mela*, or fair, held in the rainy month of Bhadoon. Merchants from Koratchy-bundur, Tatta, Mooltan, Shikarpoor, and Cutch, here exchange the produce of various countries: horses, camels, and oxen used also to be reared in great numbers, but the famine of 1813, and anarchy ever since Raja Maun's accession, added to the interminable feuds between the Bhattis and Rahtores, have checked all this desirable intercourse which occasionally made the very heart of the desert a scene of joy and activity.

Thul of Khawur.—This *thul*, lying between Jessulmeer and Barmair, and abutting at Giraup into the desert of Dhat, is in the most remote angle of Marwar. Though thinly inhabited, it possesses several considerable places, entitled to the name of towns, in this 'abode of death'. Of these, Sheo and Kottoroh are the most considerable, the first containing three hundred, the latter five hundred houses, situated upon the ridge of hills, which may be traced from Bhooj to Jessulmeer. Both these towns belong to chiefs of the Rahtore family, who pay a nominal obedience to the Raja of Jodpoor. At no distant period, a mart trade used to be carried on between Anhulwarra Patun and this region; but the lawless Sehraes plundered so many *kafilas*, that it is at length destroyed. They find pasture for numerous flocks of sheep and buffaloes in this *thul*.

Malli-nath-ca-thul, or Barmair.—The whole of this region was formerly inhabited by a tribe called Malli or Mallani, who although asserted by some to be Rahtore in origin, are assuredly Chohan, and of the same stock as the ancient lords of Junah Chotun. Barmair was reckoned, before the last famine, to contain one thousand two hundred houses, inhabited by all classes, one-fourth of whom were Sanchora Brahmins. The town is situated in the same range as Sheo-Kottoroh, here two to three hundred feet in height. From Sheo to Barmair there is a good deal of flat intermingled with low *teebas* of sand, which in favourable seasons produces enough food for consumption. Puddum Sing, the Barmair chief, is of the same stock as those of Sheo-Kottorah, and Jessole; from the latter they all issue, and he calculates thirty-four villages in his feudal domain. Formerly a *dannie* (which is, literally rendered, *douanier*) resided here to collect the transit duties; but the Sehraes have rendered this office a sinecure, and the chief of Barmair takes the little it realizes to himself. They find it more convenient to be on a tolerably

good footing with the Bhattis, from whom this tract was conquered, than with their own head, whose officers they very often oppose, especially when a demand is made upon them for *dind*; on which occasion they do not disdain to call in the assistance of their desert friends, the Sehraes. Throughout the whole of this region, they rear great numbers of the best camels, which find a ready market in every part of India.

Kherdhur.—'The land of *Kher*' * has often been mentioned in the annals of these states. It was in this distant nook that the Rahtores first established themselves, expelling the Gohil tribe, which migrated to the Gulf of Cambay, and are now lords of Goga and Bhaonuggur; and instead of steering 'the ship of the desert' in their piracies on the *kafilas*, plied the Great Indian Ocean, given "to the golden coast of Sofala," in the yet more nefarious trade of slaves. It is difficult to learn what latitude they affixed to the 'land of Kher,' which in the time of the Gohils approximated to the Looni; nor is it necessary to perplex ourselves with much niceties, as we only use the names for the purpose of description. In all probability, it comprehended the whole space afterwards occupied by the Mallani or Chohans, who founded Junah-Chotun, &c., which we shall therefore include in Kherdhur. Kheraloo, the chief town, was one of the 'nine castles of Maroo,' when the Pramar was its sovereign lord. It has now dwindled into an insignificant village, containing no more than forty houses, surrouneded on all sides by hills "of a black colour," part of the same chain from Bhooj.

Junah Chotun, or the 'ancient' Chotun, though always conjoined in name, are two distinct places, said to be of very great antiquity, and capitals of the *Happa* sovereignty. But as to what this Happa Raj was, beyond the bare fact of its princes being Chohan, tradition is now mute. Both still present the vestiges of large cities, more especially *Junah*, 'the ancient,' which is enclosed in a mass of hills, having but one inlet, on the east side, where there are the ruins of small castle which defended the entrance. There are likewise the remains of two more on the summit of the range. The mouldering remnants of *mundirs* (temples), and *bawaris* (reservoirs), now choked up, all bear testimony to its extent which is said to have included twelve thousand habitable

* Named, in all probability, from the superabundant tree of the desert termed *kher*, and *dhur*, 'land.' It is also called *kheraloo*, but more properly *Kherala*, 'the abode of Kher': a shrub of great utility in these regions. Its astringent pods, similar in appearance to those of the *liburnam*, they convert into food. Its gum is collected as an article of trade; the camels brouze upon its twigs, and the wood makes their huts.

dwellings! Now there are not above two hundred huts on its site, while Chotun has shrunk into a poor hamlet. At Dhorimun, which is at the farther extremity of the range in which are Junah and Chotun, there is a singular place of worship, to which the inhabitants flock on the *teej*, or third day of *Sawun* of each year. The patron saint is called Allundeo, through whose means some grand victory was obtained by the Mallani. The immediate objects of veneration are a number of brass images called *aswamookhi*, from having the 'heads of horses' ranged on the top on a mountain called Allundeo. Whether these may further confirm the Scythic ancestry of the Mallani, as a branch of the Asi, or Aswa race of Central Asia, can at present be only matter of conjecture.

Nuggur-Gooroh.—Between Barmair and Nuggur-Gooroh on the Looni is one immense continuous *thul*, or rather *rooe*, containing deep jungles of khyr, or kher, kaijri, kureel, keip, phoke, whose gums and berries are turned to account, by the Bhils and Kolis of the southern districts. Nuggur and Gooroh are two large towns on the Looni (described in the itinerary), on the borders of the Chohan *raj* of Sooebah, and formerly part of it.

Here terminate our remarks on the *thuls* of western Marwar, which, sterile as it is by the hand of Nature, had its miseries completed by the famine that raged generally throughout these regions in S. 1868 (A. D. 1812), and of which *this** is the third year. The disorders which we have depicted as prevailing at the seat of government for the last thirty years, have left these remote regions entirely to the mercy of the desert tribes, or their own scarce less lawless lords: in fact, it only excites our astonishment how man can vegetate in such a land, which has nothing but a few *sirrs*, or salt-lakes to yield any profit to the proprietors, and the excellent camel pastures, more especially in the southern tracts, which produce the best breed in the desert.

* That is, 1814. I am transcribing from my journals of that day just after the return of one of my parties of discovery from these regions, bringing with them natives of Dhat, who, to use their own simple but expressive phraseology, "had the measure of the desert in the palm of their hands;" for they had been employed as *kasids*, or messengers, for thirty years of their lives. Two of them afterwards returned and brought away their families and remained upwards to five years in my service, and were faithful, able and honest in the duties I assigned them, as jemadars of daks, or superintendents of posts, which were for many years under my charge when at Sindia's court extending, at one time from the Ganges to Bombay, through the most savage and little-known regions in India. But with such men as I drilled to aid in these discoveries, I found nothing insurmountable.

CHAPTER II.

Chohan Raj.—Antiquity and nobility of the Chohans of the desert.—Dimension and population of the Raj Nuggur.—Bankasirr.—Theraud.—Face of the Chohan Raj.—Water.—Productions.—Inhabitants.—Kolis and Bhils.—Pithils.—Thuls of Dhat and Omursoomra.—Depth of wells.—Anecdote.—City of Arore, the ancient capital of Sinde.—Dynasties of the Soda, the Soomura, and the Samma princes.—Their antiquity.—Inferred to be the opponents of Alexander the Great, and Menander.—Lieutenant of Walid takes Arore.—Omurkote, its history.—Tribes of Sinde and the desert.—Diseases.—Narooa or Guinea worm.—Productions, animal and vegetable, of the desert.—Daodputra.—Itinerary.

Chohan Raj.—This sovereignty *(raj)* of the Chohans occupies the most remote corner of Rajpootana, and its existence is now for the first time noticed. As the quality of greatness as well as goodness is, in a great measure, relative, the *raj* of the Chohans may appear an empire to the lesser chieftains of the desert. Externally, it is environed, on the north and east, by the tracts of the Marwar state we have just been sketching. To the south-east it is bounded by Koliwarra, to the south hemmed-in by the Rin, and to the west by the desert of Dhat. Internally, it is partitioned into two distinct Governments, the eastern being termed Vira-Bah, and the western, from its position 'across the Looni,' Parkur ;* which appellation, conjoined to Nuggur, is also applied to the capital, with the distinction of Sir-Nuggur, or metropolis. This is the Negar-Parker of the distinguished Rennel, a place visited at a very early stage of our intercourse with these regions by an enterprising Englisman, named Whittington.

The Chohans of this desert boast the great antiquity of their settlement, as well as the nobility of their blood : they

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* From *Par*, 'beyond,' and *kar* or *Khar* synonymous with *Looni*, the 'salt-river.' We have several *Kkari Nadis*, or salt-rivulets, in Rajpootana, though only one Looni. The sea is frequently called the *Loona-pani* 'the salt-water,' or *Khara-pani*, metamorphosed into *Kala-pani*, or 'the black water', which is by no means insignificant.

have only to refer to Manik Rae and Beesildeo of Ajmer, and to Prithwiraj, the last Hindu sovereign of Delhi, to establish the latter fact; but the first we must leave to conjecture and their bards, though we may fearlessly assert that they were posterior to the Sodas and other branches of the Pramar race, who to all appearance were its masters when Alexander descended the Indus. Neither is it improbable that the Malli or Mallani, whom he expelled in that corner of the Punjab, wrested 'the land of Kher' from the Sodas. At all events, it is certain that a chain of Chohan principalities extended from the eightth to the thirteenth century, from Ajmere to the frontiers of Sinde, of which Ajmere, Nadole, Jhalore, Sirohi and Junah-Chotun were the capitals; and though all of these in their annals claim to be independent, it may be assumed that some kind of obedience was paid to Ajmer. We possess inscriptions which justify this assertion. Moreover, each of them was conspicuous in Mooslem history, from the time of the conqueror of Ghuzni to that of Alla-o-din, surnamed 'the second Alexander.' Mahmood, in his twelfth expedition, by Mooltan to Ajmer (whose citadel, Ferishta says, "he was compelled to leave in the hands of the enemy"), passed and sacked Nadole (translated *Buzule*); and the traditions of the desert have preserved the recollection of his visit to Junah-Chotun, and they yet point out the mines by which its castle on the rock was destroyed. Whether this was after his visitation and destruction of Nehrvalla (Anhulwarra Puttun), or while on his journey, we have no means of knowing; but when we recollect that in this his last invasion, he attempted to return by Sinde, and nearly perished with all his army in the desert, we might fairly suppose his determination to destroy Junah-Chotun which betrayed him into this danger: for besides the all-ruling motive of the conversion or destruction of the 'infidels', in all likelihood the expatriated princes of Nehrvalla had sought refuge with the Chohans amidst the sand-hills of Kherdhur, and may thus have fallen einto his grasp.

Although nominally a single principality, the chieftain of Parkur pays little, if any, submission to his superior of Virah-Bah. Both of them have the ancient Hindu title of Rana, and are said at least to possess the quality of hereditary valour, which is synonymous with Chohan. It is unnecessary to particularize the extent in squre miles of *thul* in this raj, or to attempt to number its population, which is so fluctuating; but we shall subjoin a brief account of the chief towns, which will aid in estimating the population of Maroosthali. We begin with the firts division.

The principal towns in the Chohan *rai*, are Sooe, Bah,

Dhurnidur, Bankasir, Theraud, Hoteegong, and Cheetul. Rana Narayan Rao resides alternately at Sooe and Bah, both large towns surrounded by an *abbatis*, chiefly of the *babool* and other thorny trees, called in these regions *kath-ca-kote*, which has given these simple, but very efficient fortifications the term of *kantha-ca-kote*, or, 'fort of throns.' The resources of Naryan Rao, derived from this desert domain, are said to be three lakhs of rupees, of which he pays a triennial tribute of one lakh to Jodpoor, to which no right exists, and which is rarely realized without an army. The tracts watered by the Looni yield good crops of the richer grains; and although, in the dry season, there is no constant stream, plenty of sweet water is procured by excavating wells in its bed. But it is asserted that, even when not continuous, a gentle current is perceptible in those detached portions or pools, filtrating under the porous sand: a phenomenon remarked in the bed of the Cohari river (in the district of Gwalior), where, after a perfectly dry space of several miles, we have observed in the next portion of water a very perceptible current.*

Nuggur, or Sir-nuggur, the capital of Parkur, is a town containing fifteen hundred houses, of which, in 1814, one-half were inhabited. There is a small fort to the south-west of the town on the ridge, which is said to be about two hundred feet high. There are wells and *bairas* (reservoirs) in abundance. The river Looni is called seven coss south of Nuggur, from which we may infer that its bed is distinctly to be traced through the Rin. The chief of Parkur assumes the title of Rana, as well as his superior of Vira-Bah whose allegiance he has entirely renounced, though we are ignorant of the relation in which they ever stood to each other: all are of the same family, the Happa-Raj, of which Junah-Chotun was the capital.

Bankâsir ranks next to Sir-nuggur. It was at no distant period a large, and for the desert, a flourishing town; but now (1814) it contains but three hundred and sixty inhabited dwellings. A son of the Nuggur chief resides here, who enjoys, as well as his father, the title of Rana. We shall make no further mention of the inferior towns, as they will appear in the Itinerary.

Theraud is another sub-division of the Chohans of the Looni, whose chief town of the same name is but a few coss to the east of Sooe-Bah, and which like Parkur is but nominally

* One of my journals mentions that a branch of the Looni passes by Sooe, the capital of Vira-Bah, where it is four hundred and twelve paces n breadth : an error, I imagine.

dependent upon it. With this we shall conclude the subject of Vira-Bah, which, we repeat, may contain many errors.

Face of the Chohan Raj.—As the Itinerary will point out in detail the state of the country, it would be superfluous to attempt a more minute description here. The same sterile ridge, already described as passing through Chotun to Jeessulmeer, is to be traced two coss west of Bankasir, and thence to Nuggur, in detached masses. The tracts on both banks of the Looni yield good crops of wheat and the richer grains, and Vira-Bah, though enclosing considerable *thul*, has a good portion of flat, especially towards Radhunpur, seventeen coss from Sooe. Beyond the Looni, the *thul* rises into lofty *teebas*: and indeed from Chotun to Bankasir, all is sterile, and consists of lofty sand-hills, and broken ridges, often covered by the sands.

Water-productons.—Throughout the Chohan raj, or at least its most habitable portion, water is obtained at a moderate distance from the surface, the wells being from ten to twenty *poorshes*,* or about sixty-five to a hundred and thirty feet in depth; nothing, when compared with those in Dhat, sometimes near seven hundred. Besides wheat, on the Looni, the oil-plant (*til*), *moong*, *moth*, and other pulses, with *bajra*, are produced in sufficient quantities for internal cosumption; but plunder is the chief pursuit throughout this land, in which the lordly Chohan and the Koli menial vie in dexterity. Wherever the soil is least calculated for agriculture, there is often abundance of fine pasture especially for camels, which brouze upon a variety of thorny shrubs. Sheep and goats are also in great numbers, and bullocks and horses of a very good description, which find a ready sale at the Tilwarra fair.

Inhabitants,—We must describe the descendants, whether of the Malli foe of Alexander, or of the no less heroic Prithwiraj, as a community of thieves who used to carry their raids into Sinde, Guzzerat, and Marwar, to avenge themselves on private property for the wrongs they suffered from the want of all government, or the oppression of those (Jodpoor) who asserted supremacy over, and the right to plunder them. All classes are to be found in the Chohan raj: but those predominate, the names of whose tribes are synonyms for 'robber', as the Sehrae, Khossa, Koli, Bhil. Although the Chohan is lord-paramount, a few of whom are to be found in every village, yet the Koli and Bhil tribe, with another class called Pithil, are the most numerous: the last named, though equally low in

* *Poorsh*, the standard measure of the desert, is here from six to seven feet, or the average height of a man, to the tip of his finger, the hand being raised vertically over the head. It is derived from *poorosh*,' 'man.'

caste, is the only industrious class in this region. Besides cultivation, they make a trade of the gums, which they collect in great quantities from the various trees whose names have been already mentioned. The Chohans, like most of these remote Rajpoot tribes, dispense with the *zinar* or *junnoo*, the distinctive thread of a "twice-born tribe," and are altogether free from the prejudices of those whom association with Brahmins has bound down with chains of iron. But to make amends for this laxity in ceremonials, there is a material amendment in their moral character, in comparison with the Chohans of the *poorub* (east); for here the unnatural law of infanticide is unknown, in spite of the examples of their neighbours, the Jharejas, amongst whom it prevails to the most frightful extent. In eating they have no prejudices; they make no *choka*, or fireplace; their cooks are generally of the barber (*nae*) tribe, and what is left at one meal, they, contrary to all good manners, tie up and eat at the next.

Kolis and Bhils.—The first is the most numerous class in these regions, and may be ranked with the most degraded portion of the human species. Although they *pooja* all the symbols of Hindu worship, and chiefly the terrific '*Mata*,' they scoff at all laws, human or divine, and are little superior to the brutes of their own forests. To them every thing edible is lawful food; cows, buffaloes, the camel, deer, hog; nor do they even object to such as have died a natural death. Like the other debased tribes, they affect to have Rajpoot blood, and call themselves Chohan Koli, Rahtore Koli, Purihar Koli, &c., which only tends to prove their illegitimate descent from the aboriginal Koli stock. Almost all the cloth-weavers throughout India are of the Koli class, though they endeavour to conceal their origin under the term *Jhilao*, which ought only to distinguish the Mooslem weaver. The Bhils partake of all the vices of the Kolis, and perhaps descend one step lower in the scale of humanity; for they will feed on vermin of any kind, foxes, jackals, rats, guanas, and snakes; and although they make an exception of the camel and the pea-fowl, the latter being sacred to '*Mata*,' the goddess to propitiate, yet in moral degradation their fellowship is complete. The Kolis and Bhils have no matrimonial intercourse, nor will they even eat with each other—such is caste! The bow and arrow from their arms, occasionlly swords, but rarely the matchlock.

Pithil is the chief husbandman of this region, and, with the *Baniah*, the only respectable class. They possess flocks, and are also cultivators, and are said to be almost as numerous as either the Bhils or Kolis. The Pithil is reputed synonimous with the Koormi of Hindusthan and the Kolmbi of Malwa,

and the Dekhan. There, are other tribes, such as the Rebarry, or rearer of camels, who will be described with the classes appertaining to the whole desert.

Dhat and *Omursoomra*.—We now take leave of Rajpootana, as it is, for the desert depending upon Sinde, or that space between the frontier of Rajpootana to the valley of the Indus, on the west, and from Daodputra north, to Buliari on the Rin. This space measures about two hundred and twenty miles of longitude, and its greatest breadth is eighty; it is one entire *thul*, having but few villages, though there are many hamlets of shepherds sprinkled over it, too ephemeral to have a place in the map. A few of these *pooras* and *vas*, as they are termed, where the springs are perennial, have a name assigned to them, but to multiply them would only mislead, as they exist no longer than the vegetation. The whole of this tract may be characterized as essentially desert, having spaces of fifty miles without a drop of water, and without great precaution, impassable. The sand-hills rise into little mountains, and the wells are so deep, that with a large *kafila*, many might die before the thirst of all could be slaked. The enumeration of a few of these will put the reader in possession of one of the difficulties of a journey through Maroo; they range from eleven to seventy-five *poorsh*, or seventy to five hundred feet in depth. One at Jeysingdesir, fifty *poorsh*; Dhote-ca-bustee, sixty; Giraup, sixty; Hamirdeora, seventy; Jinjinialli, seventy-five to eighty.

In what vivid colours does the historian Ferishta describe the miseries of the fugitive emperor, Hemayoon, and his faithful followers at one of these wells! "The country through which they fled being an entire desert of sand, the Moghuls were in the utmost distress for water: some ran mad; others fell down dead. For three whole days there was no water; on the fourth day they came to a well, which was so deep that a drum was beaten, to give notice to the man driving the bullocks, that the bucket has reached the top; but the unhappy followers were so impatient for drink, that, so soon as the first bucket appeared, several threw themselves upon it, before it had quite reached the surface, and fell in. The next day, they arrived at a brook, and the camels, which had not tasted water for several days, were allowed to quench their thirst; but having drunk to excess, several of them died. The king, after enduring unheard-of miseries, at length reached Omurkote, with only a few attendants. The Raja, who has the title of Rana, took compassion on his misfortunes, and spared nothing that could alleviate his sufferings, or console him in his distress."—Briggs' Ferishta, vol. ii, p. 95.

We are now in the very region where Hemayoon suffered these miseries, and in its chief town, Omurkote, Akber, the greatest monarch India ever knew, first saw the light. Let us throw aside the veil which conceals the history of the race of Hemayoon's protector, and notwithstanding he is now but nominal sovereign of Omurkote, and lord of the village of Chore, give him "a local habitation and a name," even in the days of the Macedonian invader of India.

Dhat, of which Omurkote is the capital, was one of the divisions of Maroosthali, which from time immemorial was subject to the Pramar. Amongst the thirty-five tribes of this the most numerous of the races called Agnicula, were the Soda, the Omur, and the Soomura;* and the conjunction of the two last has given a distinctive appellation to the more northern *thul*, still known as *Omursoomra*, though many centuries have fled since they possessed any power.

Arore, of which we have already narrated the discovery, and which is laid down in the map about six miles east of Bekher on the Indus, was in the region styled Omursoomra, which may once have had a much wider acceptation, when a dynasty of thirty-six princes of the Soomura tribe ruled all these countries during five hundred years.† On the extinction of its power, and the restoration of their ancient rivals, the Sind-Summa princes, who in their turn gave way to the Bhattis, this tract obtained the epithet of Bhattipoh; but the ancient and more legitimate name, Oomursoomra, is yet recognized, and many hamlets of shepherds, both Oomurs and Soomuras, are still existing amidst its sand-hills. To them we shall return, after discussing their elder brethern, the Sodas. We can trace the colonization of the Bhattis, the Chawuras and the Solankis, the Gehlotes, and the Rahtores, throughout all these countries, both of central and western Rajpootana; and wherever we go, whatever new capital is founded, it is always on the site of a Pramar establishment. *Pirthi tyn na Pramar ca*, or 'the world is the Pramars,' I may here repeat, is hardly hyperbolical when applied to the Rajpoot world.

Arore, or *Alore* as written by Abulfazil, and described by that celebrated geographer, Ebu-Haukal, as "rivalling Mooltan in greatness," was one of the 'nine divisions of Maroo' governed by the Pramar, of which we must repeat, one of the chief branches was the Soda. The islandic Bekher, or Mansoora (so named by the lieutenant of the Khalif Al-Munsoor), a few miles west of Arore, is considered as the capital

*See table of tribes, and sketch of the Pramaras, Vol. I.
† Ferishta, Abulfazil.

of the Sogdi, when Alexander sailed down the Indus; and if we couple the similarity of name to the well-authenticated fact of immemorial sovereignty over this reigon, it might not be drawing too largely on credulity to suggest that the Sogdi and Soda are one and the same.* The Soda princes were the patriarchs of the desert when the Bhattis immigrated thither from the north; but whether they deprived them of Arore as well as Lodorva, the chronicle does not intimate. It is by no means unlikely that the Omurs and Soomras, instead of being co-equal or co-eval branches with the Soda, may be merely subdivisions of them.

We may follow Abulfazil and Ferishta in their summaries of the history of ancient Sinde, and these races. The former says: "In ancient times there lived a Raja, named Sehris, whose capital was Alore, and his dominions extended to Cashmere north, to Mehran (the Indus) west, while the sea confined them to the south. An army from Persia invaded this kingdom; the Raja was killed in battle, and the Persians, after plundering everything, returned home. The Raja was succeeded by his son Roysahy † (*qu.* Rae Sa, or Soda?). This dynasty continued

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* To convince the reader I do not build upon nominal resemblance, when localities do not bear me out, he is requested to call to mind, that we have elsewhere assigned to the *Yadus* of the Punjab, the honour of furnishing the well-known king named Porus; although the Puar, the usual pronunciation of *Pramar*, would afford a more ready solution.

† Colonel Briggs, in his translation, writes it *Hully Sa*, and in this very place remarks on the "mutilation of Hindu names by the early Mahomedan writers, which are frequently not to be recognized;" or, we might have learned that the adjunct *sa* to Hully (*qu.* Heri), the son of Sehris, was the badge of his tribe, Soda. The Roy-sahy, or Rae-sa of Abulfazil, means 'Prince Sa' or 'Prince of the Sodas.' Of the same family was Dahir, whose capital, in A. H. 90, was (says Abulfazil) "Alore or Debeil," in which this historian makes a geographical mistake: Alore or Arore being the capital of Upper Sinde, and Debeil (correctly Dewul, *the temple*), or Tatta, the capital of Lower Sinde. In all probability Dahir held both. We have already dilated, in the Annals of Mewar, on a foreign prince named "Dahir Despati," or *the sovereign prince, Dahir*, being amongst her defenders, or the first Mooslem invasion, which we conjectured must have been that of Mohomed Kasim, after he had subdued Sinde. Bappa, the lord of Cheetore, was nephew of Raja Maun Mori, shewing a double motive in the exiled son of Dahir to support Cheetore against his own enemy Kasim. The Moris and Sodas were alike branches of the Pramar (See Vol. I). It is also worth while to draw attention to the remark elsewhere made on the stir made by Hejauje of Khorasan (who sent Kasim to Sinde) amongst the Hindu princes of Zabulisthan; dislocated facts, all demostrating one of great importance, namely, the wide dominion of the Rajpoot race, previous to the appearance of Mahomed.

Oriental literature sustained a loss which can scarcely be repaired by the destruction of the valuable MSS. amassed by Colonel Briggs,

until the Khalifat of Walid, when Hejauje, the governor of Irac, sent Mahomed Kasim, A. H. 99, or A. D. 717, who succeeded in the conquest, slaying the Hindu prince, Dahir. After this, the country was governed by the family of Ansary; next, by the family of Soomra; and then came the dynasty of Seemeh (Sammah), who esteemed themselves of the stock of Jumsheed, and each took the name of Jam."*

Ferishta gives a similar version. "On the death of Mahomed Kasim, a tribe who trace their origin from the Ansaris established a government in Sinde; after which the *zemindars* (lords of the soil or indigenous chiefs) usurped the power, and held independent rule over the kingdom of Sinde for the space of five hundred years. These, the Soomuras, subverted the country of another dynasty called Soomuna (the Seemeh of Abulfazil), whose chief assumed the title of Jam.†"

The difficulty of establishing the indentity of these tribes from the cacography of both the Greek and Persian writers, is well examplified in another portion of Ferishta, treating of the same race, called by him *Somuna*, and *Suma* by Abulfazil. "The tribe of Sahna appears to be of obscure origin, and originally to have occupied the tract lying between Bekher and Tatta in Sinde, and pretend to trace their origin from Jemshid." We can pardon his spelling for his exact location of the tribe, which, whether written Soomuna, Sehna, or Seemeh, is the Summa or Samma tribe of the great Yadu race, whose capital was Summa ca-kote, or Samma-nagari, converted into Minagara, and its princes into Sambas, by the Greeks. Thus the Sodas appear to have ruled at Arore and Bekher, or Upper Sinde, and the Sammas in the lower,‡ when Alexander passed through this region. The Jharejas and Jams of Noanuggur in Saurashtra claim descent from the Summas, hence called else where by Abulfazil "the Sinde-Summa dynasty;" but having been, from their amalgamation with the "faithful," put out of the pale of Hinduism, they desired to conceal their Samma-Yadu descent,

during many years, for the purpose of a general history of the early transaction of the Mahomedans.

* Of the latter stock he gives us a list of seventeen princes. Gladwin's translation of *Ayeen Akbery*. vol. ii.

† See Briggs' Ferishta, vol. iv. pp. 411 and 422.

‡ The four races called Agnicula (of which the Pramar was the most numerous), at every step of ancient Hindu history are seen displacing the dynasty of Yadu. Here the struggle between them is corroborated by the two best Mahomedan historians, both borrowing from the same source, the more ancient histories, few of which have reached us. It must be borne in mind that the Sodas, the Oomurs, the Soomuras, were Pramars (vulg. *Puar*); while the Summas were Yadus, for whose origin see Annals of Jessulmeer.

which they abandoned for Jumshid, and Samma was converted into Jam.

We may, therefore, assume that a prince of the Soda tribe held that division of the great Puar sovereignty, of which Arore, or the insular Bekher, was the capital, when Alexander passed down the Indus: nor is it improbable that the army, styled Persian by Abulfazil, which invaded Arore, and slew Raja Sehris, was a Græco-Bactrian army led by Apollodotus, or Menander, who traversed this region, "ruled by Sigertides" (*qu.* Raja Sehris!) even to "the country of the *Saron*," or Saurashtra, where, according to their historian, their medals were existent when he wrote in the second century.* The histories so largely quoted give us decided proof that Dahir, and his son Reasa, the victims of the first Islamite invasion led by Kasim, were of the same lineage as Raja Sehris; and the Bhatti annals prove to demonstration, that at this, the very period of their settling in the desert, the Soda tribe was paramount, which, together with the strong analogies in names of places and princes, affords a very reasonable ground for the conclusion we have come to, that the Soda tribe of Puar race was in possession of Upper Sinde, when the Macedonian passed down the stream; and that, amidst all the vicissitudes of fortune, it has continued (contesting possession with its ancient Yadu antagonist, the Samma) to maintain some portion of its ancient sovereignty unto these days. Of this portion we shall now instruct the reader, after hazarding a passing remark on the almost miraculous tenacity which has preserved this race in its desert abode during a period of at least two thousand two hundred years,† bidding defiance to foreign foes,

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* Of these, the author was so fortunate as to obtain one of Menander, and *three* of Apollodotus, whose existence had heretofore been questioned: the first of the latter from the wreck of Surapoori, the capital, of the Suraceni of Menu and Arrian; another from the ancient Awinti, or Oojein, whose monarch, according to Justin, held a correspondence with Augustus; and the third, in company with a whole jar of Hindu-Scythic and Bactrian medals, at Agra, which was dug up several years since in excavating the site of the more ancient city. This, I have elesewhere surmised, might have been the abode of Aggrames, *Agra-gram-eswar* the "lord of the city of Agra," mentioned by Arrian as the most potent monarch in the north of India, who after the death of Porus, was ready to oppose the further progress to Alexander. Let us hope that the Punjab may yet afford us another peep into the past. For an account of these medals, see Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol i p. 313.

† Captain, now Colonel Pottinger, in his interesting work on Sinde and Baloochistan, in extracting from the Persian work "*Mujmood-Waridat*," calls the ancient capital of Sinde, *Ulaor*, and mentions the overthrow of the dynasty of "Sahir," (the Sehris of Abulfazil), whose ancestors had governed Sinde for two thousand years.

whether Greek, Bactrian, or Mahomedan, and even to those visitations of nature, famines, pestilence, and earthquakes, which have periodically swept over the land, and at length rendered it the scene of desolation it now presents: for in this desert, as in that of Egypt, tradition records that its increase has been and still is progressive, as well in the valley of the Indus as towards the Jumna.

Omurkote.—This stronghold (*kote*) of the Omurs, until a very few years back, was the capital of the Soda Raj, which extended, two centuries ago, into the valley of Sinde, and east to the Looni; but the Rahtores of Marwar, and the family at present ruling Sinde, have together reduced the sovereignty of the Sodas to a very confined spot, and thrust out of Omurkote (the last of the nine castles of Maroo) the descendant of Sehris, who, from Arore, held dominions extending from Cashmere to the ocean. Omurkote has sadly fallen from its ancient grandeur, and instead of the five thousand houses it contained during the opulence of the Soda princes, it hardly reckons two hundred and fifty houses, or rather huts. The old castle is to the north west of the town. It is built of brick, and the bastions, said to be eighteen in number, are of stone. It has an inner citadel, or rather a fortified palace. There is an old canal to the north of the fort, in which water still lodges part of the year. When Raja Maun had possession of Omurkote, he founded several villages thereunto, to keep up the communication. The Talpooris then found in their interest, so long as they had any alarms from their own lord paramount of Candahar, to court the Rahtore prince; but when civil war appeared in that region, as well as in Marwar, the cessation of all fears from the one, banished the desire of paying court to the other, and Omurkote was unhappily placed between the Kulloras of Sinde and the Rahtores, each of whom looked upon this frontier post as the proper limit of his sway, and contended for its possession. We shall therefore give an account of a feud between these rivals, which finally sealed the fate of the Soda prince, and which may contribute something to the history of the ruling family of Sinde, still imperfectly known.

When Beejy Sing ruled Marwar, Meah Noor Mahomed Kullora, governed Sinde; but being expelled by an army from Candahar, he fled to Jessulmeer, where he died. The eldest son, Untur Khan, and his brothers, found refuge with Buhadoor Khan Khyrani; while a natural brother, named Gholam Shah, born of a common prostitute, found means to establish himself on the musnud at Hydrabad. The chiefs of Daudputra espoused the cause of Untur Khan, and pre-

pared to expel the usurper, Bahadoor Khan, Subzul Khan, Alli Morad, Mohummud Khan, Kaim Khan, Alli Khan, chiefs of the Khyrani tribe, united, and marched with Untur Khan to Hydrabad. Gholam Shah advanced to meet him, and the brothers encountered at Obaora (see map); but legitimacy failed: the Khyrani chiefs almost all perished, and Unter Khan was made prisoner, and confined for life in Guja-ca-kote, an island in the Indus, seven coss south of Hydrabad. Gholam Shah transmited his musnud to his son, Serefraz, who, dying soon after, was succeeded by Abdul Nubbee. At the town of Abhepura, seven coss east of Sheodadpur (a town in Lohri Sinde), resided a chieftain of the Talpoori tribe, a branch of the Baloch, named Goram, who had two sons, named Beejur and Sobdan. Serefraz demanded Goram's daughter to wife; he was refused, and the whole family was destroyed. Beejur Khan, who alone escaped the massacre, raised his clan to avenge him, desposed the tyrant, and placed himself upon the musnud of Hydrabad. The Kulloras dispersed; but the Beejur, who was of a violent and imperious temperament, became involved in hostilities with the Rahtores regarding the possession of Omurkote. It is asserted that he not only demanded tribute from Marwar, but a daughter of the Rahtore prince, to wife, setting forth as a precedent his grandfather Ajit, who bestowed a wife on Farochsere. This insult led to a pitched battle fought at Doogara, five coss from Dhurnidur, in which the Baloch army was fairly beaten from the field by the Rahtore; but Beejy Sing, not content with his victory, determined to be rid of this thorn in his side. A Bhatti and Chondawut offered their services and lands being settled on their families, they set out on this perilous enterprize in the garb of Ambassadors. When introduced to Beejur he arrogantly demanded if the Raja had thought better of his demand when the Chondawut referred him to his credentials. As the Beejur rapidly ran his eye over it, muttering "no mention of the *dola* (bride)," the dagger of the Chondawut was buried in his heart. "This for the *dola*," he exclaimed; and "this for the tribute," said his comrade, as he struck another blow. The Beejur fell lifeless on his cushion of state, and the assassins, who knew escape was hopeless, plied their daggers on all around; the Chondawut slaying twenty-one, and the Bhatti five, before they were hacked to pieces. The nephew of Beejur Khan by name Futteh Alli, son of Sobdan, was chosen his successor, and the old family of Kullora was dispersed to Bhooj, and Rajpootana, while its representative repaired to Candahar. There the Shah put him at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand men, with

which he reconquered Sinde, and commenced a career of unexampled cruelty. Futteh Alli, who had fled to Bhooj, re-assembled his adherents, attacked the army of the Shah, which he defeated and pursued with great slaughter beyond Shikarpur, of which he took possession, and returned in triumph to Hydrabad. The cruel and now humbled Kullora once more appeared before the Shah, who, exasperated at the inglorious result of his arms, drove him from his presence; and after wandering about, he passed from Mooltan to Jessulmeer, settling at length at Pokurn, where he died. The Pokurn chief made himself his heir, and it is from the great wealth (chiefly in jewels) of the ex-prince of Sinde, that its chiefs have been enabled to take the lead in Marwar. The tomb of the exile is on the north side of the town.*

This episode, which properly belongs to the history of Marwar, or to Sinde, is introduced for the purpose of shewing the influence of the latter on the destinies of the Soda princes. It was by Beejur, who fell by the emissaries of Beejy Sing, that the Soda Raja was driven from Omurkote, the possession of which brought the Sindies into immediate collision with the Bhattis and Rahtores. But on his assassination and the defeat of the Sinde army on the Rin, Beejy Sing re-inducted the Soda prince to his *gadi* of Omurkote; not, however, long

* The memoir adds: Futteh Alli was succeeded by his brother, the present Gholam Alli, and he by his son, Kurrum Alli. The general correctness of this outline is proved by a very interesting work (which has only fallen into my hands in time to make this note), entitled "Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sinde," by Dr. Burnes. Beejur Khan was minister to the Calora rulers of Sinde, whose cruelties at lengh gave the government to the family of the minister. As it is scarcely to be supposed that Raja Beejy Sing would furnish assassins to the Calora, who could have little difficulty in finding them in Sinde, the insult which caused the fate of Beejur may have proceeded from his master, though he may have been made the scape-goat. It is much to be regretted that the Author of the "Visit to Sinde" did not accompany the Ameers to Sehwan (of which I shall venture an account obtained nearly twenty years ago). With the able memoir and map (by his brother, Lieut. Burnes) of the Rin, a new light has been thrown on the history and geography of this most interesting and important portion of India. It is to be desired that to a gentleman so well prepared may be entrusted the examination of this still known region. I had long entertained the hope of passing through the desert by Jessulmeer to Ootch, and thence, sailing down to Mansoora, visiting *Arore*, Sehwan, Samma-nagari, and Bamunwasso. The rupture with Sinde in 1820 gave me great expectations of accomplishing this object, and drew up and transmitted to Lord Hastings a plan of marching a force through the desert and planting the cross on the insular capital of the Sogdi; but peace was the order of the day. I was then in communication with Meer Sohrab, governor of Upper Sinde, who, I have little doubt, would have come over to our views.

to retain it, for on the invasion from Candahar, this poor country underwent a general massacre and pillage by the Afghans, and Omurkote was assaulted and taken. When Futteh Alli made head against the army of Candahar, which he was enabled to defeat, partly by the aid of the Rahtores, he relinquished, as the price of this aid, the claims of Sinde upon Omurkote, of which Beejy Sing took possession, and on whose battlements the flag of the Rahtores waved until the last civil war, when the Sindies expelled them. Had Raja Maun known how to profit by the general desire of his chiefs to redeem this distant possession, he might have got rid of some of the unquiet spirits by other means than those which have brought infamy on his name.

Chore.—Since Omurkote has been wrested from the Sodas, the expelled prince, who still preserves his title of Rana, resides at the town of Chore, fifteen miles north-east of his former capital. The descendant of the princes who probably opposed Alexander, Menander, and Kasim, the lieutenant of Walid, and who sheltered Humayoon when driven from the throne of India, now subsists on the eleemosynary gifts of those with whom he is connected by marraige, or the few patches of land of his own desert domain left him by the rulers of Sinde. He has eight brothers, who are hardly pushed for a subsistance, and can only obtain it by the supplement to all the finances of these states, plunder.

The Soda and the Jhareja are the connecting links between the Hindu and the Mooslem; for althouh the further west we go, the greater is the laxity of Rajpoot prejudice, yet to something more than mere locality must be attributed the denationalized sentiment, which allows the Soda to intermarry with a Sindie; this cause is *hunger*; and there are few zealots who will deny that its influence is more potent than the laws of Menu. Every third year brings famine, and those who have not stored up against it, fly to their neighbours, and chiefly to the valley of the Indus. The connexions they then form often end in the union of their daughters with their protectors; but they still so far adhere to ancient usage, as never to recieve back into the family caste a female so allied. The present Rana of the Sodas has set the example, by giving daughters to Meer Gholam Alli and Meer Sohrab, and even to the Khossa chief of Dadar; and in consequence, his brother princes of Jessulmeer, Bah and Purkur, though they will accept a Soda princes to wife (because they can depend on the purity of *her* blood), yet will not bestow a daughter on the Rana, whose offspring might perhaps grace the harem of a Baloch. But the Rahtores of Marwar will neither give to, nor receive daughters

of Dhat. The females of this desert region, being reputed very handsome, have become almost an article of matrimonial traffic; and it is asserted that if a Sindie hears of the beauty of a *Dhattiani*, he sends to her father as much grain as he deems an equivalent, and is seldom refused her hand. We shall not here further touch on the manners or other peculiarities of the Soda tribe, though we may revert to them in the general outline of the tribes, with which we shall conculde the sketch of the Indian desert.

Tribes.—The various tribes inhabiting the desert and valley of the Indus would alone form an ample subject of investigation, which would, in all probability, elicit some important truths. Amongst the converts to Islam, the inquirer into the pedigree of nations would discover names, once illustrious, but which, now hidden under the mantle of a new faith, might little aid his researches into the history of their origin. He would find the *Soda*, the *Catti*, the *Mallani*, affording in history, position and nomial resemblance, grounds for inferring that they are the descendants of the Sogdi, Cathi, and Malli, who opposed the Macedonian in his passage down the Indus; besides swarms of Getes or Yuti, many of whom have assumed the general title of Baloch, or retain the ancient specific name of *Noomri*; while others, in that of *zikut*, preserve almost the primitive appellation. We have also the remains of these interesting races, the *Johyas* and *Dahyas*, of which much has been said in the Annals of Jessulmeer, and elsewhere; who, as well as the Getes or Jits, and Huns, hold places amongst the "thirty-six royal races" of ancient India.* These, with the Barahas and the Lohanas, tribes who swarmed a few centuries ago in the Punjab, will now only be discerned in small numbers in "the region of death," which has even preserved the illustrious name of *Kaorwa*, Crishna's foe in the Bharat. The *Sehrae*, or great robber of our western desert, would alone afford a text for discussion on his habits and his raids, as the enemy of all society. But we shall begin with those who yet retain any pretensions to the name of Hindu (distingushing them from the proselyets to Islam), and afterwards descant upon their peculiarities. Bhatti, Rahtore, Joda, Chohan, Mallani, Kaorwa, Johya, Sooltano, Lohana, Arorah, Khoomra, Sindil, Maisuri, Vishnuvi, Jakhur, Shiag or Ashiag, Pooniah.

Of the Mahomedan there are but two, Kullora and Sehrae, concerning whose origin any doubt exists, and all those we are about to specify are *Nyads*,† or proselyets chiefly from Rajpoot or other Hindu tribes:

* See sketch of the tribes, Vol. I.

† *Nyad* is the noviciate, literally the first (*ad*) new (*nou*), or original converts, I suppose.

Zjut; Rajur; Oomra; Soomra; Mair, or Mer; Mor or Mohor; Baloch; Loomrea or Looka; Sumaicha; Mangulia; Baggreah; Dahya; Johya; Kairooe; Jangurea; Oondur, Berowee; Bawuri; Tawuri; Chrendea; Khossa; Sudani; Lohanas.

Before we remark upon the habits of these tribes, we may state one prominent trait which characterises the *Nyad*, or convert to Islam, who, on parting with his original faith, divested himself of its chief moral attribute, toleration, and imbibed a double portion of the bigotry of the creed he adopted. Whether it is to the intrinsic quality of the Mahomedan faith that we are to trace this moral metamorphosis, or to a sense of degradation (which we can hardly suppose) consequence on his apostacy, there is not a more ferocious, or intolerant being on the earth than the Rajpoot convert to Islamism. In Sinde and the desert, we find the same tribes, bearing the same names, one still Hindu, the other Mahomedan; the first retaining his primitive manners, while the convert is cruel, intolerent, cowardly, and inhospitable. Escape, with life at least, perhaps a portion of property, is possible from the hands of the Maldote, the Larkhani, the Bhutti, or even the Tawuries, distinctively called "the sons of the devil;" but from the Khossas, the Sehraes, or Bhuttis, there would be no hope of salvation. Such are their ignorance and brutality, that should a stranger make use of the words *russah*, or *rustah* (rope and road), he will be fortunate if he escape with bastinado from these beings, who discover therein an analogy to *russool*, or 'the prophet:' he must for the former use the words *kilbur*, *rundori* and for the latter, *duggra*, or *dugg*.* It will not fail to strike those who have persued the heart-thrilling adventures of Park, Denham, and Clapperton —names which will live for ever in the annals of discovery— how completely the inoffensive, kind and hospitable negro, resembles in these qualities the Rajpoot, who is transformed into a wild beast the moment he can repeat "La-allah, il-allah, Mahomed Rusoolalla," 'there is but one God, and Mahomed is the prophet of God': while a remarkable change has taken place amongst the Tatar tribes, since the anti-destructive doctrines of Budha (or Hinduism purified of polytheism) have been introduced into the regions of Central Asia.

On the Bhattis, the Rahtores, the Chohans, and their offset, the Mallani, we have sufficiently expatiated, and likewise on the Soda; but a few peculiarities of this latter tribe remain to be noticed.

Soda.—The Soda, who has retained the name of Hindu,

* *Duggra* is very common in Rajpootana for a 'path-way'; but the substitute here used for *russah*, a rope, I am not acquainted with.

has yet so far discarded ancient prejudice, that he will drink from the same vessel and smoke out of the same *hooka* with a Moosulman, laying aside only the tube that touches the mouth. With his poverty, the Soda has lost his reputation for courage, retaining only the merit of being a dexterous theif, and joining the hordes of Sehraes and Kossas who prowl from Daudputra to Guzzerat.. The arms of the Sodas are chiefly the sword and shield, with a long knife in the girdle, which serves either as a stiletto or a carver for his meat: few have matchlocks, but the primitive sling is a general weapon of offence, and they are very expert in its use. Their dress partakes of the Bhatti and Mahomedan costume, but the turban is peculiar to themselves, and by it a Soda may always be recognized. The Soda is to be found scattered over the desert, but there are offsets of his tribe, now more numerous than the parent stock, of which the Sumaicha is the most conspicuous, whether of those who are still Hindu, or who have become converts to Islam.

Kaorwa.—This singular tribe of Rajpoots, whose habits, even in the midst of pillage are entirely nomadic, is to be found chiefly in the *thul* of Dhat, though in no great numbers. They have no fixed habitations, but move about with their flocks, and encamp wherever they find a spring or pasture for their cattle; and there construct temporary huts of the wide-spreading *peeloo*, by interlacing its living branches, covering the top with leaves, and coating the inside with clay: in so skilful a manner do they thus shelter themselves, that no sign of human habitation is observable from without. Still the roaming Sehrae is always on the look-out for these sylvan retreats, in which the shepherds deposit their little hoards of grain, raised from the scanty patches around them. The restless disposition of the Kaorwas, who even among their ever-roaming brethren enjoy a species of fame in this respect, is attributed (said my Dhatti) to a curse entailed upon them from remote ages. They rear camels, cows, buffaloes and goats, which they sell to the Charuns and other merchants. They are altogether a singularly peaceable race; and like all their Rajpoot brethren, can at will people the desert with palaces of their own creation, by the delightful *umlpani*, the universal panacea for ills both moral and physical.

Dhote, or *Dhatti*, is another Rajpoot, inhabiting Dhat, and in no greater numbers than the Kaoswas, whom they resemble in their habits, being entirely pastoral, cultivating a few patches of land, and trusting to the heavens alone to bring it forward. They barter the *ghee* or clarified butter,

made from the produce of their flocks, for grain and other necessaries of life. *Rabri* and *chauch*, or 'porridge and butter milk,' form the grand fare of the desert. A couple of seers of flour of bajra, joar, and kaijri, is mixed with some seers of *chauch*, and exposed to the fire, but not boiled, and this mess will suffice for a large family. The cows of the desert are much larger than those of the plains of India, and give from eight to ten seers (eight or ten quarts) of milk daily. The produce of four cows will amply subsist a family of ten persons from the sale of *ghee*; and their prices vary with their productive powers, from ten to fifteen rupees each. This *rabri*, so analogous to the *kouskous* of the African desert, is often made with camel's milk, from which *ghee* cannot be extracted, and which soon becomes a living mass when put aside. Dried fish, from the valley of Sinde, is conveyed into the desert on horses or camels, and finds a ready sale amongst all classes, even as far east as Barmair. It is sold at two *dokras* (coppers) a seer. The *pooras*, or temporary hamlets of the Dhattis, consisting at most of ten huts in each, resemble those of the Kaorwas.

Lohana.—This tribe is numerous both in Dhat and Talpoora: formerly they were Rajpoots, but betaking themselves to commerce, have fallen into the third class. They are scribes and shopkeepers and object to no occupation that will bring a subsistence; and as to food to use the expressive idiom of this region, where hunger spurns at law, "excepting their cats and their cows, they will eat any thing."

Arorah.—This class, like the former, apply themselves to every pursuit, trade, and agriculture, and fill many of the inferior offices of government in Sinde, being shrewd, industrious, and intelligent. With the thrifty Arorah and many other classes, flour steeped in cold water suffices to appease hunger. Whether this class has its name from being an inhabitant of Arore, we know not.

Bhattiah is also one of the equestrian order converted into the commercial, and the exchange has been to his advantage. His habits are like those of the Arorahs, next to whom he ranks as to activity and wealth. The Arorahs and Bhattiahs have commercial houses at Shikarpur, Hyderabad, and even at Surat and Jeypoor.

Brahmins.—*Bishnuve* is the most common sect of Brahmins in the desert and Sinde. The doctrines of Menu with them go far as much as they are worth in the desert, where "they are a law unto themselves." They wear the *junnoo*, or badge of their tribe, but it here ceases to be a mark of clerical distinction, as no drones are respected; they cultivate,

tend cattle, and barter their superflous *ghee* for other necessaries. They are most numerous in Dhat, having one hundred of their order in Chore, the residence of the Soda Rana, and several houses in Omurkote, Dharnas, and Mittie. They do not touch fish or smoke tobacco, but will eat food dressed by the hands of a *malli* (gardner), or even a *nae* (barber) *caste*; nor do they use the *chowka*, or fire-place, reckoned indispensable in more civilized regions. Indeed, all classes of Hindus throughout Sinde will partake of food dressed in the *serai*, or inn, by the hands of the *Butearin*. They use indiscriminately each other's vessels, without any process of purification but a little sand and water. They do not even burn their dead, but bury them near the threshold; and those who can afford it, raise small *chabootras*, or altars, on which they place an image of Siva, and a *gurra*, or jar of water. The *junnoo*, or thread which marks the sacerdotal character in Hindusthan, is common in these regions to all classes, with the exception of Kolis nnd Lohanas. This practice originated with their governors, in order to discriminate them from those who have to perform the most servile duties.

Rebarris.—This term is known through out Hindusthan only as denoting persons employed in rearing and tending camels, who are there always Mooslems. Here they are a distinct tribe, and Hindus, employed entirely in rearing camels, or in stealing them, in which they evince a peculiar dexterity, uniting with the Bhattis in the practice as far as Daudputra. When they come upon a herd grazing, the boldest and most experienced strikes his lance into the first he reaches, then dips a cloth in the blood, which at the end of his lance he thrusts close to the nose of the next, and wheeling about, sets off at speed, followed by the whole herd, lured by the scent of blood and the example of their leader.

Jakhur, Shiagh, pooniah, are all denominations of the Jit race, a few of whom preserve under these ancient subdivisions their old customs and religions; but the greater part are among the converts to Islam, and retain the generic name, pronounced *zjhut*. Those enumerated are harmless and industrious, and are found both in the desert and valley. There are besides these a few scattered families of ancient tribes, as the Sooltano*

* Abulfazil, in describing the province of Bijore, inhabited by the Eusofzyes, says that a tribe called "Sultana who affirmed themselves, to be the descendants of the daughter of Sultan Secunder Zulkernain, came from Cabul in the time of Mirza Ulugh Beg, and possessed themselves of this country." Mr. Elphinstone enquired in vain for this offspring of Alexander the Great.

and Khoomra, of whose history we are ignorant, Johyas, Sindils and others, whose origin has already been noticed in the annals of Maroosthali.

We shall now leave this general account of the Hindu tribes, who throughout Sinde are subservient to the will of the Mahomedan, who is remarkable, as before observed, for intolerance. The Hindu is always second: at the well, he must wait patiently until his tyrant has filled his vessel; or if, in cooking his dinner, a Mooslem should require fire, it must be given forthwith, or the shoe would be applied to the Hindu's head.

Sehrae, Kosah, Chandea, Sudani.—The Sehrae is the most numerous of the Mahomedan tribes of the desert, said to be Hindu in origin, and descendants of the ancient dynasty of Arore; but whether his descent is derived from the dynasty of Sehris (written Sahir by Pottinger), or from the Arabic word a *sehra* 'a desert,' of which he is the terror, is of very little moment. The Kossas, or Khossas, &c. are branches of the Sehrae, and their habits are the same. They have reduced their mode of rapine to a system, and established *koorie*, or black-mail, consisting of one rupee and five *durris* of grain for every plough, exacted even from the hamlets of the shepherds throughout the *thul*. Their bands are chiefly mounted on camels, though some are on horse back; their arms are the *shail* or *sang* (lances of bamboo or iron), the sword and shield, and but few fire-arms. Their depredations used to be extended a hundred coss around, even into Jadpoor and Doudputra, but they eschew coming in contact with the Rajpoot, who says of a Sehrae, "he is sure to be asleep when the battle *nakarra* beats". Their chief abode is in the southern portion of the desert, and about Noakote, Mittie as far as Buliarie. Many of them used to find service at Oodipoor, Jodepoor and Sooe-Bah, but they are cowardly and faithless.

Sumaicha is one of the *Nyad*, or proselytes to Islam from the Soda race, and numerous both in the *thul* and the valley, where they have many *pooras* or hamlets. They resemble the Dhotes in their habits, but many of them associate with the Sehraes, and plunder their brethern. They never shave or touch the hair of their heads, and consequently look more like brutes than human beings. They allow no animal to die of disease, but kill it when they think there are no hopes of recovery. The Sumaicha women have the reputation of being great scolds, and never veil their faces.

Rajura.—They are said to be of Bhatti descent, and confine their haunts to the desert, or the borders of Jessulmeer, as at Ramgurh, Keallah, Jaraillah, &c.; and the *thul* between Jessulmeer and Upper Sinde: they are cultivators, shepherds,

and thieves, and are esteemed amongst the very worst of the converts to Mahomedanism.

Oomurs and *Soomras* are from the Pramar or Puar race, and are now chiefly in the ranks of the faithful, though a few are to be found in Jessulmeer and in the *thul* called after them; of whom we have already said enough.

Kulloreh and *Talpoori* are tribes of celebrity in Sinde, the first having furnished the late, and the other its present, dynasty of rulers; and though the one has dared to deduce its origin from the Abbasides of Persia, and the other has even advanced pretensions to descent from the prophet, it is asserted that both are alike Baloches, who are said to be essentially Jit or Gete in origin. The Talpooris, who have their name from the town (*poora*) of plams (*tal* or *tar*)), are said to amount to one-fourth of the population of *Lohri* or *Little* Sinde, which misnomer they affix to the dominion of Hydrabad. There are none in the *thul*.

Noomrie, Loomrie, or *Looka.*—This is also a grand subdivision of the Baloch race, and is mentioned by Abulfazil as ranking next to the Kulmani, and being able to bring into the field three hundred cavalry and seven thousand infantry. Gladwin has rendered the name *Namurdy*, and is followed by Rennel. The Noomris, or Loomries, also styled *Looka*, a still more familiar term for *fox*, are likewise affirmed to be Jit in origin. What is the etymology of the generic term *Baloch*, which they have assumed, or whether they took it from, or gave it to Baloochistan, some future enquirer into these subjects may discover.

Zjhut, Jut, or *Jit.*—This very original race, far more numerous than perhaps all the Rajpoot tribes put together, still retains its ancient appellation throughout the whole of Sinde, from the sea to Daudputra, but there are few or none in the *thul*. Their habits differ little from those who surround them. They are amongst the oldest converts to Islam.

Mair, or *Mer.*—We should scarcely have expected to find a mountaineer (*mera*) in the valley of Sinde, but their Bhatti origin sufficiently accounts for the term, as Jassulmeer is termed Mer.

Mohor, or *Mor.*—Said to be also Bhatti in origin.

Tawuri, Thori or *Tori.*—These engross the distinctive epithet of *bhoot*, or 'evil spirits,' and the yet more emphatic title of, 'sons of the devil.' Their origin is doubtful, but they rank with the Bawuris, Khengars, and other professional thieves scattered over Rajpootana, who will bring you either your enemy's head or the turban from it. They are found in the thuls of Daudputra, Beejnote Noke, Noakote, and Oodur.

They are proprietors of camels, which they hire out, and also find employment as convoys to caravans.

Johyas, Dahyas, Mangulias, once found amongst the Rajpoot tribes, now proselytes to Islam, but few in number either in the valley or the desert. There are also *Bairowis*, a class of Baloch, *Khairowis, Jangreas, Oondura, Baggreahs*, descended from the Pramar and Sankla Rajpoots, but not possessing either in respect to numbers or other distinctive marks, any claims on our attention.

Daudputra.—This petty state, though beyond the pale of Hindusim, yet being but a recent formation out of the Bhatti state of Jessulmeer, is strictly within the limits of Maroosthali. Little is known regarding the family who founded it, and we shall therefore continue ourselves to this point which is not adverted to by Mr. Elphinstone, who may be consulted for the interesting description of its prince, and his capital, Bhawulpoor, during the halt of the embassy to Cabul.

Daud Khan, the founder of Daudputra, was a native of Shikarpore, west of the Indus, where he acquired too much power for a subject, and consequently drew upon himself the arms of his sovereign of Candahar. Unable to cope with them, he abandoned his native place, passed his family and effects across the Indus, and followed them into the desert. The royal forces pursued, and coming up with him at Sootialloh, Daud had no alternative but to surrender, or destroy the families who impeded his flight or defence. He acted the Rajpoot, and faced his foes; who, appalled at this desperate act deemed it unwise to attack him, and retreated. Daud Khan with his adherents, when settled in the *kutchee*, or flats of Sinde, gradually extended his authority into the *thul*. He was succeeded by Mobarick Khan; he, by his nephew Bhawul Khan, whose son is Sadik Mahommed Khan, the present lord of Bhawulpoor, or Daudputra, a name applied both to the country and to its possessors, "the children of David." It was Mobarick who deprived the Bhattis of the district called Khadal, so often mentioned in the annals of Jessulmeer, and whose chief town is Derrawul, founded by Rawul Deoraj in the eighth century; and where the successor of Daud established his abode. Derrawul was at that time inhabited by a branch of the Bhattis, broken off at a very early period, its chief holding the title of Rawul, and whose family since their expulsion have resided at Gurialah, belonging to Bikaner, on an allowance of five rupees a day, granted by the conqueror. The capital of the "sons of David" was removed to the south bank of the Garah by Bhawul Khan (who gave it his name), to the site of an old

Bhatti city, whose name I could not learn. About thirty years ago* an army from Candahar invaded Daudputra, invested and took Derrawul, and compelled Bhawul Khan to seek protection with the Bhattis at Beekumpoor. A negociation for its restoration took place, and he once more pledged his submission to the Abdalli king, and having sent his son Mobarick Khan as a hostage and guarantee for the liquidation of the imposition, the army withdrew. Mobarick continued three years at Cabul, and was at length restored to liberty and made Khan of Bhawulpur, on attempting which he was imprisoned by his father, and confined in the fortress of Kinjer, where he remained nearly until Bhawul Khan's death. A short time previous to this, the principal chiefs of Daudputra, *viz.* Buddaira Khyrahi, chief of Mozgurh, Khodabuksh of Teraroh, Ikhtiar Khan of Gurhie, and Hadji Khan of Ootch, released Mobarick Khan from Kinjer, and they had reached Morarrah, when tidings arrived of the death of Bhawul Khan. He continued his route to the capital; but Nusseer Khan, son of Allum Khan, Goorgecha (Baloch), having formerly injured him and dreading punishment, had him assassinated, and placed his brother, the present chief, Sadik Mahomed, on the musnud: who immediately shut up his nephews, the sons of Mobarick, together with his younger brothers, in the fortress of Derrawul. They escaped, raised a force of Rajpoots and Poorbias, and seized upon Derrawul; but Sadik escaladed it, the Poorbias made no defence, and both his brothers and one nephew were slain. The other nephew got over the wall, but was seized by a neighbouring chief, surrendered, and slain; and it is conjectured the whole was a plot of Sadik Khan to afford a pretext for their death. Nuseer Khan, by whose instigation he obtained the musnud, was also put to death, being too powerful for a subject. But the Khyrani lords have always been plotting against their liege; an instance of which has been given in the annals of Bikaner, when Terraroh and Mozgurh, were confiscated, and the chiefs sent to the castle of Kinjer, the state prison of Daudputra. Gurhie still belongs to Abdalla, son of Hadji Khan, but no territory is annexed to it. Sadik Mahomed has not the reputation of his father, whom Beejy Sing of Marwar used to style his brother. The Daudputras are much at variance amongst each other, and detested by the Bhattis, from whom they have hitherto exacted a tribute to abstain from plunder. The fear of Candahar no longer exists at Bhawulpoor, whose chief is on good terms with his neighbour of Upper Sinde, though he is often alarmed by

* This memorandum was written, I think in 1811 or 1812.

the threats of Runjeet Sing of Lahore, who asserts supremacy over "the children of David."

Diseases.—Of the numerous diseases to which the inhabitants of the desert are subjected, from poor and unwholesome diet, and yet more unwholesome drink, *ratanda* or night-blindness, the *naroos* or Guinea-worm, and *varicose* veins, are the most common. The first and last are mostly confined to the poorer classes, and those who are compelled to walk a great deal, when the exertion necessary to extricate the limbs from deep sand, acting as a constant drag upon the elasticity of the fibres, occasions them to become raptured. Yet, such is the force of habit, that the natives of Dhat in my service, who had all their lives been plying their limbs as *kasids* or carriers of despatches, between all the cities on the Indus and in Rajpootana, complained of the firmer footing of the Indian plains, as more fatiguing than that of their native sand-hills. But I never was a convert to the Dhatti's reasoning; with all his simplicity of character, even in this was there vanity, for his own swelled veins, which could be compared to nothing but rattans twisted round the calf of his limbs, if they did not belie his assertion, at least proved that he had paid dearly for his pedestrianism in the desert. From the *narooa*, or Guinea worm, there is no exemption, from the prince to the peasant, and happy is the man who can boast of only one trial. The disease is not confined to the desert and western Rajpootana, being far from uncommon in the central states; but beyond the Aravali the question of "*how is your narooa?*" is almost a general form of greeting, so numerous are the sufferers from this malady. It generally attacks the limbs and the integuments of the joints, when it is excruciating almost past endurance. Whether it arises from animalculæ in sand or water, or porous absorption of minute particles imbued with the latent vital principle, the natives are not aggreed. But the seat of the disease appears immediately under and adhesive to the skin, on which it at first produces a small speck, which, gradually increasing and swelling, at length reaches a state of inflammation that affects the whole system. The worm then begins to move, and as it attains the degree of vitality apparently necessary for extricating itself, its motions are unceasing, and night and day it gnaws the unhappy patient who only exists in the hope of daily seeing the head of his enemy pierce the cuticle. This is the moment for action: the skilful *narooa* doctor is sent for, who seizes upon the head of the worm, and winding it round a needle or straw, employs it as a windlass, which is daily set in motion at a certain

hour, when they wind out as much line as they can without the risk of breaking it. Unhappy the wretch whom this disaster befalls, when, happening to fall into a feverish slumber, he kicks the windlass, and snaps the living thread, which creates tenfold inflammation and suppuration. On the other hand, if by patience and skill it is extracted entire, he recovers. I should almost imagine, when the patriarch of Uz exclaims, "My flesh is clothed with worms: my skin is broken and become loathsome. When I lie down, I say, when shall I arise and the night be gone?" that he must have been afflicted with the *narooa*, than which none of the ills that flesh is heir to can be more agonizing.*

They have the usual infantine and adult diseases, as in the rest of India, Of these the *seetla*, or 'small-pox,' and the *teejarra*, or 'tertin,' are the most common. For the first, they merely recommend the little patient to "Seetla Mata'; and treat the other with astringents, in which infusion of the rind of the pomegranate is always (when procurable) an ingredient. The rich, as in other countries, are under the dominion of empirics, who entail worse diseases by administering mineral poisons, of whose effects they are ignorant. Enlargement of the spleen under the influence of these fevers is very common, and its cure is mostly the actual cautery.

Famine is, however, the grand natural disease of these regions, whose legendary stanzas teem with records of visitations of *Bookha Mata*, the 'famished mother,' from the remotest times. That which is best authenticated in the traditions of several of these states, occurred in the eleventh century, and continued during twelve years! It is erroneously connected with the name of Lakha Phoolani, who was the personal foe of Seoji, the first Rahtore emigrant from Canouj, and who slew this Robin Hood of the desert in S. 1268 (A. D. 1212). Doubtless the desiccation of the Caggar river, in the time of Hamir Soda, nearly a century before, must have been the cause of this. Every third year they calculate upon a partial visitation, and in 1812 one commenced which lasted three or four years, extending

* My friend Dr. Joseph Duncan (attached to the Residency when I was political agent at Oodipoor) was attacked by the *narooa* in a very aggravated form. It fixed itself in the ancle-joint, and being broken in the attempt to extricate it, was attended by all the evil results I have described, ending in lameness, and generally impaired health, which obliged him to visit the Cape for recovery, where I saw him on my way home eighteen months after, but he had even then not altogether recovered from the lameness.

even to the central states of India, when flocks of poor creatures found their way to the provinces on the Ganges, selling their infants, or parting with their own liberty, to sustain existence.

Productions, animal and vegetable.—The camel, 'the ship of the desert,' deserves the first mention. There he is indispensable; he is yoked to the plough, draws water from the well, bears it for his lordly master in *mesheks*. 'or skins,' in the passage of the desert and can dispense with it himself altogether during several days. This quality, the formation of his hoof, which has the property of contracting and expanding according to the soil, and the induration of his mouth, into which he draws by his tongue the branches of the *babool*, the *kher*, and *jowas*, with their long horns, sharp and hard as needles, attest the beneficence of the Supreme Artist. It is singular that the Arabian Patriarch, who so accurately describes the habits of various animals, domestic and ferocious, and who was himself lord of three thousand camels, should not have mentioned the peculiar properties of the camel, though in alluding to the incapacity of the unicorn (rhinoceros) for the plough, he seems indirectly to insinuate the use of other besides the ox for this purpose. The camels of the desert are far superior to those of the plains, and those bred in the *thuls* of Dhat and Barmair are the best of all. The Rajas of Jessulmeer and Bikaner have crops of camels trained for war. That of the former state is two hundred strong, eighty of which belong to the prince; the rest are the quotas of his chief; but how they are rated, or in what ratio to the horsemen of other principalities, I never thought of enquiring. Two men are mounted on each camel, one facing the head, the othor the rear, and they are famous in a retreating action: but when compelled to come to close quarters, they make the camel kneel down, tie his legs, and retiring behind, make a breastwork of his body, resting the matchlock over the pack saddle. There is not a shrub in the desert that does not serve the camel for fodder.

Khur-guddha, Gorkhur, or the wild ass, is an inhabitant of the desert, but most abounds in the southern part, about Dhat, and the deep *rooe* which extends from Barmair to Bankasirr and Buliari, along the north bank of the great Runn, or 'salt desert.'

Roz or Nilgae, Lions, &c.—The noble species of the deer the nilgae, is to be met with in numerous parts of the desert; and although it enjoys a kind of immunity from the Rajpoot of the plains, who may hunt, but do not eat its flesh, here, both

for food and for its hide, it is of great use. Of the other wild animals common to India they have the tiger, fox, jackal, hare, and also the nobler animal, the lion.

Of domestic animals, as horses, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, asses, there is no want, and even the last-mentioned is made to go in the plough.

Goats and sheep. Flocks (here termed *chang*) of goats and sheep are pastured in vast numbers in the desert. It is asserted that the goat can subsist without water from the month of Kartick to the middle of Cheyt, the autumnal to the spring equinox,—apparently an impossibility: though it is well known that they can dispense with it during six weeks when the grasses are abundant. In the *thuls* of Daudputra and Bhattipoh, they remove to the flats of Sinde in the commencement of the hot weather. The shepherds, like their flocks, go without water, but find a substitute in the *chauch* or butter-milk, after extracting the butter, which is made into *ghee*, and exchanged for grain or other necessaries. Those who pasture camels also live entirely upon their milk, and the wild fruits, scarcely ever tasting bread.

Shrubs and fruits.—We have often had occasion to mention the *khyr or khureel*; the *khaijri*, whose pod converted, when dried, into flour, is called *sangri*; the *jhal*, which serves to hut the shepherds, and in Jeyt and Bysak affords them fruit; the *peeloo*, used as food; the *babool*, which yields its medicinal gum; the *ber* or jujube, which also has a pleasant fruit; all of which serve the camel to browze on, and are the most common and most useful of the shrubs: the *Jowas*, whose expressed juice yields a gum used in medicine; the *phoke*, with whose twigs they line their wells; and the alkaline plant, the *saji*, which they burn for its ashes. Of these, the first and last are worthy of a more detailed notice.

The *khureel* or *khyr* (the *capparis*, or caper-bush) is well-known both in Hindusthan and the desert: there they use it as a pickle, but here it is stored up as a culinary article of importance. The bush is from ten to fifteen feet in height, spreading very wide: there are no leaves on its ever-green twig-like branches, which bear a red flower, and the fruit is about the size of a large black currant. When gathered, it is steeped for twenty-four hours in water, which is then poured off, and it undergoes, afterwards, two similar operations, when the deleterious properties are carried off; they are then boiled and eaten with a little salt, or by those who can afford it, dressed in ghee and eaten with bread. Many families possess a stock of twenty maunds.

The *saji* is a low bushy plant, chiefly produced in the nothern desert, and most abundant in those tracts of Jessulmeer called Khadal, now subject to Daudputra. From Poogul to Derrawul, and thence by Moreed-kote, Ikhtiar Khan-ca-gurhie, to Khyrpur (Dyr Alli), is one extensive *thul*, or desert, in which there are very considerable tracts of low hard flat, termed *chittram*, * formed by the lodgment of water after rain, and in these spots only is the saji plant produced. The salt, which is a sub-carbonate of soda, is obtained by incineration, and the process is as follows: Pits are excavated and filled with the plant, which, when fired, exudes a liquid substance that falls to the bottom. While burning, they agitate the mass with long poles, or throw on sand if it burns too rapidly. When the virtue of the plant is extracted, the pit is covered with sand, and left for three days to cool; the alkali is then taken out, and freed from its impurities by some process. The purer product is sold at a rupee the seer (two pounds weight); of the other upwards of forty seers are sold for a rupee. Both Rajpoots and Mahomedans pursue this employment, and pay a duty to the lord paramount of a copper *pice* on very rupee's worth they sell. Charuns and others from the towns of Marwar purchase and transport this salt to the different marts, whence it is distributed over all parts of India. It is a considerable article of commerce with Sinde, and entire caravans of it are carried to Bekher, Tatta, and Cutch. The virtue of the soda is well understood in culinary purposes, a little *saji* added to the hard water soon softening the mess of pulse and rice preparing for their meals; and the tobacconists use considerable quantities in their trade, as it is said to have the power of restoring the lost virtues of the plant.

Grasses are numerous, but unless accompanied by botanical illustration, their description would possess little interest. There is the gigantic *sehwun*, or *seon*, classically known as the *cusa*, and said to have originated the name of Cush, the second son of Rama, and his race, the Cushwaha. It is often eight feet in height; when young, it serves as provender for animals, and when more mature, as thatch for the huts, while its roots supply a fibre, converted by the weavers into brushes indispen-

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* *Chittram*, the name applied to those flats of hard soil (which Mr. Elphinstone happily describes, by saying that it rings under the horse's hoofs in marching over it), is literally the picture, from the circumstance of such spots almost constantly presenting the *mirage*, here termed *chittram*. How far the soil, so deeply impregnated with alkaline matter, may tend to highten, if not to cause this, we have elsewhere noted in a general account of this optical phenomenon in various parts of northern India. For a full accounts of Chittarm, see end of the Volume. P. R.

sable to their trade. There is likewise the *sirkunda*, the *dhamun*, the *dhooba*, and various others; besides the *gokru*, the *papri*, and the *bhoorut*, which adhering to their garments, are the torment of travellers.

Melons.—Of the cucurbitaceous genus, indigenous to the desert, they have various kinds, from the gigantic *khurbooza* and the *chipra*, to the dwarf *gowar*. The *tomata*, whose Indian name I have not preserved, is also a native of these regions, and well known in other parts of India. We shall trespass no further with these details, than to add, that the botanical names of such trees, shrubs, or grains, as occur in this work, will be given with the general *Index*, to avoid unnecessary repetition.

ITINERARY.

Jessulmeer to Sewan, on the right bank of the Indus, and Hydrabad, and returned by Omur kote to Jessulmeer.

Kooldurra, (5 coss).—A village inhabited by Palliwal Brahmins; two hundred houses; wells.

Gujea-ca-bustee, (2 coss).—Sixty houses; chiefly Brhamins; wells.

Khaba, (3 coss).—Three hundred houses; chiefly Brahmins; a small fort of four bastions on low hills, having a garrison of Jessulmeer.

Kunohi, (5 coss). }
Soom, (5 do). } An assemblage of hamlets of four or five huts on one spot, about a mile distant from each other, conjointly called Soom, having a *boorj* or tower for defence, garrisoned from Jessulmeer; several large wells, termed *baireah*; inhabitants chiefly Sindies of various tribes, pasture their flocks, and bring salt and *kharra* (natron) from Deo Chundeswar, the latter used as a mordent in fixing colours, exported to all parts. Half-way between Soom and Moolanoh is the boundary of Jessulmeer and Sinde.

Moolanoh,* (24 coss).—A hamlet of ten huts; chiefly Sindies; situated amidst lofty sand-hills. From Soom, the first half of the journey is over alternate sand-hills, rocky ridges (termed *muggro*), and occasionally plain; for the next three, rocky ridges and sand-hills without any flats, and the remaining nine coss a succession of lofty *teebas*. In all this space of twenty-four coss there are no wells, nor is a drop of water to be had but after rain, when it collects in some old tanks or reservoirs, called *nadi* and *tabah*, situated half-way, where in past times there was a town.

It is asserted, that before the Mahomedans conquered Sinde and these regions, the valley and desert belonged to Rajpoot princes of the Pramar and Solanki tribes; that the whole *thul* (desert) was more or less inhabited, and the remains of the old tanks and temples, notwithstanding the drifting of the sands, attest the fact. Tradition records a famine of twelve years' duration during the time of Lakha Foolani, in the twelfth century, which depopulated the country, when the survivors of the *thul* fled to the *Kutchi*, or flats of the Sinde. There are throughout still many *oases* or cultivated patches, designated by the local terms from the indispensable element, water, which whether springs or rivulets, are called *wah*, *bah*, *baiteah*, *rar*, *tir*, prefixed by the tribe of those pasturing, whether Sodas, Rajurs or Sumaichas. The inhabitants of one hamlet will go as far as ten miles to cultivate a patch.

Bhore, (2 coss.)
Palri, (3 coss.)
Rajur-ca-bustee, (2 coss.)
Hamlet of Rajurs, (2 coss.)

These are all hamlets of about ten huts, inhabited by Rajurs, who cultivate patches of land or pasture their flocks of buffaloes, cows, camels, goats, amidst the *thul*; at each of these hamlets there are plenty of springs; at Rajur-ca-bustee there is a pool called *Mahadeo-ca-de*.

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* There are two routes from Moolanoh to Sehwan. The Dhatti went the longest on account of water. The other is by Sukrund, as follows:—

Palri	5 coss.	*Sukrund*	3 coss.†	
Padsha-ca-bustee.	6	Nulla	0½	
Oodani	5	Mukrund ..	4	This appears
Mittrao	10	Koka-ca-bustee..	6	very tortuous.
Meer-ca-khoe	6	The Sinde	10	
Soopurie	5	Sehwan ...	0½	
Kumber-ca-nalla	9			

† Town high road from Upper to Lower Sinde.

Deo Chandeswar Mahadeo, (2 coss.)—When the Soda princes held sway in these regions, there was a town here, and a temple to Mahadeo, the ruins of which still exist, erected over a spring called *Sooruj coond*, or fountain of the sun. The Islamite destroyed the temple, and changed the name of the spring to *Deen-Bawah*, or 'waters of the faith.' The *coond* is small, faced with brick, and has its margin planted with date trees and pomegranates, and a *Moolla*, or priest from Sind, resides there and receives tribute from the faithful. For twelve coss around this spot there are numerous springs of water, where the Rajurs find pasture for their flocks, and patches to cultivate. Their huts are conical like the wigwams of the African, and formed by stakes tied at the apex and covered with grass and leaves, and often but a large blanket of camel's hair stretched on stakes.

Chandia-ca-bustee, (2 coss).—Hamlet inhabited by Mooslems of the Chandia tribe, mendicants who subsist on the charity of the traveller.

Rajur-ca-bustee,	(2 coss.)	*Poorwas*, or hamlets of shepherds, Sumaichas, Rajurs, and others, who are all migratory, and shift with their flocks as they consume the pastures. There is plenty of water in this space for all their wants, chiefly springs.
Sumaicha-ca-do.	(2 coss.)	
Rajur, *do.*	(1 coss.)	
Do. *do.*	(2 coss.)	
Do. *do.*	(2 coss.)	
Do. *do.*	(2 coss.)	
Do. *do.*	2 coss.)	
Do. *do.*	(2 coss.)	

Odhaniah, (7 coss.)—Twelve huts; no water between it and the last hamlet.

Nallah, (5 coss.)—Descent from the *thul*, or desert, which ceases a mile east of the *nalla* or stream, said to be the same which issues from the Indus at Dura, above Rory-Bekher; thence it passes east of Sohrab's Khyrpoor and by Jinar to Bairsea-ca-rar, whence there is a canal cut to Omurkote and Chore.

Mittrao, (4 coss).—Village of sixty houses, inhabited by Baloches; a *thanna*, or post here from Hydrabad; occasional low sand-hills.

Meer-ca-kool, (6 coss.)—Three detached hamlets of ten huts each, inhabited by *Aroras*.

Sheopoori, (3 coss.)—One hundred and twenty houses, chiefly *Aroras*: small fort of six bastions to the south-east, garrisoned from Hydrabad.

Kumaira-ca-Nalla, (6 coss.)—This *nalla* issues from the Indus between Kakur-ca-bustee and Sukrund, and passes eastward; probably the bed of an old canal, with which the country is everywhere intersected.

Sukrund, (2 coss.)—One hundred houses, one third of which are Hindus; patches of cultivation; numerous water-courses neglected; everywhere overgrown with jungle, chiefly *jhow* and *khaijri*, (tamarisk and acacia). Cotton, indigo, rice, wheat, barley, peas, grain, and maize, grow on the banks of the water-courses.

Juttooe, (2 coss.)—Sixty houses; a nalla between it and Juttooe.

Cazi-ca-Seher, (4 coss.)—Four hundred houses; two nallas intervene.

Makairo, (4 coss.)—Sixty houses, a nalla between it and Juttooe.

Kakur-ca-bustee, (6 coss.)—Sixteen houses; half way the remains of an ancient fortress; three canals or nallas intervening; the village placed upon a mound four miles from the Indus, whose waters overflow it during the periodic monsoon.

Poora, or Hamlet, (1 coss.)—A ferry.

The Indus, (1 coss.)—Took boat and crossed to.

Sewan, or *Sehwan*, (1½ coss.)—A town of twelve hundred houses on the right bank, belonging to Hydrabad.*

* Sehwan is erected on an elevation within a few hundred yards of the river, having many clumps of trees, especially to the south. The houses are built of clay, often three stories high, with wooden pillars supporting the floors. To the north of the town are the remains of a very ancient and extensive fortress sixty of its bastions being still visible; and in the centre the vestiges of a palace still known as Raja Bhirterri-ca-Mahl, who is said to have reigned here when driven from Oojien by his brother Vicramaditya. Although centuries have flown since the Hindus had any power in these regions, their traditions have remained. They relate that Bhirterri, the eldest son of Gundrup Sen, was so devoted to his wife, that he neglected the affairs of government, which made his brother expostulate with him. This coming to his wife's ears, she insisted on the banishment of Vicrama. Soon after a celebrated ascetic reached his court, and presented to Bhirterri the *Amurphull*, or 'fruit of immortality,' the reward of years of austere devotion at the shrine of Mahadeo. Bhirterri gave it to his wife, who bestowed it on an elephant-driver, her paramour; he to a common prostitute, his mistress: who expecting to be highly rewarded for it, carried it to the Raja. Incensed at such a decided proof of infidelity, Bhirterri, presenting himself before his queen, asked for the prize—'she had lost it'. Having produced it, she was so overwhelmed with shame that she rushed from his presence, and precipitating herself from the walls of the palace, was dashed to pieces. Raja Bhirterri consoled himself with another wife, Rani Pingla, to whose charms he in like manner became enslaved; but experience had taught him suspicion. Having one day gone a hunting, his huntsman shot a deer, whose doe coming to the spot, for a short time contemplated the body, then threw herself on his antlers and died. The *Shekari* or huntsman, who had fallen asleep, was killed by a huge

Sehwan to Hydrabad.

Jut-ca-bustee, (2 coss.)—The word *jit* or *jut* is here pronounced *jut*. This hamlet *bustee*, is of thirty huts, half a mile from the Indus: hills close to the village.

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snake. His wife came to seek him, supposing him still asleep, but at length seeing he was dead, she collected leaves, dried reeds, and twigs, and having made a pyre, placed the body under it; after the usual perambulations she set fire to, and perished with it. The Raja, who witnessed these proceedings, went home and conversed with Pinglani on these extraordinary *suttees*, especially the Shekaries, which he called unparalleled. Pinglani disputed the point, and said it was the sacrifice of passion, not of love: had it been the latter, grief would have required no pyre. Some time after, having again gone a hunting, Bhirterri recalled this conversation and having slain a deer, he deeped his clothes in the blood, and sent them by a confidential messenger to report his death in cambat with a tiger. Pinglani heard the details; she wept not, neither did she speak, but prostrating herself before the sun, ceased to exist. The pyre was raised, and her remains were consuming outside the city as the Raja returned from his excursion. Hastening to the spot of lametation, and learning the fatal issue of his artifice, he threw off the trappings of sovereignty, put on the pilgrim's garb, and abandoned Oojein to Vicrama. The only word which he uttered, as he wandered to and fro, was the name of his faithful Pinglani! "*Hae Pingla! Hae Pingla!*" The royal pilgrim at length fixed his abode at Sehwan; but although they point out the ruins of a palace still known even to the Islamite as the *aumkhas* of Raja Bhirterri, it is admitted that the fortress is of more ancient date. There is a *mindra*, or shrine, to the south of the town, also called after him, *Bhirterri-ca-mindra*. In this the Islamite has deposited the mortal remains of a saint named Lall Peer Shahaz, to whom they attribute their victorious possession of Sinde. The cenotaph of this saint, who has the character of a proselyte Hindu, is in the centre of the mindra, and surrounded by wooden stakes. It is a curious spectacle to see both Islamite and Hindu paying their devotions in the same place of worship; and although the first is prohibited from approaching the sacred *enceinte* of the *peer*, yet both adore a large *saligram*, that vermiculated fossil sacred to Vishnu, placed in a niche in the tomb. The fact is a curious one, and although these Islamite adorers are the scions of conversion, it perhaps shews in the strongest manner that this conversion was of the sword, for generally speaking, the converted Hindu makes the most bigoted and intolerant Mussulman. My faithful and intelligent emissaries, Madari Loll and the Dhatti, brought me a brick from the ruins of this fortress of Sehwan. It was about a cubit in length, and of symmetrical breadth and thickness, uncommonly well burnt, and rang like a bell. They also brought me some charred wheat from pits where it had been burned. The grains were entire and reduced to a pure carbon. Tradition is again at work, and asserts its having lain there for some thousand years. There is very little doubt that this is the site of one of the antagonists of the Macedonian conqueror, perhaps Musicanus or Mookh-Sehwan, *the chief* of Sehwan. The passage of the Grecian down the Indus was marked by excesses not inferior to those of the Ghaznivede king in later times, and doubtless they fired all they could not plunder to carry to the fleet. There is also a *Nanuk-barra*, or place of worship sacred to Nanuk, the great apostle of the Sikhs, placed between the fortress and the river. Sehwan is inhabited by Hindus and Islamites in equal

Sumaicha-ca-bustee, (2½ do.)—Small village.

Lukki, (2½ do.)—Sixty houses; one mile and a half from the river; canal on the north side of the village; banks well cultivated. In the hills, two miles west, is a spot sacred to Parbutti and Mahadeo, where are several springs, three of which are hot.*

Oomri, (2 coss.)—Twenty-five houses, half a mile from River; the hills not lofty, a coss west.

Soomri, (3 do.)—Fifty houses, on the River hills; one and a half coss west.

Sindoo, or *Sunn*, (4 do.)—Two hundred houses and a bazaar, two hundred yards from the River; hills one and a half coss west.

Majend, (4¼—coss.)—On the River two hundred and fifty houses, considerable trade; hills two coss west.

Oomar-ca-bustee, (3 coss.)—A few huts, near the river.

Syed-ca-bustee, (3 do.)

Shikarpoor, (4 do.)—On the river; crossed to the east-side

proportions; of the former, the mercantile tribe of *Maisuri* from Jessulmeer, is the most numerous, and have been fixed here for generations There are also many Brahmins of the Pokurna (1) caste, *Soonars* or goldsmiths, and other Hindu artizans; of the Mooslem the Syed is said to be the most numerous class. The Hindus are the monied men. Cotton and Indigo, and geat quantities of rice in the husk (*paddy*), grown in the vicinage of Sehwan, are exported to the ports of Tatta and Koratchy-Bunder by boats of considerable burthen, manned entirely by Mahomedans. The Hakim of Sewhan is sent from Hydrabad. The range of mountains which stretch from Tatta nearly paralleled with the Indus, approaches within three miles of Sewhan, and there turn off to the north-west. All these hills are inhabited as far as the shrine of Hinglaz Mata, (2) on the coast of Mekran, (placed in the same range) by the *Loomri*, or *Noomri* tribe, who though styling themselves Baloches, are Jits in origin (3).

(1) See Annals of Jessulmeer.

(2) This famous shrine of the Hindu Cybele, yet frequented by numerous votaries, is nine days' journey from Tatta by Korachy Bunder, and about nine miles from the sea-shore.

(3) These are the Nomurdies of Rennel.

* These springs are frequented, despite the difficulties and dangers of the route from the savage Noomrie, by numerous Hindu pilgrims. Two of them are hot, and named *Suryacoond* and *Chandra coond*, or fountains of the sun and moon, and imbued with special virtues; but before the pilgrim can reap any advantage by purification in their waters, he must underge the rite of confession to the attendant priests, who, through intercession with Mahadeo, have the power of granting absolution. Should a sinner be so hardened as to plunge in without undergoing this preparatory ordeal, he comes out covered with boils ! ! ! This is a curious confirmation that the confessional rite is one of very ancient usage amongst the Hindus, even in the days of Rama of Kosala.

Hydrabad, (4 do.)—One and a half coss from the river Indus. Hydrabad to Nusurpoor, nine coss; to Sheodapoor, eleven do; to Sheopori, seventeen do; to Rory-Bekker, six do total forty-three coss.

Hydrabad via Omurkote, to Jessulmeer.

Sindoo Khan-ca-bustee, (3 coss.)—West bank of Phooleli river

Tajpoor, (3 do.)—Large town, north-east of Hydrabad.

Kutrail, (1½ coss.)—A hundred houses.

Nusurpur, (1½ do.)—East of Tajpoor, large town.

*Ullyar-ca-tanda.** (4 do.)—A considerable town built by Ullyar Khan, brother of the late Gholam Alli, and lying south-east of Nusurpoor. Two coss north of the town is the *Sangra Nalla* or *Bawah**, said to issue from the Indus between Hala and Sukrund, and passing Jundeela.

Meerbah, (5 coss.)—Forty houses; *Bah*, *Tanda*, *Gote*, *Poorwa*, are all synonimous terms for habitations, of various degrees.

Soonario, (7 coss.)—Forty houses.

Dingano, (4 do.)—To this hamlet extends the flats of Sinde. Sand-hills five and six miles distant to the north. A small river runs under Dingano.

Korsano, (7 coss.)—A hundred houses. Two coss east of Korsano are the remains of an ancient city; brick buildings still remaining, with well and reservoir. Sand-hills two to three coss to the northward.

Omurkote, (8 coss.)—There is one continued plain from Hydrabad to Omurkote, which is built on the low ground at the very extremity of the *thul* or sand-hills of the desert, here commencing. In all this space, estimated at forty-four *cucha* coss, or almost seventy miles of horizontal distance, as far as Sonario the soil is excellent, and plentifully irrigated by *bawahs*, or canals from the Indus. Around the villages there is considerable cultivation; but notwithstanding the natural fertility, there is a vast quantity of jungle, chiefly *babool* (*mimosa arabica*), the evergreen *jhal*, and *jhow* or tamarisk. From Sonario to Omurkote is one continued jungle, in which there are a few cultivated patches dependent on the heavens for irrigation; the soil is not so good as the first portion of the route.

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* This is the *Sankra* of Nadir Shah's treaty with Mahomed Shah of India, which the conqueror made the boundary between India and Persia, by which he obtained the whole of that fertile portion of the valley of

Kuttar, (4 coss.)—A mile east of Omurkote commences the *thul* or sand-hills, the ascent a hundred and fifty to two hundred feet. A few huts of Sumaichas who pasture; two wells.

Dhote-ca-bustee, (4 coss.)—A few huts; one well; Dhotes, Sodas, and Sindies cultivate and pasture.

Dharnas, (8 do.)—A hundred houses, chiefly Pokurna Brahmins and Banyas, who purchase up the *ghee* from the pastoral tribes, which they export to Bhooj and the valley. It is also an entrepot for trade; caravans from the east exchange their goods for the *ghee*, here very cheap, from the vast flocks pastured in the *Rooe*.

Khairloo-ca-Par, (3 coss.)—Numerous springs (*par*) and hamlets scattered throughout this tract.

Lanailo, (1½ do.)—A hundred houses; water brackish; conveyed by camels from Khairloo.

Bhoj-ca-par, (3 do.)—Huts; patches of cultivation.

Bhoo, (6 do.)—Huts.

Gurrira, (10 do.)—A small town of three hundred houses belonging to Sowae Sing Soda, with several *pooras* or hamlets attached to it. This is the boundary between *Dhat* or the Soda raj and Jessulmeer. Dhat is now entirely incorporated in Sinde. A *dhanni*, or collector of the transit duties, resides here.

Hursani, (10 do.)—Three hundred houses, chiefly Bhattis. It belongs to a Rajpoot of this tribe, now dependent on Marwar.

Jinjinialli, (10 coss.)—Three hundred houses. This is the fief of the chief noble of Jessulmeer; his name Kaitsi,* Bhatti. It is the border town of Jessulmeer. There is a small mud fortress, and several *tallaos*, or sheets of water, which contain water often during three-fourths of the year; and considerable cultivation in the little valleys formed by the *teebas*, or sand ridges. About two miles north of Jinjinialli there is a village of Charuns.

Guj Sing-ca-bustee, (2 do.)—Thirty-five houses. Water scarce, brought on camels from the Charun village.

Hamir-deora, (5 do.)—Two hundred houses. There are several *bairas* or pools, about a mile north, whither water is brought on camels, that in the village being saline. The ridge of rocks from Jessulmeer here terminates.

Sinde, east of that stream. Others say, it issues from Dura, above Rory Bekher.

* See Annals of Jessulmeer for an account of the murder of this chieftain

Chailak, (5 do.)—Eighty houses, wells; Chailak on the ridge.
Bhopa, (7 do.) —Forty houses; well; small *tallao* or pool.
Bhao, (2 do.)—Two hundred houses; pool to the west; small

Jessulmeer, (5 do.)—Eighty-five and a half coss from Omurkote to Jessulmeer by this route, which is circuitous. That by Jinjinialli 26 coss, Giraup 7, Neelwa 12, Omurkote 25; in all 70 pucka coss, or about 150 miles. Caravans or *kuttars* of camels pass in four days, *casids* or messengers in three and a half, travelling night and day. The last 25 coss, or 50 miles, is entire desert: add to this 44 short coss from Hydrabad to Omurkote, making a total of 129½ coss. The most direct road is estimated at 105 pucka coss, which, allowing for sinuosities, is equal to about 195 English miles.

Total of this route, 85½ coss.

Jessulmeer to Hydrabad, by Baisnau.

Kooldur, (5 coss.)
Khaba, (5 do.)
Lakha-ca-gong, (30 coss.)—Desert the whole way ; no hamlets or water.
Baisnow, (8 do.)
Bairsea-ca-Rar, (16 do.)—Wells.
Theepro, (3 do.)
Meeta-ca-dhair, (7 do.)—Omurkote distant 20 coss.
Jundeela, (8 do.)
Ullyar-ca-Tanda, (10 do.)—Sankra, or Sangra *nalla*.
Tajpoor, (4 do.)
Jam-ca-Tanda, (2 do.)
Hydrabad, (5 do.)

In the former route the distance from Ullyar-ca-Tanda, by the town of Nusurpoor, is called 13 coss, or two more than this. There are five *nallas* or canals in the last five coss.

Total of this route, 103 coss.

Jessulmeer, by Shagurh, to Khyrpoor of Meer Sohrab.

Ana-sagur, (2 coss.)
Chonda, (2 do.)

Pani-ca-tur (3 do.)—Tur or Tir, springs.
Pani-ça-koochri, (7 do.)—No village.
Koriallo, (4 do.)

Shagurh, (20 do.*)--*Rooe* or waste all this distance. Shagurh is the boundary; it has a small castle of six bastions, a post of Meer Sohrab, Governor of Upper Sinde.

Gurseah, (6 do.)

Gurhur, (28 do.)—Rooe or desert the whole way; not a drop of water. There are two routes branching off from Gurhur, one to Khyrpoor, the other to Ranipoor.

Baloch-ca-bustee, (5 do.) } Hamlets of Baloches and Sumaichas.
Sumaicha ça-bustee, (5 do.) }

Nalla, (2 do.)—The same stream which flows from Dura, and through the ancient city of Alore; it marks the boundary of the desert.

Khyrpoor, (18 do.)—Meer Sohrab, Governor of Upper Sinde, and brother of the prince of Hydrabad, resides here. He has erected a stone fortress of twelve bastions, called Noakote or New-castle. The 18 coss from the *nalla* to Khyrpoor is flat, and marks the breadth of the valley here. The following towns are of consequence.

Khyrpoor to Ludkana.—Twenty coss west of the Indus, held by Kurrum Alli, son of the prince of Hydrabad.

Khyrpoor to Lukhi—Fifteen coss, and five from Shikarpoor.
Khyrpoor to Shikarpoor, (20 coss.)

Gurhur to Ranipoor.

Furaroh, (10 coss.)—A village of fifty houses, inhabited by Sindies and Kurars; several hamelts around. A *dhanni* or collector of transit dues resides here on the part of Meer Sohrab, the route being travelled by *kuttars* or caravans of camels. The *nalla* from Durah passes two coss east of Furaroh, which is on the extremity of the desert. Commencement of the ridge called *Tukur*, five coss west of Furaroh, extending to Rory Bekher, sixteen coss distant

* Shekh Abul Birkat makes the distance only nine coss from Shahgurh to Koriallolı, and states the important fact of crossing the dry bed of the Caggur, five coss west of Korialloh; water found plentifully by digging in the bed. Numerous *bairas*, to which the shepherds drive their flocks.

from Furaroh. From Furaroh to the Indus, eighteen coss, of thirty miles breadth of the valley here.

Ranipoor,† (18 coss.)

Jessulmeer to Rory Bekher.

Koriailoh, (18 coss.)—See last route.

Bandoh, (4 do.)—A tribe of Mooslems, called Oondur, dwells here.

Goteroo, (16 do.)—Boundary of Jessulmeer and Upper Sinde. A small castle and garrison of Meer Sohrab's; two wells, one inside; and a hamlet of thirty huts of Sumaichas and Oondurs; *teebas* heavy.

Oodut, (32 do.)—Thirty huts of shepherds; a small mud fortress. *Rooe*, a deep and entire desert, throughout all this space; no water.

Sunkram or Sungram, (16 coss.)—Half the distance sand-hills, the rest numerous temporary hamlets constructed of the *jooar*, or maize stalks; several water courses.

Nalla-Sangra, (½ do.)—This *nalla* or stream is from Dura, on the Sinde, two coss and a half north of Rory Bekher; much cultivation; extremity of the sand-hills.

Tirgateo, (½ do.)—A large town; Bankers and Banias, here termed Kirar, and Sumaichas.

Low ridge of hills, called *Tekher*, (4 do.)—This little chain of silicious rocks runs north and south; Noakote, the new-castle of Sohrab, is at the foot of them; they extend beyond Furaroh, which is sixteen coss from Rory Bekher. Goomut is six coss from Noakote.

Rory, (4 coss.)
Bekher, (½ do.)
Sekher, (½ do.)
} On the ridge, on the left bank of the Indus. Crossed over to Bekher; breadth of the river near a mile. Bekher is an island, and the other branch to Sekher is almost a mile over also. This insulated rock is of silex, specimens of which I possess. There are the remains of the ancient fortress of *Mansoora*, named in honour of the Caliph Al-Mansoor, whose lieutenants made it the capital of Sinde on the opening of their conquests. It is yet more famed as the capital of the Sogdi of Alex-

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† Considerable town on the high road from Upper to Lower Sinde. See subsequent route.

ander; in all probability a corruption of Soda, the name of the tribe which has ruled from immemorial ages, and who till very lately held Omurkote.

N. B.—Casids or messengers engage to cary des from Jessulmeer to Rory Bekher in four days and a distance of one hundred and twelve coss.

Bekher to Shikarpoor.

Lukie, also called Lukiesirr, (12 coss.)
Sindu Nalla, (3½ do.)
Shikarpoor, (½ do.)

Total of this route, 16 coss.

Bekher to Ludkana, (28 coss.)
Shikarpoor to Ludkana, (20 do.)

Jessulmeer to Dyr Alli Khyrpoor.

Koriallo, (18 coss.)

Kharroh, (20 do.)—*Rooe* or desert all the way. This is the *dokud*, or mutual boundary of Upper Sinde and Jessulmeer, and there is a small *mitti-ca-kote* or mud fort, jointly held by the respective troops; twenty huts and one well.

Sootialloh, (20 do.)—Rooe all the way. A *dand* for the collection of duties; six wells.

Khyrpoor (*Dyr Alli*) (20 coss.)—Rooe, and deep jungle of the evergreens called *lawa* and *jhal*, from Sootialloh to Khyrpoor.

Total of this route, 78 coss.

Khyrpoor (Dyr Alli) to Ahmedpoor.

Obaora, (6 coss.)—Considerable town: Indus four coss west.

Subzul-ca-kote, (8 do.)—Boundary of Upper Sinde and Daudputra. This frontier castle, often disputed, was lately taken by Meer Sohrab from Bhawul Khan. Numerous hamlets and water-courses.

Ahmedpoor, (8 coss.)—Considerable garrison town of Daudputra; two battalions and sixteen guns,

Total of this route, 22 coss.

Khyrpoor (Dyr Alli) to Hydrabad.

Meerpoor, (8 coss.)—Four coss from the Indus.

Matailoh, (5 do.)—Four coss from the Indus.

Gotki, (7 do.)—Two coss from the Indus.

Rory Bekher, (20 do.)—Numerous hamlets and temporary v[illegible] with many water-courses for cultivation in all this space.

	coss.	
Khyrpoor ... ... (*Sohrab-ca*)	8	Six coss from the Indus.
Goomut ...	8	
Ranipoor ... (See route to it from Gurhur.)	2	The coss in this distance seems a medium between the *pucka* of two coss and the *kutcha* of one and a half. The medium of one and three quarter miles to each coss, deducting a tenth for windings, appears, after numerous comparisons, to be just. This is alike applicable to all Upper Sinde.
Hingore ...	5	
Bhiranapoor	5	
Huliani ...	1	
Kunjerro ...	3	
Nosheyra ...	8	
Mora ...	7	
Shahpoora ...	3	
Doulutpoor	3	
Meerpoor ...	3	On the Indus. Here Madarri crossed to Sehwan, and returned to Meerpoor.
Lazi-ca-Gote	9	The coss about two miles each; which deducting one in ten for windings of the road, may be protracted.
Sukrund	11	
Hala ...	7	
Khurdra	4	
Muttari	4	
Hydrabad	6	

Total 145 coss.

Jessulmeer to Ikhtiar Khan-ca-Gurhie.

Brimisirr, (4 coss.)	These villages are all inhabited by Palliwal Brahmins, and are in the tract termed Kundal or Khadal of which Katori, eight coss north of Jessulmeer, is the chief town of about forty villages.—N. B. All towns with the affix of *sirr* have pools of water.
Mordesirr, (3 do.)	
Gogadeo, (3 do.)	
Kaimsirr, (5 do.)	

Nohr-ca-Gurhie, (25 coss.)—*Rooe* or desert throughout this space. The castle of Nohur is of brick, and now belongs to Daudputra, who captured it from the Bhattis of Jessulmeer. About forty huts and little cultivation. It is a place of toll for the *Kuttars* or caravans; two rupees for each camel-load of ghee, and four for with sugar; half a rupee for each camel, and a third for an ox laden with grain.

Moreed Kote, (24 coss.)—*Rooe* or desert. Ramgurh is four coss east of this.

Ikhtiar-ca Gurhi, (15 do.)—*Rooe* until the last four coss, or eight miles. Thence the descent from the *teebas* or sand-hills to the valley of the Indus.

Total of this route, 79 coss.

Ikhtiar to Ahmedpoor	...	18 coss
———Khanpoor	...	5
———Sooltanpoor	...	8

Jessulmeer to sheo-Kottoroh, Kheraloo, Chotun, Nuggur-Parker, Mittie, and return to Jessulmeer.

Dabla, (3 coss.)—Thirty houses, Pokurna Brahmins.

Akulli, (2 do.)—Thirty houses, Chohans, well and small *tallao*.

Chore, (5 do.)—Sixty houses, mixed classes.

Deikote, (2 do.)—A small town of two hundred houses; belongs to the Jessulmeer fisc or khalsa. There is a little fort and garrison. A *tallao* or pool excavated by the Palliwals, in which water remains throughout the year after much rain.

Sangur, (6 coss.)—N. B. This route is to the east of that (following) by Cheencha, the most direct road to Bhalotra, and the one usually travelled; but the villages are now deserted.

Beasirr, (2 coss.)—Forty houses and *tallao*. *Bejoorae* 2 coss distant.

Mundye, (frontier), (2½ do.)—Two hundred and fifty houses. Saheb Khan Sehrae with a hundred horses is stationed here; the town is khalsa and the last of Jessulmeer. The ridge from Jessulmeer is close to all the places on this route to Mundaye.

Goongah, (4½ coss.)—*Thanna*, or post of Jodpoor.

Sheo, (2 do.)—A large town of three hundred houses, but many deserted, some through famine. Chief of a district. A Hakim resides here from Jodpoor; collects the transit dues, and protects the country from the depredations of the Sehraes.

Kottoroh, (3 coss.)—Town of five hundred houses, of which only two hundred are now inhabited. On the north-west side is a fort, on the ridge. A Rahtore chief resides here. The district of Sheo Kottoroh was taken from the Bhattis of Jessulmeer by the Rahtores of Jodpoor.

Beesallao, (6 coss.)—In ancient times a considerable place; now only fifty houses. A fort on the ridge to the south-west, near two hundred feet high; connected with the Jessulmeer ridge, but often covered by the lofty *teebas* of sand.

Kheraloo, (7 coss.)—Capital of Kherdhur, one of the ancient divisions of Marusthali. Two coss south of Beesallao crossed a pass over the hills.

Chotun, (10 coss.)—An ancient city, now in ruins, having at present only about eighty houses, inhabited by the Sehraes.

Bankasirr, (11 coss.)—Formerly a large city, now only about three hundred and sixty houses.

Bhil-ca-bustee, (5 do.) } Few huts in each.
Chohan-ca-poora, (6 do.) }

Nuggur, (3 coss).—A large town, capital of Parkur, containing one thousand five hundred houses; of which one-half are inhabited.

Kaim Khan Sehrae ca-bustee, (18 coss.)—Thirty houses in the *thul*; wells, with water near the surface; three coss to the east the boundary of Sinde and the Chohan Raj.

Dhote-ca-poora, (15 coss.)—A Hamlet; Rajpoots, Bhils, and Sehraes.

Mitti or Mittri-ca-kote, (3 coss.)—A town of six hundred houses in Dhat, or the division of Omurkote belonging to Hydrabad; a relative of whose prince, with the title of Nawab, resides here: a place of great commerce, and also of transit for the caravans; a fortified mahal to the south-west. When the Shah of Cabul used to invade Sinde, the Hydrabad prince always took refuge here with his family and valuables. The sand-hills are immensely high and formidable.

Chailasirr, (10 coss.)—Four hundred houses, inhabited by Sehraes, Brahmins, Beejuranis, and Bunyas; a place of great importance to the transit trade.

Sumaicha-ca-bustee, (10 coss.)—*Thul* from Challasirr.

Noor-Alli, Pani-ca-Tir, (9 coss.)—Sixty houses of Charuns, Sooltano Rajpoots and *Kaoreas*, (qu. the ancient Kaorea?) water (*pani-ca-tir*) plenty in the *thul*.

Roal, (5 coss.)—Twelve hamlets termed *bas*, scattered round a tract of several coss, inhabited by different tribes, after whom they are named as Soda, Sehrae, Kaorea, Brahmin, Banya and Sootar, as *Soda-ca-bas*, *Sehrae-ca-bas*, or habitations of the Sodas; of the Sehraes, &c. &c.

Daellie, (7 coss.)—One hundred houses; a *dhanni*, or collector of duties, resides here.

Gurrirah, (10 do.)—Described in route from Omurkote to Jessulmeer.

Raidanoh, (11 do.)—Forty houses; a lake formed by damming up the water. *Aggur*, or salt-pans.

Kottoroh, (9 do.)—

Sheo, (3 do.)—The whole space from Nuggur to Sheo-Kottoroh is a continuous mass of lofty-hills (*thul-ca-teeba*), scattered with hamlets (*poorwas*), in many parts affording abundant pasture for flocks of sheep, goats, buffaloes, and camels; the *thul* extends south to Noa-kote and Bulwar, about ten coss south of the former and two of the latter. To the left of Noa-kote are the flats of Talpoora, or Lower Sinde.

Jessulmeer to Sheo Kottoroh, Burmair, Nuggur-Gooroh And Sooe-Bah.

Dhuno, (5 coss.)—Two hundred houses of Palliwals; pool and wells; ridge two to three hundred feet high, cultivation between the ridges.

Cheencha, (7 do.)—Small hamlet; Sirroh, half a coss east; ridge low thul, cultivation.

Jussorana, (2 coss.)—Thirty houses of Palliwals, as before; Keeta to the right half a coss.

Oonda, (1 do.)—Fifty houses of Palliwals and Jain Rajpoots; wells and pools; country as before.

Sangur, (2 do)—Sixty houses; only fifteen inhabited, the rest fled to Sinde during the famine of 1813; Charuns. Grand *thul* commences.

Sangur-ca-tallao, (½ coss)—Water remains generally eight months in the *tallao* [illegible]; sometimes the whole year.

Beejorae, (1 coss.)
Khorael, (4 do.) } Bet[illegible] is the *Sandh* or boundary of Jess[illegible] has one [illegible] of Palliwals; wells and pools at both places.

Rajarail, (1 coss)—Seventy houses; mostly deserted since famine

Gongah, (4 do.)—Hamlet of twenty huts; *bairas*, or small wells and pools; to this the ridge and *thul* intermingle.

Sheo, (2 do.)—Capital of the district.

Neemlah, (4 do.)—Forty houses; deserted.

Bhadko, (2 do.)—Four hundred houses; deserted. This is the third year of famine!

Kupoorri, (3 do.)—Thirty huts, deserted; wells.

Julepah, (3 do.)—Twenty huts; deserted.

Nuggur (Gooroo), (20 coss.)—This is a large town on the west bank of the Looni river, of four to five hundred houses, but many deserted since the famine, which has almost depopulated this region. In 1813, the inhabitants were flying as far as the Ganges, and selling themselves and offspring into slavery to save life!

Barmair, (6 do.)—A town of twelve hundred houses.

Gooroo, (2 do.)—West side of the Looni; town of seven hundred houses; the chief is styled Rana, and of the Chohan tribe.

Batto, (3 do.)—West side of river.

Putturno, (1 do.)
Gadlo, (1 do.) } West side of river.

Runas, (3 do.)—East side of river.

Chartuni, (2 do.)—Seventy houses east side.

Cheetulwano, (2 do.)—Town of three hundred houses; east side of river; belonging to a Chohan chief, styled Rana. Sanchore seven coss to the south.

Rutoroh, (2 do.)—East side of river; deserted.

Hoteegong, (2 do.)—South side of river; temple to Phoolmookhleswar Mahadeo.

Dhootoh, (2 do.)
Tappee, (2 do.) } North side. On the west side the Thul is very heavy; east side is plain; both sides well cultivated.

Lallpoora, (2 do.)—West side.

Soorpoora, (1 do.)—Crossed river.

Sunloh, (2 do.)—[Ei]ghty houses, east side of river.

Bhoateroo, (2 do.)—East side; relation of the Rana resides here.

Narke, (4 do.)—South side to the river; Bhils and Sonigurras.

Karoe, (4 coss)—Sehraes.
Pitlanoh, (2 do)—Large village; Kolis and Pithils.
Dhurnidur, (3 do.)—Seven or eight hundred houses, nearly deserted, belonging to Sooe Bah.
Bah, (4 coss.)—Captial of Rana Narrayn Rao, Chohan prince of Vira-Bah.
Loonah, (5 do.)—One hundred houses.
Sooe, (7 do.)—Residence of Chohan chief.

Bhalotra on the Looni river to Pokurn and Jessulmeer.

Panchbuddra, (3 coss.)—Bhalotra fair on the 11th Maug—continues ten days. Bhalotra has four to five hundred houses in the tract called Sewanchi ; the ridge unites with Jhalore and Sewanoh. Panchbuddra has two hundred houses, almost all deserted since the famine. Here is the celebrated Agger, or salt-lake, yielding considerable revenue to the government.
Gopti, (2 coss)—Forty houses; deserted; one coss north of this the deep *thul* commences.
Patode, (4 do.)—A considerable commercial mart ; four hundred houses ; cotton produced in great quantities.
Sëevaie, (4 coss.)—Two hundred houses, almost deserted.
Seruroh, (1 do.)—Sixty houses. To Patode the tract is termed Sewanchi ; from thence Eendavati, from the ancient lords of the Eendo tribe.
Boongurro, (3 coss.), Solankitullo, (4 do). Pongulli, (5 do.) — Boongurro has seventy houses, Solunkitullo four hundred, and Pongulli sixty. Throughout sand-hills. This tract is called Thulaicha, and the Rahtores who inhabit it, Thulaicha Rahtores. There are many of the Jit or Jat tribe as cultivators. Pongulli a Charun community.
Bakurri, (5 coss.)—One hundred houses; inhabited by Charuns.
Dholsirr, (4 do.)—Sixty houses, inhabited by Palliwal Brahmins.
Pokurn, (4 do.)—From Bakurri commences the Pokurn district; all flat, and though sandy, no *teebas* or hills.
Odhanio, (6 coss.)—Fifty houses ; a pool in the south side.
Lahti, (7 do.)—Three hundred houses ; Palliwal Brahmins.
Sodacoor, (2 do). Chandun, (4 do.) — Sodacoor has thirty houses and Chandun fifty ; Palliwals ; Dry *nalla* at the latter, water obtained by digging in its bed.
Bhojka, (3 do.)—One coss to the left is the direct road to Basunki, seven coss from Chandun.

Basunki-talao, (5 coss.)—One hundred houses; Palliwals.
Moklait, (1½ do.)—Twelve houses; Pokurn Brahmins.
Jessulmeer, (4 do.)—From Pokurn to Odhanio, the road is over a low ridge of rocks; thence to Lahti is a well-cultivated plain, the ridge being on the left. A small *thul* intervenes at Sodacoor, thence to Chandun, plain. From Chandun to Basunki the road again traverses the low ridge, increasing in height, and with occasional cultivation, to Jessulmeer.

Bikaneer to Ikhtiar Khan-ca-Gurhee, on the Indus.

Nae-ca-bustee, (4 coss.)
Gujnair, (5 do.)
Gooroh, (5 do.)
Beetnoke, (5 do.)
Girajsirr, (8 do.)
Narraye, (4 do.) — Sandy plains; water at all these villages. From Girajsirr, the Jessulmeer frontier, the *teebas* or sand-hills commence, and continue moderate to Beekumpoor.
Beekumpoor, (9 coss.)
Mohungurh, (16 do.) — Beekumpoor to Mohungurh, *rooe* or desert all the way, having considerable sand-hills and jungle.
Natchna, (16 do.)—*Teebas*, or sand-hills throughout this space.
Narraie, (9 do.)—A Brahmin village.
Nohur-ca-Gurhee, (24 do.)—Deep *rooe* or desert; the frontier garrison of Sinde; the gurhee, or castle held by Hadji Khan.
Moreed Kote, (24 coss.)—*Rooe*, high sand-hills.
Gurhee Ikhtiar-Khan-ca, (18 do.)—The best portion of this through the *Kutchi*, or flats of the valley. Gurhie on the Indus.
Total 147 coss, equal to 220½ miles, the coss being about a mile and a half each; 200 English miles of horizontal distance to be protracted.

ANNALS

OF

AMBER,* OR DHOONDAR.

CHAPTER I.

Designations given by Europeans to the principalities of Rajpootana.—Dhoondar known by the name of its capitals, Amber or Jeipoor.—The country of the Cuchwahas, an aggregate of conquests by the race so called.—Etymology of 'Dhoondar.'—Origin of the Cuchwahas.—Raja Nal founds Nurwar.—Dhola Rae expelled, and founds Dhoondar.—Romantic legend of Dhola Rae.—His treachery to his benefactor, the Meena lord of Khogong.—Marries a daughter of a Birgoojur chief, and becomes his heir.—Augments his territories, and transfers his Government to Ramgurh.—Marries a daughter of the prince of Ajmeer.—Is killed in battle with the Meenas.—His son Kankul conquers Dhoondar.—Maidul Rae conquers Amber and other [illegible] Conquests of Hoondeo.—Of Koontul.—Accession of [illegible] —Reflections on the aboriginal tribes at this period.—The Meena race.—Pujoon marries the sister of Prithwi-raj of Delhi.—His military prowess.—Is killed at the rape of the princess of Conouj.—Malesi succeeds.—His successors.—Prithwi-raj creates the Bara-kotris, or twelve great fiefs of Amber.—He is assassinated.—Baharmull.—The first to wait on the Mahomedan power.—Bhagwandas, the first Rajpoot to give a daughter to the imperial house.—His daughter marries Jehangir, and gives birth to Khoosroo.—Accessin of Maun Sing.—His power, intrigue and death —Rao Bhao.—Maha.—Mirza Raja Jey Sing, brother of Raja Maun, succeeds.—repairs the disgraces of his two predecessors, and renders immense services to the empire.—Is poisoned by his son.—Ram Sing.—Bishen Sing.

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* [illegible] unt of the Amber or Jeipoor state is nearly [illegible] communicated to the Marquis of Hastings in 1814-15. Amidst [illegible] city of objects which subsequently engaged my attention, I had [illegible] elf absolved from the necessity of enlarging upon it, trusting that a [illegible] competent pen would have superseded this essay, there [illegible] several [illegible] authorities at that court since it was written. Being, however, unaware that any thing has been done to develope its historical resources, which are more abundant than those of any other court of India, I think it right not to suppress this sketch, however imperfect.

By some conventional process, Europeans in India have adopted the habit of designating the principalities of Rajpootana by the names of their respective capitals, instead of those of the countries. Thus Marwar and Mewar are recognised under the titles of their chief cities, Jodpoor and Oodipoor: Kotah and Boondi are denominations indiscriminately applied to Haravati, the general term of the region, which is rarely mentioned; and Dhoondar is hardly known by that denomination to Europeans, who refer to the state only by the names of its capitals, Amber or Jeipoor, the last of which is now universally used to designate the region inhabited by the Cuchwahas.

The map defines the existing boundaries of this principality, to which I shall indiscriminately apply the terms (as is the practice of the natives) of Dhoondar, Amber, and Jeipoor.

Like all the other Rajpoot states, the country of the Cuchwahas is an assemblage of communities, the territories of which have been wrested from the aboriginal tribes, or from independent chieftains, at various periods; and therefore the term *Dhoondar*, which was only one of their earliest acquisitions, had scarcely a title to impose its name upon the aggregate. The etymology of Dhoondar is from a once celebrated sacrificial mount (*dhoond*) on the western frontier, near Kalik Jobnair.*

The Cuchwaha or Cuchwa race claims descent from Cush, the second son of Rama, King of Koshala, whose capital was Ayodia, the modern Oude. Cush, or some of his immediate offspring, is said to have migrated from the parental abode, and erected the celebrated castle of Rhotas, or Rohitas,† on the Soane, whence, in the lapse of several generations, another distinguished scion, Raja Nal, migrated westward, and in S. 351, or A. D. 295, founded the kingdom and city of Nurwar, or classically, Nishida.‡ Some of the tradi-

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* The traditional history of the Chohans asserts, that this mount was the place of penance (*tapasya*) of their famed king Beesildeo of Ajmeer, who, for his oppression of his subjects, was transformed into a *Rakhus* or *Demon*, in which condition he continued the evil work of his former existence, 'devouring his subjects' (as literally expressed), until a grand-child offered himself as a victim to appease his insatiable appetite. The language of innocent affection made its way to the heart of the *Rakhus*, who recognized his offspring, and winged his flight to the Jumna. It might be worth while to excavate the *dhoond* of the transformed Chohan king, which, I have some notion, will prove to be his sepulchre.

† Were this celebrated abodes searched for inscriptions, they might throw light on the history of the descendants of Rama.

‡ Prefixed to a descriptive sketch of the city of Nurwar (which I may append), the year S. 351 is given for its foundation by Raja Nal, but whether obtained from an insciiption or historical legend, I know not,

tional chronicles record intermediate places of domicile prior to the erection of this famed city: first, the town of Lahar, in the heart of a tract yet named Cuchwagar, or region (*gar*) of the Cuchwahas; and secondly, that of Gwalior. Be this as it may, the descendants of Raja Nal adopted the affix of Pal (which appears to be the distinguishing epithet of all the early Rajpoot tribes), until Sora Sing (thirty-third in descent from Nal), whose son, Dhola Rae, was expelled from the paternal abode, and in S. 1023, A. D. 967, laid the foundation of the state of Dhoondar.

A family, which traces its lineage from Rama of Koshula, Nala of Nishida, and Dhola, the lover of Maroni, may be allowed 'the boast of heraldry:' and in remembrance of this descent, the Cushites of India celebrate with great solemnity 'the annual feast of the sun,' on which occasion a stately car, called the chariot of the sun (*Surya ratha*), drawn by eight horses, is brought from the temple; and the descendant of Ramesa, ascending therein, perambulates his capital.

A case of simple usurpation originated the Cuchwaha state of Amber; but it would be contrary to precedent if this event were untinged with romance. As the episode, while it does not violate probability, illustrates the condition of the aboriginal tribes, we do not exclude the tradition. On the death of Sora Sing, prince of Nurwar, his brother usurped the government, depriving the infant, Dhala Rae, of his inheritance. His mother, clothing herself in mean apparel, put the infant in a basket, which she placed on her head, and travelled westward until she reached the town of Khogong (within five miles of the modern Jeipoor), then inhabited by the Meenas. Distressed with hunger and fatigue, she had placed her precious burthen on the ground, and was plucking some wild berries, when she observed a hooded serpent rearing its form over the basket. She uttered a shriek, which attracted an itinerant Brahmin,

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It, however, corroborates, in a remarkable manner, the number of descents from Nal to Dhola Rae, *viz.* thirty-three, which, calculated according to the best data at twenty-two years to a reign, will make 726 years, which subtracted from 1023, the era of Dhola Rae's migration, leaves 297, a difference of only fifty-four years between the computed and settled eras; and if we allowed only twenty-one years to a reign, instead of twenty-two as proposed in all long lines above twenty-five generations, the difference would be trifling.

We may thus, without hesitation, adopt the date 351, or A. D. 295, for the period of Raja Nal, whose history is one of the grand sources of delight to the bards of Rajpootana. The poem rehearsing his adventures under the title of Nal and Damyanti (fam. Nal-Dummun), was translated into Persian at Akber's command, by Fiezi, brother of Abulfazil, and has since been made known to the admirers of Sanscrit literature by Professor Bopp of Berlin.

who told her to be under no alarm, but rather to rejoice at this certain indication of future greatness in the boy. But the emaciated parent of the founder of Amber replied, "What may be in futurity I heed not, while I am sinking with hunger;" on which the Brahmin put her in the way to Khogong, where he said her necessities would be relieved. Taking up the basket, she reached the town, which is encircled by hills, and accosting a female, who happened to be a slave of the Meena chieftain, begged any menial employment for food. By direction of the Meena Rani, she was entertained with the slaves. One day she was ordered to prepare dinner, of which Ralunsi, the Meena Raja, partook, and found it so superior to his usual fare, that he sent for the cook, who related her story. As soon as the Meena chief discovered the rank of the illustrious fugitive, he adopted her as his sister, and Dhola Rae as his nephew. When the boy had attained the age of Rajpoot manhood (fourteen), he was sent to Delhi, * with the tribute of Khogong, to attend instead of the Meena. The young Cuchwaha remained there five years, when he conceived the idea of usurping his benefactor's authority. Having consulted the Meena *dhad*, † or bard, as to the best means of executing his plan, he recommended him to take advantage of the festival of the *Dewali*, when it is customary to perform the ablutions *en masse*, in a tank. Having brought a few of his Rajpoot brethern from Delhi, he accomplished his object, filling the reservoirs in which the Meenas bathed with their dead bodies. The treacherous bard did not escape; Dhola Rae put him to death with his own hand, observing, "he who had proved unfaithful to one master, could not be trusted by another." He then took possession of Khogong. Soon after, he repaired to Deosah, ‡ a castle and district ruled by an independent chief of the Birgoojur tribe of Rajpoots, whose daughter he demanded in marraige. "How can this be," said the Birgoojur, "when we are both Suryavansi, and one hundred generations have not yet separated us?" § But being convinced

* The Tuar tribe were then supreme lords of India.

† *Dhadi*, *Dholi*, *Dhom*, *Jaega*, are all terms for the bards or minstrels of the Meena tribes.

‡ Deosah (written Dewnsah), on the Bangunga river, about thirty miles east of Jeipoor.

§ The Birgoojur tribe claims descent from Lava or Lao, the elder son of Rama. As they trace fifty-six descents from Rama to Vicrama, and thirty-three from Raja Nala to Dhola Rae, we have only to calculate the number of generations between Vicrama and Nal, to ascertain whether Dhola's genealogist went on good grounds. It was in S. 351 that Raja Nal erected Nurwar, which, at twenty-two years to a reign, gives sixteen to be added to fifty-six, and this added to thirty-three, is equal to one hundred and five generations from Rama to Dhola Rae.

that the necessary number of descents had intervened, the nuptial took place, and as the Birgoojur had no male issue, he resigned his power to his son-in-law. With the additional means thus at his disposal, Dhola determined to subjugate the Seroh tribe of Meenas, whose chief, Rao Natto, dwelt at Mauch. Again he was victorious, and deeming his new conquest better adapted for a residence than Khogong, he transferred his infant government thither, changing the name of Mauch, in honour of his great ancestor, to Ramgurh.

Dhola subsequently married the daughter of the Ajmeer, whose name was Maroni. Returning on one occassion with her from visiting the shrine of Jumwahi Mata, the whole force of the Meenas of that region assembled, to the number of eleven thousand, to oppose his passage through their country. Dhola gave them battle: but after slaying vast numbers of his foes, he was himself killed, and his followers fled. Maroni escaped, and bore a posthumous child, who was named Kankul, and who conquered the country of Dhoondar. His son, Maidul Rao, made a conquest of Amber from the Soosawut Meenas, the residence of their chief, named Bhatto, who had the title of Rao, and was head of the Meena confederation. He also subdued the Nandla Meenas, and added the district of Gatoor-Gatti to his territory.

Hoondeo succeeded, and like his predecessors, continued the warfare against the Meenas. He was succeeded by Koontul, whose sway extended over all the hill-tribes round his capital. Having determined to proceed to Bhutwar, where a Chohan prince resided, in order to marry his daughter, his Meena subjects, remembering the former fatality, collected from all quarters, demanding that if he went beyond the borders, he should leave the standards and nakarras of sovereignty in their custody. Koontul refusing to submit, a battle ensued, in which the Meenas were defeated with great slaughter, which secured his rule throughout Dhoondar.

Koontul was succeeded by Pujoon, a name well known to the chivalrous Rajpoot, and immortalized by Chund, in the poetic history (*Rasa*) of the emperor Prithwi Raj. Before, however, we proceed further, it may be convenient to give a sketch of the power and numbers of the indigenous tribes at this period.

We have already had frequent occasion to observe the tendency of the aboriginal tribes to emerge from bondage and depression, which has been seen in Mewar, Kotah, and Boondi, and is now exemplified in the rise of the Cuchwahas in Dhoondar. The original, pure, unmixed race of Meenas, Mynas, or Mainas, of Dhoondar, were styled Puchwarra, and subdivided

into five grand tribes. Their original home was in the range of mountains called *Kali-kho*, extending from Ajmeer nearly to the Jumna, where they erected *Amber*, consecrated to *Amba*, the universal mother, or, as the Meenas style her, *Ghatta Rani*, 'Queen of the pass.' In this range was Khogong, Mauch, and many other large towns, the chief cities or communities. But even so late as Raja Baharmull Cuchwaha, the contemporary of Babar and Humayoon, the Meenas had retained or regained great power, to the mortification of their Rajpoot superiors. One of these independent communities was at the ancient city of Naen, destroyed by Baharmull, no doubt with the aid of his Mogul connexions. An old historical distich thus records the power of the Meena princes of Naen:

"*Bawun kote chapun durwaza*
"*Myna murd, Naen ca Raja*
"*Booro raj Naen ko*
"*Jub bhoos myn bhutto mango.*"

That is, "There were fifty-two strong-holds,* and fifty-six gates belonging to the manly Myna, the Raja of Naen, whose sovereignty of Naen was extinct, when even of chaff (*bhoos*) he took a share." If this is not an exaggeration, it would appear that, during the distractions of the first Islamite dynasties of Delhi, the Meenas had attained their primitive importance. Certainly from Pujoon, the vassal chieftain of Prithwi Raj, to Baharmull, the contemporary of Baber, the Cuchwahas had but little increased their territory. When this latter prince destroyed the Meena sovereignty of Naen, he levelled its half-hundred gates, and erected the town of Lowain (now the residence of the Rajawut chief) on its ruins.

A distinction is made in the orthography and pronunciation of the designation of this race: *Myna* or *Maina* meaning the *asail*, or 'unmixed class,' of which there is now but one, the *Obsarra*; while *Meena* is that applied to the mixed, of which they reckon *bara pal*,† or twelve communities, descended from Rajpoot blood, as Chohan, Tuar, Jadoon, Purihar, Cuchwaha, Solanki, Sankla, Ghelote, &c., and these are subdivided into less than five thousand two hundred distinct clans, of which

* *Kote* is 'a fortress'; but it may be applied simply to the number of *bastions* of Naen, which in the number of its gates might rival Thebes. Lowain, built on its ruins, contains three thousand houses, and has eighty-four townships dependent on it.

† *Pal* is the term for a community of any of the aboriginal mountain races; its import is a 'defile,' or 'valley,' fitted for cultivation and defence. It is probable that Poliger may be a corruption of Paliger, or the region (*gar*) of these *Pals*. Palita, Bhilita, Philita, are terms used by the learned for the Bhil tribes, Maina or Myna, Maira, Mairote, all designate mountaineers, from *Mair* or *Mer*, a hill.

it is the duty of the Jaega, Dholi, or Dhom, their genealogists, to keep account. The unmixed Oosarra stock is now exceedingly rare, while the mixed races, spread over all the hilly and intricate regions of central and western India, boast of their descent at the expenses of "legitimacy." These facts all tend strongly to prove that the Rajpoots were conquerors, and that the mountaineers, whether Kolis, Bhils, Mynas, Goands, Sairias or Sarjas, are the indigenous inhabitants of India. This subject will be fully treated hereafter, in a separate chapter devoted to the Meena tribes, their religion, manners, and customs.

Let us return to Pujoon, the sixth in descent from the exile of Nurwar, who was deemed of sufficient consequence to obtain in marriage the sister of Prithwi Raj, the Chohan emperor of Delhi, an honour perhaps attributable to the splendour of Pujoon's descent, added to his great personal merit. The chivalrous Chohan, who had assembled around him one hundred and eight chiefs of the highest rank in India, assigned a conspicuous place to Pujoon, who commanded a division of the monarch's armies in many of his most important battles. Pujoon twice signalized himself in invasions from the north, in one of which, when he commanded on the frontier, he defeated Shabudin in the Khyber Pass, and pursued him towards Gazni. His valour mainly contributed to the conquest of Mahoba, the country of the Chundails, of which he was left governor; and he was one of the sixty-four chiefs who, with a chosen body of their retainers, enabled Prithwi Raj to carry off the princess of Canouj. In this service, covering the retreat of his liege-lord, Pujoon lost his life, on the first of the five days' continuous battle. Pujoon was conjoined with Govind Gehlote, a chief of the Mewar house;—both fell together. Chund, the bard, thus describes the last hours of the Cuchwaha prince: "When Govind fell, the foe danced with joy: and did Pujoon thunder on the curtain of fight: with both hands he plied the *kharg* (sword) on the heads of the barbarian. Four hundred rushed upon him; but the five brothers in arms, Kehuri, Peepa, and Boho, with Narsing and Cuchra, supported him. Spears and daggers are plied—heads roll on the plain—blood flows in the streams. Pujoon assailed Itimad; but as his head rolled at his feet, he received the Khan's lance in his breast; the Coorma* fell in the field, and the Apsaras disputed for the hero. Whole lines of the northmen strew the plain: many a head did Mahadeo add to his chaplet.† When Pujoon

* *Coorma* or *Cuchwa*, are synonymous terms, and indiscriminately applied to the Rajpoots of Ajmeer; meaning 'tortoise.'

† The chaplet of the god of war is of skulls; his drinking cup a semi-cranium.

and Govind fell, one watch of the day remained. To rescue his kin came Palhan, like a tiger loosed from his chain. The array of Canouj fell back; the cloudlike host of Jeichund turned its head. The brother of Pujoon, with his son, performed deeds like Carna: but both fell in the field, and gained the secret of the sun, whose chariot advanced to conduct them to his mansion.

"Ganga shrunk with affright, the moon quivered, the Digpals howled at their posts: checked was the advance of Canouj, and in the pause the Coorma performed the last rites to his sire (Pujoon), who broke in pieces the shields of Jeichund. Pujoon was a buckler to his lord, and numerous his gifts of the steel to the heroes of Canouj: not even by the bard can his deeds be described. He placed his feet on the head of *Sesnag*, he made a waste of the forest of men, nor dared the sons of the mighty approach him. As Pujoon fell, he exclaimed, 'one hundred years are the limit of man's life, of which fifty are lost in night, and half this in childhood; but the Almighty taught me to wield the brand.' As he spoke, even in the arms of Yama, he beheld the arm of his boy playing on the head of the foeman. His parting soul was satisfied: seven wounds from the sword had Malesi received, whose steed was covered with wounds: mighty were the deeds performed by the son of Pujoon."

This Malesi, in whose praise the bard of Prithwiraj is so lavish, succeeded (according to the chronicle) his father Pujoon in the Raj of Amber. There is little said of him in the transcript in my possession. There are, however, abundance of traditional couplets to prove that the succcssors of Pujoon were not wanting in the chief duties of the Rajpoot, the exercise of his sword. One of these mentions his having gained a victory at Rootrahi over the prince of Mandoo. *

We shall pass over the intermediate princes from Malesi to Prithwi Raj, the eleventh in descent, with a bare enumeration of their names; *viz.* Malesi, Beejul, Rajdeo, Keelun, Kontul, Joonsi, Oodikurn, Nursing, Bunbeer, Oodharun, Chandrasen, Prithwiraj.

Prithwiraj had seventeen sons, twelve of whom reached man's estate. To them and their successors in perpetuity he assigned appanages, styled the *bara kotri*, or 'twelve chambers' of the Cuchwaha house. The portion of each was necessarily very limited; some of the descendants of this hereditary aristocracy now hold estates equal in magnitude to the principality itself at that period. Previous, however, to this perpe-

* I give this chiefly for the concluding couplet, to see how the

tual settlement of Cuchwaha fiefs, and indeed intermediately between Malesi and Prithwiraj, a disjunction of the junior branches of the royal family took place, which led to the foundation of a power for a long time exceeding in magnitude the parent state. This was in the time of Oodikurn, whose son Baloji, left his father's house, and obtained the town and small district of Amrutsir, which in time devolved on his grandson Shekhji, and became the nucleus of an extensive and singular confederation, known by the name of the founder, Shekhavati, at this day covering an area of nearly ten thousand square miles. As this subject will be discussed in its proper place, we shall no longer dwell on it, but proceed with the posterity of Prithwiraj, amongst the few incidents of whose life, is mentioned his meritorious pilgrimage to *Dewul*, * near the mouth of the Indus. But even this could not save him from foul assassination, and the assassin was his own son Bheem, " whose countenance, says the chronicle, was that of a demon." The record is obscure, but it would appear that one parricide was punished by another, and that Aiskurn, the son of Bheem, was instigated by his brethren to put their father to death and "to expiate the crime by pilgrimage." † In one list, both these monsters are enumerated amongst the "anointed of Amber,' but they are generally omitted in the genealogical chain doubtless from a feeling of disgust.

Rajpoots applied the word *Khoten* to the lands beyond Cabul where the great Raja Maun commanded as Akber's lieutenant :

" *Pulhun, Pujoon jeete,*
" *Mahoba, Conouj lurri,*
" *Mandoo Malesi jeete,*
" *Rar Rootrahi ca*
" *Raj Bhagwandas jeete,*
" *Mowasi lur*
" *Raja Maun Sing jeete,*
" KHOTEN *fouj doobahi.*"

" Pulhun and Pujoon were victorious ;
" Fought at Mahoba and Canouj ;
" Malesi conquered Mandoo ;
" In the battle of Rootrahi,
" Raja Bhagwandas vanquished,
" In the Mowasi (fastnesses, probably, of Mewat),
" Raj Maun Sing was victorious,
" Subjugating the army of KHOTEN."

* '*The* temple' ; the *Debeil* of the Mahomedan tribes ; the Rajpoot seat of power of the Rajas of Sinde, when attacked by the Caliphs of Bagdad.

† The chronicle says of this Aiskurn, that on his return, the king (Baber or Humayoon), gave him the title of Raja of Nurwar. These states have continued occasionally to furnish representatives, on the extinction of the line of either. A very conspicuous instance of this occured on

Baharmull was the first prince of Amber who paid homage to the Mahomedan power. He attended the fortunes of Baber, and received from Hemayoon (previous to the Pathan usurpation) the munsub of five thousand as Raja of Amber.

Bhagwandas, son of Baharmull, became still more intimately allied with the Mogul dynasty. He was the friend of Akber, who saw the full value of attaching such men to his throne. By what arts or influence he overcame the scruples of the Cuchwaha Rajpoot we know not, unless by appealing to his avarice or ambition; but the name of Bhagwandas is execrated as the first who sullied Rajpoot purity by matrimonial alliance with the Islamite. His daughter espoused Prince Selim, afterwards Jehangir, and the fruit of the marriage was the unfortunate Khoosroo.*

Maun Sing, nephew† and successor of Bhagwandas, was the most brilliant character of Akber's court. As the emperor's lieutenant, he was entrusted with the most arduous duties, and added conquests to the empire from Khoten to the ocean. Orissa was subjugated by him,‡ Assam humbled and made tributary, and Cabul maintained in her allegiance. He held in succession the governments of Bengal and Behar,§ the Dekhan and Cabul. Raja Maun soon proved to Akber that his policy

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the death of Raja Juggut Sing, the last prince of Amber, who dying without issue, an intrigue was set on foot, and a son of the ex-prince of Nurwar was placed on the gadi of Amber.

* It is pleasing to find almost all these outlines of Rajpoot history confirmed by Mahomedan writers. It was in A. H. 993 (A. D. 1586) that this marriage took place. Three generations of Cuchwahas, *viz.*, Bhagwandas, his adopted son Raja Maun, and grandson, were all serving in the imperial army with great distinction at this time. Raja Maun, though styled *Koonwar*, or heir apparent, is made the most conspicuous. He quelled a rebellion headed by the emperor's brother, and while Bhagwandas commanded under a prince of the blood against Cashmere, Maun Sing overcame an insurrection of the Afghans at Khyber; and his son was made viceroy of Cabul.—See Briggs' Ferishta, vol. ii.

† Bhagwandas had three brothers, Soorut Sing, Madoo Sing, and Juggut Sing; Maun Sing was son of the last.

‡ Ferishta confirms this, saying he sent one hundred and twenty elephants to the king on this occasion.—Briggs' Ferishta, vol. ii.

§ Ferishta confirms this likewise. According to this historian, it was while Maun was yet only *Koonwar*, or heir apparent, that he was invested with governments of "Behar, Hajipur and Patna, "the same year (A. D. 1589) that his uncle Bhagwandas died, and that following the birth of prince Khoosroo by the daughter of the Cuchwaha prince, an event celebrated (says Ferishta) with great rejoicings. See Briggs' Ferishta, vol. ii p. 261. Col. Briggs has allowed the similarity of the names *Khoosroo* and *Khoorum* to betray him into a slight error in a note of the former prince. It was not Khoosroo but Khoorum, who was succeeded by his father Jehangir, and was father to the monster Arungzeb, (note p. 26). Khoosroo was put to death by Khoorum, afterwards Shah Jehan.

of strengthening his throne by Rajpoot alliances was not without hazard; these alliances introducing a direct influence in the state, which frequently thawarted the views of the sovereign. So powerful was it, that even Akber, in the zenith of his power, saw no other method of diminishing its force, than the execrable but common expedient of Asiatic despots—poison: it has been already related how the emperor's attempt recoiled upon him to his destruction.*

Akber was on the death-bed when Raja Maun commenced an intrigue to alter the succession in favour of his nephew, Prince Khoosroo, and it was probably in this predicament that the monarch had recourse to the only safe policy, that of seeing the crown fixed on the head of Selim, afterwards Jehangir. The conspiracy for the time was quashed, and Raja Maun was sent to the Government of Bengal; but it broke out again, and ended in the perpetual imprisonment of Khoosroo, † and a dreadful death to his adherents. Raja Maun was too wise to identify himself with the rebellion, though he stimulated his nephew, and he was too powerful to be openly punished, being at the head of twenty thousand Rajpoots; but the native chronicle mentions that he was amerced by Jehangir in the incredible sum of *ten crores*, or millions sterling. According to the Mahomedan historian, Raja Maun died in Bengal,‡ A. H. 1024 (A. D. 1615); while the chronicle says he was slain in an expedition against the Khilji tribe in the north, two years later.§

Rao Bhao Singh succeeded his father, and was invested by the Emperor with the *Punj-hazari*, or dignity of a legionary chief of five thousand. He was of weak intellect, and ruled a few years without distinction. He died A. H. 1030 of excessive drinking.

Maha succeeded, and in like manner died from dissipated habits. These unworthy successors of Raja Maun allowed the princes of Jodpoor to take the lead at the imperal court. At the instigation of the celebrated Joda Bae (daughter of Rae Sing of Bikaneer), the Rajpootni wife of Jehangir, Jey Sing, grandson of Juggut Sing (brother of Maun), was raised to the throne of Amber, to the no small jealousy, says the chronicle, of the favourite queen, Noor Jehan. It relates that the succession was settled by the Emperor and the Rajpootni in a con-

* Annals of Rajsthan; vol. i.

† He was afterwards assassinated by order of Shah Jehan. See Dow's Ferishta, vol. iii. chap. i. p. 63.

‡ Dow, vol. iii, p. 46; the chronicle says in S. 1699, or A. D. 1613.

§ An account of the life of Raja Maun would fill a volume; there are ample materials at Jeipoor.

ference at the balcony of the seraglio, where the Emperor saluted the youth below as Raja of Amber, and commanded him to make his salaam to Joda Bae, as the source of his honour. But the customs of Rajwarra could not be broken: it was contrary to etiquette for a Rajpoot chief to salaam, and he replied: "I will do this to any lady of your majesty's family, but not to Joda Bae;" upon which she good-naturedly laughed, and called out, "It matters not; I give you the raj of Amber."

Jey Sing, the Mirza Raja, the title by which he is best known, restored by his conduct the renown of the Cuchwaha name, which had been tarnished by the two unworthy successors of Raja Maun. He performed great services to the empire during the reign of Arungzeb, who bestowed upon him the *munsub* of six thousand. He made prisoner the celebrated Sevaji, whom he conveyed to court, and afterwards, on finding that his pledge of safety was likely to be broken, was accessary to his liberation. But this instance of magnanimity was more than counterbalanced by his treachery to Dara, in the war of succession, which crushed the hopes of that brave prince. These acts, and their consequences, produced an unconquerable haughtiness of demeanour, which determined the tyrannical Arungzeb to destroy him. The chronicle says he had twenty-two thousand Rajpoot cavalry at his disposal, and twenty-two great vassal chiefs, who commanded under him; that he would sit with them in *durbar*, holding two glasses, one of which he called Delhi, the other Satarra, and dashing one to the ground, would exclaim, "there goes Satarra; the fact of Delhi is in my right hand, and this with like facility I can cast away.' These vaunts reaching the emperor's ear, he had recourse to the same diabolical expedient which ruined Marwar, of making a son the assassin of his father. He promised the succession to the *gadi* of Amber to Keerut Sing, younger son of the Raja, to the prejudice of his elder brother Ram Sing, if he effected the horrid deed. The wretch having perpetrated the crime by mixing poison in his father's opium, returned to claim the investiture; but the king only gave him the district of Kamah. From this period, says the chronicle, Amber declined.

Ram Sing, who succeeded, had the *munsub* of four thousand conferred upon him, and was sent against the Assamese. Upon his death, Bishen Sing, whose *munsub* was further reduced to the grade of three thousand, succeeded; but he enjoyed the dignity only a short period.

CHAPTER II.

Sowae Jey Sing succeeds.—Joins the party of Azim Shah.—Amber sequestrated.—Jey Sing expels the imperial garrison.—His character.—His astronomical knowledge.—His conduct during the troubles of the empire.—Anecdote illustrative of the evils of polygamy.—Limits of the raj of Amber at the accession of Jey Sing.—The new city of Jeipoor.—Conquest of Rajore and Deoti.—Incidents illustrative of Rajpoot character.—Jey Sing's habit of inebriation.—The virtues of his character.—Contemplates the rite of Aswamedha.—*Dispersion of his valuable manuscripts.—His death.—Some of his wives and concubines become* Satees *on his pyre.*

JEY II., better known by the title of Sowae Jey Sing, in contradistinction to the first prince of this name, entitled the "Mirza Raja," succeeded in S. 1755 (A. D. 1699), in the forty-fourth year of Arungzeb's reign, and within six years of that monarch's death. He served with distinction in the Dekhan, and in the war of succession attached himself to the prince Bedar Bukt. son of Azim Shah, declared successor of Arungzeb; and with these he fought the battle of Dholpoor, which ended in their death and the elevation of Shah Alum Bahadoor Shah. For this opposition Amber was sequestrated, and an imperial governor sent to take possession; but Jey Sing entered his states, sword in hand, drove out the king's garrisons, and formed a league with Ajit Sing of Marwar for their mutual preservation.

It would be tedious to pursue this celebrated Rajpoot through his desultory military career during the forty-four years he occupied the *gadi* of Amber; enough is already known of it from its combination with the Annals of Mewar and Boondi, of which house he was the implacable foe. Although Jey Sing mixed all the troubles and warfare of this long period of anarchy, when the throne of Timoor was rapidly crumbling into dust, his reputation as a soldier would never have handed down his name with honour to posterity; on the contrary, his courage had none of the fire which is requisite to make a Rajpoot hero; though his talents for civil government and court intrigue, in which he was the Machiavelli of his day, were at that period far more notable auxiliaries.

As a statesman, legislator, and man of science, the character

of Sowae Jey Sing is worthy of an ample delineation,* which would correct our opinion of the genius and capacity of the princes of Rajpootana, of whom we are apt to form too low an estimate. He was the founder of the new capital, named after him Jeipoor, or Jeinuggur, which became the seat of science and art, and eclipsed the more ancient Amber, with which the fortifications of the modern city unite, although the extremity of the one is six miles from the other. Jeipoor is the only city in India built upon a regular plan, with streets bisecting each other at right angles. The merit of the design and execution is assigned to Vedyadhar, a native of Bengal, one of the most eminent coadjutors of the prince in all his scientific pursuits, both astronomical and historical. Almost all the Rajpoot princes have a smattering of astronomy, or rather of its spurious relation, astrology; but Jey Sing went deep, not only into the theory, but the practice of the science, and was so esteemed for his knowledge, that he was entrusted by the emperor Mahomed Shah with the reformation of the calendar. He had erected observatories with instruments of his own invention at Delhi, Jeipoor, Oojein, Benares, and Mathura, upon a scale of Asiatic grandeur; and their results were so correct as to astonish the most learned. He had previously used such instruments as those of Ulug Beg (the royal astronomer of Samarcand), which failed to answer his expectations. From the observations of seven years at the various observatories, he constructed a set of tables. While thus engaged, he learned through a Portuguese missionary, Padre Manuel, the progress which his favourite pursuit was making in Portugal, and he sent "several skilful persons along with him"† to the court of Emanuel. The king of Portugal despatched Xavier de Silva, who communicated to the Rajpoot prince the tables of Dela Hire.‡ "On examining and comparing the calculations of these tables (says the Rajpoot prince) with actual observation, it appeared there was

* For such a sketch, the materials of the Amber court are abundant; to instance only the *Calpadrooma*, a miscellaneous diary, in which everything of note was written, and a collection entitled *Ek seh noh goon Jey Sing ca* or 'the one hundred and nine actions of Jey Sing,' of which I have heard several narrated and noted. His voluminous correspondence with all the princes and chiefs of his time would alone repay the trouble of translation, and would throw a more perfect light on the manners and feelings of his countrymen than the most laborious lucubrations of any European. I possess an autograph letter of this prince, on one of the most important events of Indian history at this period, the deposal of Ferokhser. It was addressed to the Rana.

† It would be worth ascertaining whether the archives of Lisbon refer to this circumstance.

‡ Second edition, published in A. D. 1702. Jey Sing finished his in A. D. 1728.

an error in the former, in assigning the moon's place, of half a degree; although the error in the other planets was not so great, yet the times of solar and lunar eclipses *he** found to come out later or earlier than the truth by the fourth part of a *ghurry*, or *fifteen puls* (six minutes of time)." In like manner, as he found fault with the instruments of brass used by the Toorki astronomer, and which he conjectures must have been such as were used by Hipparchus and Ptolemy, so he attributes the inaccuracies of De la Hire's tables to instruments of "inferior diameters." The Rajpoot prince might justly boast of his instruments. With that at Delhi, he, in A. D. 1729, determined the obliquity of the ecliptic to be 23° 28′; within 28″ of what it was determined to be, the year following, by Godin. His general accuracy was further put to the test in A. D. 1793, by our scientific countryman, Dr. W. Hunter, who compared a series of observations on the latitude of Oojein with that established by the Rajpoot prince. The difference was 24″; and Dr. H. does not depend on his own observations within 15″. Jey Sing made the latitude 23° 10′ N.; Dr. Hunter, 23° 10′ 24″ N.

From the results of his varied observations, Jey Sing drew up a set of tables, which he entitled *Zeij Mahomedshahi*, dedicated to that monarch; by these, all astronomical computations are yet made, and almanacs constructed. It would be wrong,—while considering these labours of a prince who caused Euclid's Elements, the treatises on plain and spherical trigonometry, '*Don Juan*,' Napier on the construction and use of logarithms, to be translated into Sanscrit,—to omit noticing the high strain of devotion with which he views the wonders of the "Supreme Artificer;" recalling the line of one of our own best poets:

"An undevout astronomer is mad."

The Rajpoot prince thus opens his preface: "Praise be to God, such that the minutely discerning genius of the most profound geometers, in uttering the smallest particle of it, may open the mouth in confession of inability; and such adoration, that the study and accuracy of astronomers, who measure the heavens, may acknowledge their astonishment, and utter insufficiency! Let us devote ourselves at the altar of the King of Kings, hallowed be his name! in the book of the register of whose power the lofty orbs of heaven are only a few leaves; and the stars, and that heavenly courser the sun, small pieces of money, in the treasury of the empire of the Most High.

* Jey Sing always speaks of himself in the third person.

"From inability to comprehend the all-encompassing beneficence of his power, HIPPARCHUS is an ignorant clown, who wrings the hands of vexation; and in the contemplation of his exalted majesty, PTOLEMY is a bat, who can never arrive at the sun of truth: the demonstrations of EUCLID are an imperfect sketch of the forms of his contrivance.

"But since the well-wisher of the works of creation, and the admiring spectator of the works of infinite wisdom, SEVAI JEY SING, from the first dawning of reason in his mind, and during its progress towards maturity, was entirely devoted to the study of mathematical science, and the bent of his mind was constantly directed to the solution of its most difficult problems; by the aid of the Supreme Artificer, he obtained a thorough knowledge of its principles and rules," &c.*

Besides the construction of these objects of science, he erected, at his own expense, *caravanserais* for the free use of travellers in many of the provinces. How far vanity may have mingled with benevolence in this act (by no means uncommon in India), it were uncharitable to enquire: for the Hindu not only prays for all those "who travel by land or by water," but aids the traveller by *serais*, or inns, and wells dug at his own expense, and in most capitals and cities, under the ancient princes, there were public charities for necessitous travellers, at which they had their meals, and then passed on.

When we consider that Jey Sing carried on his favourite pursuits in the midst of perpetual wars and court intrigues, from whose debasing influence he escaped not untainted; when amidst revolution, the destruction of the empire, and the meteoric rise of the Mahrattas, he not only steered through the dangers, but elevated Amber above all the principalities around,

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* See "Account of the astronomical labours of Jya Sing, Raja of Amber," by Dr. W. Hunter; (Asiatic Researches, vol. v. p. 177), to whom I refer the reader for the description of the instruments used by the Raja. The author has seen those at Delhi and Mathura. There is also an equinoctial dial constructed on the terrace of the palace of Oodipoor, and various instruments at Kotah and Boondi, especially an armillary sphere at the former, of about five feet diameter, all in brass, got up under the scholars of Jey Sing.

Dr. Hunter gives a most interesting account of a younger pundit, whom he found at Oojein, the grandson of one of the co-adjutors of Jey Sing, who held the office of *Jyotish Rae* or Astronomer-Royal and an estate of five thousand rupees, annual rent, both of which (title and estate) descended to this young man: but science fled with Jey Sing, and the barbarian Mahrattas had rendered his estate desolate and unproductive. He possessed, says Dr. H., a thorough acquaintance with the Hindu astronomical science contained in the various *Sidhantas*, and that not confined to the mechanical practice of rules, but founded on a geometrical knowledge of their demonstration. This inheritor of the mantle of Jey Sing died at Jeipoor, soon after Dr. Hunter left Oojein, in A. D. 1793.

we must admit that he was an extraordinary man. Aware of the approaching downfall of the Mogul empire, and determined to aggrandize Amber from the wreck, he was, nevertheless, not unfaithful to his lord paramount; for, on the conspiracy which deprived Ferokhser of empire and of life, Jey Sing was one of the few princes who retained their fidelity, and would have stood by him to the last, if he had possessed a particle of the valour which belonged to the descendants of Timoor.*

Enough has been said of his public life, in that portion of the annals of Mewar with which he was so closely connected, both by political and family ties. The Syeds, who succeeded to power on the murder of their sovereign Ferokhser, were too wise to raise enemies unnecessarily; and Jey Sing, when he left the unhappy monarch to his fate, retired to his hereditary dominions, devoting himself to his favourite pursuits, astronomy and history. He appears to have enjoyed three years of uninterrupted quiet, taking no part in the struggles, which terminated, in A. D. 1721, with Mahomed Shah's defeat of his rivals, and the destruction of the Syeds. At this period, Jey Sing was called from his philosophical pursuits, and appointed the king's lieutenant for the provinces of Agra and Malwa in succession: and it was during this interval of comparative repose, that he erected those monuments which irradiate this dark epoch of the history of India.† Nor was he blind to the interests of his nation or the honour of Amber, and his important office was made subservient to obtaining the repeal of that disgraceful edict, the *jezeya*, and authority to repress the infant power of the Jats, long a thorn in the side of Amber. But when, in A. D. 1732, the Raja, once more lieutenant for Malwa, saw that it was in vain to attempt to check the Mahratta invasion, or to prevent the partition of the empire, he deemed himself justified in consulting the welfare of his own house. We know not what terms Jey Sing entered into with the Mahratta leader, Bajirao, who, by his influence was appointed Soobadar of Malwa; we may, however, imagine, it was from some more powerful stimulant than the native historian of this period assigns, namely, "a similarity of religion." By this conduct, Jey Sing is said emphatically,

* Scott, in his excellent history of the successors of Arungzeb, gives a full account of this tragical event, on which I have already touched in vol. I. of this work; where I have given a literal translation of the autograph letter of Raja Jey Sing on the occassion.

† The Raja says he finished his tables in A. D. 1728, and that he had occupied himself seven years previously in the necessary observations; in fact, the first quiet years of Mahomed Shah's reign, or indeed that India had known for centuries.

by his own countrymen, to have given the key of Hindustan to the Southron. The influence his character obtained, however, with the Mahrattas was even useful to his sovereign, for, by it he retarded their excesses, which at length reached the capital. In a few years more (A. D. 1739), Nadir Shaha's invasion took place, and the Rajpoots, wisely alive to their own interests, remained aloof from a cause which neither valour nor wisdom could longer serve. They respected the emperor, but the system of government had long alienated these gallant supporters of the throne. We may exemplify the trials to which Rajpoot fidelity was exposed, by one of "the hundred and nine deeds of Jey Sing," which will at the same time serve further to illustrate the position, that half the political and moral evils which have vexed the royal houses of Rajpootana, take their rise from polygamy.

Maharaja Bishen Sing had two sons, Jey Sing and Beejy Sing. The mother of Beejy Sing, doubtful of his safety, sent him to her own family in Keechiwarra. When he had attained man's estate, he was sent to court, and by bribes, chiefly of jewels presented by his mother, he obtained the patronage of Kumurodin Khan, the vizier. At first his ambition was limited to the demand of Busswa, one of the most fertile districts of Amber, as an appanage; which being acceded to by his brother and sovereign Jey Sing, he was stimulated by his mother to make still higher demands, and to offer the sum of five crores of rupees and a contingent of five thousand horse, if he might supplant his brother on the throne of Amber. The vizier mentioned it to the emperor, who asked what security he had for the fulfilment of the contract; the vizier offered his own guarantee, and the *sunnuds* of Amber were actually preparing, which were thus to unseat Jey Sing, when his *pugri budul bhae*, Khandoran Khan, informed Kirparam, the Jeipoor envoy at court, of what was going on. The intelligence produced consternation at Amber, since Kumurodin was all-powerful. Jey Sing's dejection became manifest on reading the letter, and he handed it to the confidential Nazir, who remarked, "it was an affair in which *force* could not be used, in which *wealth* was useless, and which must be decided by *stratagem** alone; and that the conspiracy could be defeated only through the conspirator. At the Nazir's recommendation he convened his principal chiefs, Mohun Sing, chief of the Nathawuts;† Deep Sing, Khom-

* The Nazir is here harping on *three* of the *four* predicaments, which (borrowed originally from Menu, and repeated by the great Rajpoot oracle, the bard Chund) govern all human events, *sham*, *dan*, *bhed*, *dund*, 'arguments, gifts, stratagem, force.'

† He is the hereditary premier noble of this house, (as is Saloombra of Mewar, and the Aphwa chief of Marwar), and is familiarly called the '*Patel*

bani of Bhansko; Zoorawur Sing, Seoburunpota; Himmat Sing, Narooka, Koosul Sing of Jhulaye; Bhojraj of Mozabad, and Futteh Sing of Maoli; and thus addressed them on the difficulties of his position: "You placed me on the *gadi* of Amber; and my brother, who would be satisfied with Busswa, has Amber forced upon him by the Nawab Kumurodin." They advised him to be of good cheer, and they would manage the affair, provided he was sincere in assigning Busswa to his brother. He made out the grant at the moment, ratified it with an oath, and presented it with full powers to the chiefs to act for him. The *Panch* (council) of Amber sent their ministers to Beejy Sing, provided with all the necessary arguments; but the prince replied, he had no confidence in the promises or protestations of his brother. For themselves, and in the name of the *barah kotri Amber ca* (the twelve great families), they gave their '*seeta ram*,' or security; adding that if Jey Sing swerved from his engagements, they were his, and would themselves place him on the *gadi* of Amber.

He accepted their interposition and the grant, which being explained to his patron, he was by no means satisfied; nevertheless he ordered Khandoran and Kirparam to accompany him, to see him inducted in his new appanage of Busswa. The chiefs, anxious to reconcile the brothers, obtained Beejy Sing's assent to a meeting and as he declined going to Amber, Chomoo was proposed and agreed to, but was afterwads changed to the town of Sanganair, six miles south-west of Jeipoor, where Beejy Sing pitched his tents. As Jey Sing was quitting the durbar to give his brother the meeting, the Nazir entered with a message from the queen-mother, to know, "why her eyes should not be blessed with witnessing the meeting and reconciliation of the two *Laljis*." * The Raja referred the request to the chiefs, who said there could be no objection.

The Nazir prepared the *mahadole*, with three hundred chariots for the females; but instead of the royal litter containing the queen-mother, it was occupied by Oogur Sen, the Bhatti chief, and each covered chariot contained two chosen *Sillehposhians*, or men at arms. Not a soul but the Nazir and his master were aware of the treachery. The procession left the capital; money was scattered with profusion by the attendants of the supposed queen-mother, to the people who thronged the highways, rejoicing at the approaching conclusion of these fraternal feuds.

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of Amber.' His residence is Chomoo which is the place of rendezvous of the feudality of Amber, whenever they league against the sovereign.

* *Lalji* is an epithet of endearment used by all classes of Hindus towards their children, from the Sanscrit *larla*.

A messenger having brought the intelligence that the qeen-mother had arrived at the palace of Sanganair, the Raja and his chiefs mounted to join her. The brothers first met and embraced, when Jey Sing presented the grant of Busswa, saying, with some warmth, that if his brother preferred ruling at Amber, he would abandon his birth-right and take Busswa. Beejy Sing, overcome with this kindness, replied, that "all his wants were satisfied." When the time to separate had arrived, the Nazir came into the court with a message from the queen-mother, to say, that if the chiefs would withdraw she would come and see her children, or that they might come to her apartment. Jey Sing referred his mother's wish to the chiefs, saying he had no will but theirs. Having advised the brothers to wait on the queen-mother, they proceeded hand in hand to the interior of the mahl. When arrived at the door, Jey Sing, taking his dagger from his girdle, delivered it to an eunuch, saying, "what occasion for this here?" and Beejy Sing, not to be outdone in confidence, followed his example. As the Nazir closed the door, Beejy Sing found himself, not in the embrace of the queen-mother, but in the iron gripe of the gigantic Bhatti, who instantly bound him hand and foot, and placing him in the *mahadole*, the mock female procession with their prisoner returned to Amber. In an hour, tidings were conveyed to Jey Sing of the prisoner being safely lodged in the castle, when he rejoined the conclave of his chiefs, who on seeing him enter alone, attended by some of the 'men at arms,' stared at each other, and asked "what had become of Beejy Sing?"—"*Humara pait myn*," 'in my belly!' was the reply. "We are both the sons of Bishen Sing, and I the eldest. If it is your wish that he should rule, then slay me and bring him forth. For you I have forfeited my faith, for should Beejy Sing have introduced, as assuredly he would, your enemies and mine, you must have perished." Hearing this, the chiefs were amazed; but there was no remedy, and they left the palace in silence. Outside were encamped six thousand imperial horse, furnished by the vizier as the escort of Beejy Sing, whose commander demanded what had become of their trust. Jey Sing replied, "It was no affair of theirs," and desired them to be gone, "or he would request their horses of them." They had no alternative but to retrace their steps, and thus was Beejy Sing made prisoner *.

Whatever opinion the moralist may attach to this specimen of "the hundred and nine, goon" of the royal astronomer of Amber, which might rather be styled *goona* † (vice) than *goon*

* I have made a *verbatim*, translation of this *goon*.

† This is a singular instance of making the privative an affix instead of prefix; *a-goon*, 'without virtue,' would be the common form.

(virtue), no one will deny that it was done in a most masterly manner, and where *chul* or stratagem is a necessary expedient, did honour to the talents of Jey Sing and the Nazir, who alone, says the narrative, were accessary to the plot. In this instance, moreover, it was perfectly justifiable; for with the means and influence of the vizier to support him, Beejy Sing must, sooner or later, have supplanted his brother. The fate of Beejy Sing is not stated.

The Cuchwaha state, as well as its capital owes everything to Jey Sing: before his time, it had little political weight beyond that which it acquired from the personal character of its princes, and their estimation at the Mogul court. Yet, notwithstanding the intimate connexion which existed between the Amber Rajas and the imperial family, from Baber to Arungzeb, their patrimonial estates had been very little enlarged since Pujoon, the contemporary of the last Rajpoot emperor of Delhi. Nor was it till the troubles which ensued on the demise of Arungzeb, when the empire was eventually partitioned, that Amber was entitled to the name of a *raj*. During those troubles, Jey Sing's power, as the king's lieutenant in Agra, which embraced his hereditary domains, gave him ample opportunity to enlarge and consolidate his territory. The manner in which he possessed himself of the independent districts of Deoti and Rajore, affords an additional insight into the national character, and that of this prince.

At the accession of Jey Sing, the *raj* of Amber consisted only of the three *pergunnas* or districts of Amber, Deosah, and Bussao; the western tracts had been sequestrated, and added to the royal domains attached to Ajmeer. The Shekhavati confederation was superior to, and independent of, the parent state, whose boundaries were as follows. The royal *thanna* (garrison) of Chatsoo, to the south; those of Sambhur to the west, and Hastinah to the north-west; while to the east, Deosah and Bussao formed its frontier. The *kotribunds*, as they denominate the twelve great feudalities, possessed but very slender domains, and were held cheap by the great vassals of Mewar, of whom the Saloombra chief was esteemed, even by the first Peshwa, as the equal of the prince of the Cuchwahas.

Rajore was a city of great antiquity, the capital of a petty estate called Deoti, ruled by a chief of the Birgoojurs tribe, descended, like the Chuchwahas, from Rama, but through Lao, the elder son. The Birgoojurs of Rajore had obtained celebrity amongt the more modern Rajpoots, by their invincible repugnance to matrimonial alliance with the Mahomedans; and while the Guchwahas set the degrading example, and by so doing eventually raised themselves to

affluence, the Birgoojur 'conquered renown in the song of the bard,' by performing the *saka* in defence of his honour. While, therefore, Sowae Jey Sing ruled as a viceroy over kingdoms, the Birgoojur was serving with his contingent with the *Byeese*, and at the period in question, in Anopsheher, on the Ganges. When absent on duty, the safety of Rajore depended on his younger brother. One day, while preparing for the chase of the wild boar, he became so impatient for his dinner, that his sister-in-law remarked, "one would suppose you were going to throw a lance at Jey Sing, you are in such a hurry." This was touching a tender subject, for it will be recollected that the first territory in the plains obtained by the Cuchwahas, on their migration from Nurwar, was Deosah, a Birgoojur possession. "By *Thakoor-ji* (the lord), I shall do so, ere I eat from your hands again," was the fierce reply. With ten horsemen he left Rajore, and took post under the *dhoolkote*, or 'mud walls,' of Amber. But weeks and months fled ere he found an opportunity to execute his threat; he gradually sold all his horses, and was obliged to dismiss his attendants. Still he lingered, and sold his clothes, and all his arms, except his spear; he had been three days without food, when he sold half his turban for a meal. That day, Jey Sing left the castle by the road called *mora*, a circuitous path to avoid a hill. He was in his *Sookhasun** ; as he passed, a spear was delivered, which lodged in the corner of the litter. A hundred swords flew out to slay the assassin; but the Raja called aloud to take him alive, and carry him to Amber. When brought before him and asked who he was, and the cause of such an act, he boldly replied, "I am the Deoti Birgoojur, and threw the spear at you merely from some words with my *Bhabee*; either kill or release me." He related how long he had lain in wait for him, and added, that "had he not been four days without food, the spear would have done its duty." Jey Sing, with politic magnanimity, freed him from restraint, gave him a horse and dress of honour (*khelat*), and sent him, escorted by fifty horse, in safety to Rajore. Having told his adventure to his sister-in-law, she replied, "you have wounded the envenomed snake, and have *given water* to the state of Rajore." She knew that a pretext alone was wanting to Jey Sing, and this was now unhappily given. With the advice of the *elders*, the females and the children were sent to the Raja at Anopsheher,† and the castles of Deoti and Rajore were prepared for the storm.

On the third day after the occurrence, Jey Sing, in a full meeting of his chiefs, related the circumstance, and held out the

* A litter, literally 'seat (*asun*) of ease (*sookh*).'

† The descendants of this chieftain still occupy lands at Anopsheher.

beera against Deoti; but Mohun Sing of Chomoo warned his prince of the risk of such an attempt, as the Birgoojur chief was not only estimated at court, but then served with his contingent. This opinion of the chief noble of Amber alarmed the assembly, and none were eager to seek the dangerous distinction. A month passed, and war against Deoti was again proposed; but none of the *Kotribunds* seeming inclined to oppose the opinion of their ostensible head, Futteh Sing Bunbeerpota, the chieftain of one hundred and fifty vassals, accepted the *beera*, when five thousand horse were ordered to assemble under his command. Hearing that the Birgoojur had left Rajore to celebrate the festival of Gungore, he moved towards him, sending on some messengers with "the compliments of Futteh Sing Bunbeerpota, and that he was at hand." The young Birgoojur, who, little expecting any hostile visitation, was indulging during this festive season, put the heralds to death, and with his companions, completely taken by surprise, was in turn cut to pieces by the Jeipoor troops. The Rani of Rajore was the sister of the Cuchwaha chief of Chomoo: she was about giving a pledge of affection to her absent lord, when Rajore was surprised and taken. Addressing the victor, Futteh Sing, she said, "Brother, give me the gift (*dan*) of my womb," but suddenly recollecting that her own unwise speech had occasioned this loss of her child's inheritance, and exclaiming, "Why should I preserve life to engender feuds?" she sheathed a dagger in her bosom and expired. The heads of the vanquished Birgoojurs were tied up in handkerchiefs, and suspending them from their saddle-horses, the victors returned to their prince, who sent for that of his intended assassin, the young Birgoojur chieftain. As soon as Mohun Sing recognized the features of his kinsman, the tears poured down his face. Jey Sing, recollecting the advice of this the first noble of his court, which delayed his revenge a whole month, called his grief treason, and upbraided him, saying, "when the spear was levelled for my destruction, no tear fell." He sequestrated Chomoo, and banished him from Dhoondar: the chief found refuge with the Rana at Oodipoor. "Thus (says the manuscript) did Jey Sing dispossess the Birgoojur of Deoti and Rajore, which were added to his dominions: they embraced all the tract now called Macherri."*

Amongst the foibles of Jey Sing's character was his partiality to "strong drink." What this beverage was, whether

* Rajore is esteemed a place of great antiquity, and the chief seat of the Birgoojur tribe for ages, a tribe mentioned with high respect in the works of the bard Chund, and celebrated in the wars of Prithwiraj. I sent a party to Rajore in 1813.

the juice of the *madhu* (mead), or the essence (*arac*) of rice, the traditional chronicles of Amber do not declare, though they mention frequent appeals from Jey Sing drunk, to Jey Sing sober; one anecdote has already been related.*

In spite of his many defects, Jey Sing's name is destined to descend to posterity as one of the most remarkable men of his age and nation.

Until Jey Sing's time, the palace of Amber, built by the great Raja Maun, inferior to many private houses in the new city, was the chief royal residence. The Mirza Raja made several additions to it, but these were trifles compared with the edifice added † by Sowae Jey Sing, which has made the residence of the Cuchwaha princes as celebrated as those of Boondi or Oodipoor, or, to borrow a more appropriate comparison, the Kremlin at Moscow. It was in S. 1784 (A.D. 1728) that he laid the foundation of Jeipoor. Raja Mull was the *mosaheb*, Kirparam the stationary vakeel at Delhi, and Boodh Sing Khombani, with the *oordoo*, or royal camp, in the Dekhan: all eminent men. The position he chose for the new capital enabled him to connect it with the ancient castle of Amber, situated upon a peak at the apex of the re-entering angle of the range called *Khali-kho*; a strong circumvallation enclosed the gorge of the mountain, and was carried over the crest of the hills, on either side, to unite with the castle, whilst all the adjoining passes were strongly fortified.

The sumptuary laws which he endeavoured to establish throughout Rajpootana for the regulation of marriages, in order to check those lavish expenses that led to infanticide and *satis*, will be again called forth when the time is ripe for the abolition of all such unhallowed acts. For this end, search should be made for the historical legends called the 'hundred and nine acts,' in the archives of Jeipoor, to which ready access could be obtained, and which should be ransacked for all the traces of this great man's mind.‡ Like all Hindus, he was tolerant; and a Brahmin, a Mahomedan, or a Jain, were alike certain of patronage. The Jains enjoyed his pecu-

* Annals of Marwar, Vol. II.

† The manuscript says, "On the spot where the first Jey Sing erected the three *mahls*, and excavated the tank called the *Talkatora*, he erected other edifices." As Hindu princes never throw down the works of their predecessors, this means that he added greatly to the old palace.

‡ By such researches we should in all probability recover those sketches of ancient history of the various dynasties of Rajpootana, which he is said to have collected with great pains and labour, and the genealogies of the old races, under the titles of *Rajavali* and *Raj Tarangini*: besides, the astronomical works, either original or translations, such as were collected by Jey Sing, would be a real gift to science.

liar estimation, from the superiority of their knowledge, and he is said to have been thoroughly conversant both in their doctrines and their histories. Vidhyadhur, one of his chief co-adjutors in his astronomical pursuits, and whose genius planned the city of Jeipoor, was a Jain, and claimed spiritual descent from the celebrated Hemacharya, of Nehrvalla, minister and spiritual guide of his namesake, the great Sidraj Jey Sing.*

Amongst the vanities of the founder of Amber, it is said that he intended to get up the ceremony of the *aswamedha yugga*, or 'sacrifice of the horse,' a rite which his research into the traditions of his nation must have informed him, had entailed destruction on all who had attempted it, from the days of Janmejaya, the Pandu, to Jeichund, the last Rajpoot monarch of Canouj. It was a virtual assumption of universal supremacy; and although, perhaps, in virtue of his office, as the satrap of Delhi, the horse dedicated to the sun might have wandered unmolested on the banks of the Ganges, he would most assuredly have found his way into a Rahtore stable had he roamed in the direction of the desert, at the risk both of *jeva* and *gadi* (life and throne); the Hara would have seized him, had he fancied the pastures of the Chumbul.† He erected a sacrificial hall of much beauty and splendour, whose columns and ceiling were covered with plates of silver; nor is it improbable that the steed, emblematic of *Surya*, may have been led round the hall, and afterwards sacrified to the solar divinity. The *Yuggasala* of Jey Sing, one of the great ornaments of the city, was, however, stripped of its rich decoration by his profligate descendant, the late Juggut Sing, who had not the grace even of Rehoboam, to replace them with inferior ornaments; and the noble treasures of learning which Jey Sing had collected from every quarter, the accumulated results of his own research and that of his predecessors, were divided into two portions, and one half was given to a common prostitute, the favourite of the day. The most remarkable MSS. were, till lately, hawking about Jeipoor.

Sowae Jey Sing died in S. 1799 (A. D. 1743), having ruled forty-four years. Three of his wives and several concubines ascended his funeral pyre, on which science expired with him.

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* He ruled from S. 1150 to S. 1201, A. D. 1094-1145.

† See Vol. I. for a description of the rite of *Aswamedha*.

IAPTER III.

The Raj... league.—aggrandizement of Amber.—Eesuri Sing.—Intestine troubles produced by polygamy.—Madhu Sing.—The Jats.—Their Rajas.—Violation of the Amber territory by the Jats.—Battle.—Rise of Macherri.—Decline of the Cuchwaha power after the death of Madhu Sing.—Prithwi Sing.—Pratap Sing—Intrigues at his court.—The stratagems of Khooshialiram, and the Macherri chief.—Death of Feeroz, the feelban, *paramour of the Pat-Rani.—Broils with the Mahrattas.—Pratap attains majority, and gains the victory of Tonga.—His difficulties.—Exactions of the Mahrattas.—Juggut Sing.—His follies and despicable character.—Makes Ras-caphoor, his concubine, queen of half Amber.—Project to depose him prevented by a timely sacrifice.—Mohun Sing elected his successor.*

The league formed at this time by the three chief powers of Rajpootana has already been noticed in the annals of Mewar. It was one of self-preservation; and while the Rahtores added to Marwar from Guzzerat, the Cuchwahas consolidated all the districts in their neighbourhood under Amber. The Shekhavati federation was compelled to become tributary, and but for the rise of the Jats, the state of Jeipoor would have extended from the lake of Sambhur to the Jumna.

Eesuri Sing succeeded to a well-defined territory, heaps of treasure, an efficient ministry, and a good army; but the seeds of destruction lurked in the social edifice so lately raised, and polygamy was again the immediate agent. Eesuri Sing was the successor of Jey Sing, according to the fixed laws of primogeniture; but Madhu Sing, a younger son, born of a princess of Mewar, possessed conventional rights which vitiated those of birth. These have already been discussed, as well as their disastrous issue to the unfortunate Eesuri Sing, who was not calculated for the times, being totally deficient in that nervous energy of character, without which a Rajpoot prince can enforce no respect. His conduct on the Abdalli invasion admitted the construction of cowardice, though his retreat from the field of battle, when the commander-in-chief, Kumurodin Khan, was killed, might have been ascribed to political motives, were it not recorded that his own wife received him with gibes and reproaches. There is every appearance of Jey Sing having repented of his engagement on obtaining the hand of the Seesodia princess, namely, that her issue should

succeed, as he had in his life time given an appanage unusually large to Madhu Sing, *viz.* the four pergunnahs of Tonk, Rampoora, Phaggi, and Malpoora. The Rana also, who supported his nephew's claims, assigned to him the rich fief of Rampoora Bhanpoora in Mewar, which as well as Tonk Rampoora, constituting a petty sovereignty, were, with eighty-four lakhs (£840,000 sterling), eventually made over to Holkar for supporting his claims to the 'cushion' of Jeipoor. The consequence of this barbarous intervention in the international quarrels of the Rajpoots annihilated the certain prospect they had of national independence, on the breaking up of the empire, and subjected them to a thraldom still more degrading, from which a chance of redemption is now offered to them.

Madhu Sing, on his accession, displayed great vigour of mind, and though faithful to his engagements, he soon shewed the Mahrattas, he would admit of no protracted interference in his affairs; and had not the rising power of the Jats, distracted his attention and divided his resources, he would, had his life been prolonged, in conjunction with the Rahtores, have completely humbled their power. But this near enemy embarrassed all his plans. Although the history of the Jats is now well known, it may not be impertinent shortly to commemorate the rise of a power, which, from a rustic condition, in little more than half a century was able to baffle the armies of Britain, led by the most popular commander it ever had in the East; for till the siege of Bhurtpoor the name of Lake was always coupled with victory.

The Jats* are a branch of the great Getic race, of which enough has been said in various parts of this work. Though reduced from the rank they once had amongst the 'thirty-six royal races,' they appear never to have renounced the love of independence, which they contested with Cyrus in their original haunts in Sogdiana. The name of the Cincinnatus of the Jats, who abandoned his plough to lead his countrymen against their tyrants, was Chooramun. Taking advantage of the sanguinary civil wars amongst the successors of Arungzeb, they erected petty castles in the villages (whose lands they cultivated) of Thoon and Sinsini, and soon obtained the distinction of *kuzzaks*, or 'robbers,' a title which they were not slow to merit, by their inroads as far as the royal abode of Ferochser. The Syeds, then in power, commanded Jey Sing of Amber to attack them in their strong-holds, and Thoon

* It has been seen how the Yudu-Bhatti princes, when they fell from their rank of Rajpoots, assumed that of Jits, or Jats, who are assuredly a mixture of the Rajpoot and Yuti, Jit, or Gete races.

and Sinsini were simultaneously invested. But the Jats, even in the very infancy of their power, evinced the same obstinate skill in defending mud walls, which in later times gained them so much celebrity. The royal astronomer of Amber was foiled, and after twelve months of toil, was ingloriously compelled to raise both sieges.

Not long after this event, Buddun Sing, the younger brother of Chooramun, and a joint proprietor of the land, was for some misconduct placed in restraint, and had remained so for some years, when, through the intercession of Jey Sing and the guarantee of the other Bhomia Jats, he was liberated. His first act was to fly to Amber and to bring its prince, at the head of an army, to invest Thoon, which, after a gallant defence of six months, surrendered and was razed to the ground. Chooramun and his son, Mohkun Sing, effected their escape, and Buddun Sing was proclaimed chief of the Jats and installed, as Raja, by Jey Sing, in the town of Deeg, destined also in after times to have its share of fame.

Buddun Sing had a numerous progeny, and four of his sons obtained notoriety, *viz.* Soorajmull, Subharam, Pratap Sing, and Beernarain. Buddun Sing subjected several of the royal districts to his authority. He abdicated his power in favour of his elder son, Soorajmull, having in the first instance assigned the district of Wayr, on which he had constructed a fort, to his son Pratap.

Soorajmull inherited all the turbulence and energy requisite to carry on the plans of his predecessors. His first act was to dispossess a relative, named Kaima, of the castle of Bhurtpoor, afterwards the celebrated capital of the Jats. In the year S. 1820 (A. D. 1764), Soorajmull carried his audacity so far as to make an attempt upon the imperial city; but here his career was cut short by a party of Baloch horse, who slew him while enjoying the chase. He had five sons, *viz.* Jowahir Sing, Ruttun Sing, Newul Sing, Nahur Sing, Runjeet Sing, and also an adopted son, named Hurdeo Buksh, picked up while hunting. Of these five sons, the first two were by a wife of the *Koormi* * tribe; the third was by a wife of the *Malin*, or horticultural class; while the others were by *Jatni's*, or women of his own race.

Jowahir Sing, who succeeded, was the contemporary of Raja Madhu Sing, whose reign in Jeipoor we have just reached; and to the Jat's determination to measure swords with him were frustration of his schemes for

* The Koormi (the Koolmbi of the Dekhan) is perhaps the most numerous, next to the Jats, of all the agricultural classes.

bling the Mahratta, but the dismemberment of the country the defection of the chief of Macherri. Jowahir Sing, in A.H. 1182, having in vain solicited the district of Kamona, manifested his resentment by inst marching through the Jeipoor territories to the sacred of Poshkur, without any previous intimation. He there met Raja Beejy Sing of Marwar, who, in spite of his Jat origin, condescended to "exchange turbans," the sign of friendship and fraternal adoption. At this period, au Sing's health was on the decline, and his counsels guided by two brothers, named Hurrae and Goorsae, who resented the insulting conduct of the Jat and istructions. They were commanded to address him a letter warning him not to return through the territories of Amber, and the chiefs were desired to assemble their retainers in order to punish a repetition of the insult. But the Jat, who had determined to abide the consequences, paid no regard to the letter, and returned homewards by the same route. This was a justifiable ground of quarrel, and the united *Kotribunds* marched to the encounter, to maintain the pretensions of their equestrian order against the plebeian Jat. A desperate conflict ensued, which, though it terminated in favour of the Cuchwahas, and in the flight of the leader of the Jats, proved destructive to Amber, in the loss of almost every chieftain of note.*

This battle was the indirect cause of the formation of Macherri into an independent state, which a few words will explain. Pratap Sing, of the Narooka clan, held the fief of Macherri; for some fault he was banished the country by Madhu Sing, and fled to Jowahir Sing, from whom he obtained *Sirna* (sanctuary), and lands for his maintenance. The ex-chieftain of Macherri had, as conductors of his household

* Having given a slight sketch of the origin of the Jats, I may here conclude it.

Ruttun Sing, the brother of Jowahir, succeeded him. He was assassinated by a Gosen Brahmin from Brindaban, who had undertaken to teach the J prince the transmutation of metals, and had obtained considerable sums on pretence of preparing the process. Finding the day arrive on which he was to commence operations, and which would reveal his imposture, he had no way of escape but by applying the knife to his dupe. Kesuri Sing, an infant, succeeded, under the guardianship of his uncle Newul Sing. Runjeet Sing succeeded him, a name renowned for the defence of Bhurtpoor against Lord Lake. He died A. D. 1815, and was succeeded by the eldest of four sons, *viz.* Rundheer Sing, Baldeo Sing, Hurdeo Sing, and Luchmun Sing. The infant son of Rundheer succeeded, under the tutelage of his uncle; to remove whom the British army destroyed Bhurtpoor, which plundered it of its wealth, both public and private.

affairs and his agents at court, two celebrated men, Khooshialiram* and Nundram, who now shared his exile amongst the Jats. Though enjoying protection and hospitality at Bhurtpoor, they did not the less feel the national insult, in that the Jat should dare thus unceremoniously to traverse their country. Whether the chief saw in this juncture an opening for reconciliation with his liege lord, or that a pure spirit of [illegible] influenced him, he abandoned the place of refuge, and ranged himself at his old post, under the standard of Amber, on the eve of the battle, to the gaining of which he contributed not a little. For this opportune act of loyalty his past errors were forgiven, and Madhu Sing, who only survived that battle four days, restored him to his favour and his fief of Macherri.

Madhu Sing died of a dysentery, after a rule of seventeen years. Had he been spared, in all human probability he would have repaired the injurious effects of the contest which gave him the *gadi* of Amber; but a minority, and its accustomed anarchy, made his death the point from which the Cuchwaha power declined. He built several cities, of which that called after him Madhupoor, near the celebrated fortress of Rinthumbor, the most secure of the commercial cities of Rajwarra, is the most remarkable. He inherited no small portion of his father's love of science, which continued to make Jeipoor, the resort of learned men, so as to eclipse even the sacred Benares.

Prithi Sing II., a minor, succeeded, under the guardianship of the mother of his younger brother, Pratap. The queen-regent, a Chondawutni, was of an ambitious and resolute character, but degraded by her paramour Feeroz, a *Feelban*, or 'elephant-driver,' whom she made member of her council, which disgusted the chiefs, who alienated themselves from court and remained at their estates. Determined, however, to dispense with their aid, she entertained a mercenary army under the celebrated Umbaji, with which she enforced the collection of the revenue. Arut Ram was at this period the Dewan, or prime minister, and Khooshialiram Bora, a name afterwards conspicuous in the politics of this court, was associated in the mi[illegible] these men were of the highest order of talent[illegible] was neutralized by that of the Feelban, who [illegible]nt Rani and the state. Matters ramai[illegible] posture during nine years, when Prithi [illegible] a fall from his horse, though not without [illegible] a dose of poison accelerated the

* Father of two men scarcely less celebrated than himself, Chutturbhoj and Duolut Ram.

vacancy of the *gadi*, which the Rani desired to see occupied by her own son. The scandalous chronicle of that day is by no means tender of the reputation of Madhu Sing's widow. Having a direct interest in the death of Prithi Sing, the laws of common sense were violated in appointing her guardian, notwithstanding her claims as *Pat Rani*, or chief queen of the deceased. Prithi Sing, though he never emerged from the trammels of minority and the tutelage of the Choondawutni [illegible] contracted two marriages, one with Bikaner, the other with [illegible]urh. By the latter he had a son, Maun Sing. Every court in Rajpootana has its pretender, and young Maun was long the bugbear to the court of Amber. He w[illegible] secretly, on his father's death, to the maternal roof at Kishengurh; but as this did not offer sufficient security, he was sent to Sindia's camp, and has ever since lived on the bounty of the Mahratta chief at Gwalior.*

Pratap Sing was immediately placed upon the *gadi* by the queen regent, his mother, and her council, consisting of the Feelban, and Khooshialiram, who had now received the title of Raja, and the rank of prime minister. He employed the power thus obtained to supplant his rival Feeroz, and the means he adopted established the independence of his old master, the chief of Macherri. This chief was the only one of note who absented himself from the ceremony of the installation of his sovereign. He was countenanced by the minister, whose plan to get rid of his rival was to create as much confusion as possible. In order that distress might reach the court, he gave private instructions that the zemindars should withhold their payments; but these minor stratagems would have been unavailing, had he not associated in his schemes the last remnants of power about the Mogul throne. Nujif Khan was at this time the imperial commander who, aided by the Mahrattas, proceeded to expel the Jats from the city of Agra. He then attacked them in their stronghold of Bhurtpoor. Newul Sing was then the chief of the Jats. The Macherri chief saw in the last act of expiring vigour of the imperialists an opening for the furtherance of his views, and he united his troops to those of Nujif Khan. This timely succour, and his subsequent

* Two or three times he had a chance of being [illegible] on the *gadi* (vide letter of Resident with Sindia to Government, 27th [illegible]), which assuredly ought to be his: once, about 1810, when the nobles of Jeipoor were disgusted with the libertine Juggut Sing; and again, upon the death of this dissolute prince, in 1820. The last occasion presented a fit occasion for his accession; but the British Government were then the arbitrators, and I doubt much if his claims were disclosed to it, or understood by those who had the decision of the question, which nearly terminated in a civil war.

aid in defeating the Jats, obtained for him the title of Rao Raja, and a *sunnud* for Macherri, to hold direct of the crown. Khooshialiram, who, it is said, chalked out this course, made his old master's success the basis of his own operations to supplant the Feelban. Affecting the same zeal that he recommended to the chief of Macherri, he volunteered to join the imperial standard with all the forces of Amber. The queen regent did not oppose the Bhora's plan, but determined out of it still higher to exalt [illegible]urite: she put him at the head of the force, which pos[illegible]nister had intended for himself. This exaltation proved his ruin. Feeroz, in command of the Amber army, met the Rao Raja of Macherri on equal terms in the tent of the imperial commander. Foiled in these schemes of attaining the sole control of affairs, through the measure adopted, the Macherri chief, at the instigation of his associate, resolved to accomplish his objects by less justifiable means. He sought the friendship of the Feelban, and so successfully ingratiated himself in his confidence as to administer a dose of poison to him, and in conjunction with the Bhora succeeded to the charge of the government of Amber. The regent queen soon followed the Feelban, and Raja Pratap was yet too young to guide the state vessel without aid. The Rao Raja and the Bhora, alike ambitious, soon quarrelled, and a division of the imperialists, under the celebrated Hamadan Khan, was called in by the Bhora. Then followed those interminable broils which brought in the Mahrattas. Leagues were formed with them against the imperialists one day, and dissolved the next; and this went on until the majority of Pratap, who determined to extricate himself from bondage, and formed that league, elsewhere mentioned, which ended in the glorious victory of Tonga, and for a time the expulsion of all their enemies, whether imperial or Mahrattas.

To give a full narrative of the events of this reign, would be to recount the history of the empire in its expiring moments. Throughout the twenty-five years' rule of Pratap, he and his country underwent many vicissitudes. He was a gallant prince, and not deficient in judgment; but neither gallantry nor prudence cou[illegible] successfully apply the resources of his petty state against [illegible] numerous predatory foes and its internal dissensions. The [illegible]ction of Macherri was a serious blow to Jeipoor, and the necessary subsidies soon lightened the hoards accumulated by his predecessors. Two payments to the Mahrattas took away eighty lakhs of rupees (£800,000); yet such was the mass of treasure, notwithstanding the enormous sums lavished by Madhu Sing for the support of his claims, besides those of the regency, that Pratap expended in charity

alone, on the victory of Tonga, A. D. 1789, the sum of twenty-four lakhs, or a quarter of a million sterling.

In A.D. 1791, after the subsequent defeats at Patun, and the disruption of the alliance with the Rahtores, Tukaji Holkar invaded Jeipoor, and extorted an annual tribute, which was afterwards transferred to Ameer Khan, and continues a permanent incumbrance on the resources of Jeipoor. From this period to A.D. 1803, the year of Pratap's death, his country was alternately desolated by Sindia's armies, under De Boigne or Perron, and the other hoards of robbers, who frequently contested with each other the possession of the spoils.

Juggut Sing succeeded in A. D. 1803, and ruled for seventeen years, with the disgraceful distinction of being the most dissolute prince of his race or of his age. The events with which his reign is crowded, would fill volumes, were they worthy of being recorded. Foreign invasions, cities besieged, capitulations and war-contributions, occasional acts of heroism, when the invader forgot the point of honour, court intrigues, diversified not unfrequently, by an appeal to the sword or dagger, even in the precincts of the court. Sometimes the daily journals (*akbars*) disseminated the scandal of the *rawula* (female apartments), the follies of the libertine prince with his concubine *Ras-caphoor*, or even less worthy objects, who excluded from the nuptial couch his lawful mates of the noble blood of Joda, or Jessa, the Rahtores and Bhattis of the desert. We shall not disgrace these annals with the history of a life which discloses not one redeeming virtue amidst a cluster of effeminate vices, including the rankest, in the opinion of a Rajpoot—cowardice. The black transaction respecting the princes of Odipoor has already been related (Vol. I), which covered him with disgrace, and inflicted a greater loss, in his estimation, even than that of character—a million sterling. The treasures of the *Jey-Mindra* were rapidly dissipated, to the grief of those faithful hereditary guardians, the Meenas of Kalikho, some of whom committed suicide rather than see these sacred deposits squandered on their prince's unworthy pursuits. The lofty walls which surrounded the beautiful city of Jey S[illegible] were insulted by every marauder; commerce was [illegible] and agriculture rapidly declined, partly from inse[illegible] still more from the perpetual exactions of his minions. One day a tailor* ruled the councils, the next a Baniah, who might

* Rorji *Khawas* was a tailor by birth, and, I believe, had in early life exercised the trade. He was, however, amongst the *Moosahebs*, or privy councillors of Juggut Sing, and (I think) one of the ambassadors sent to treat with Lord Lake.

be succeeded by a Brahmin, and each had in turn the honour of elevation to the *donjon keep* of Nahrguth, the castle where criminals are confined, overlooking the city. The feudal chiefs held both his authority and his person in utter contempt, and the pranks he played with the 'Essence of Camphor' (*ras-caphoor*),* at one time led to serious thoughts of deposing him; which project, when near maturity, was defeated by transferring "this queen of half of Amber," to the prison of Nahrguth. In the height of his passion for this Islamite concubine, he formally installed her as queen of half his dominions, and actually conveyed to her in gift a moiety of the personalty of the crown, even to the invaluable library of the illustrious Jey Sing, which was despoiled, and its treasures distributed amongst her base relations. The Raja even struck coin in her name, and not only rode with her on the same elephant, but demanded from his chieftains those forms of reverence towards her, which were paid only to his legitimate queens. This their pride could not brook, and though the Dewn, or prime minister Misr Sheonarain, albeit a Brahmin, called her "daughter," the brave Chand Sing of Doonee indignantly refused to take part in any ceremony at which she was present. This contumacy was punished by a mulct of £20,000, nearly four years' revenue of the fief of Doonee!

Menu allows that sovereigns may be deposed, and the aristocracy of Amber had ample justification for such an act. But unfortunately the design became known, and some judicious friend, as a salvo for the Raja's dignity, propagated a report injurious to the fair fame of his Aspasia, which he affected to believe; a mandate issued for the sequestration of her property, and her incarceration in the castle allotted to criminals. There she was lost sight of, and Juggut continued to dishonour the *gadi* of Jey Sing until his death, on a day held especially sacred by the Rajpoot, the 21st of December 1818, the winter solstice, when, to use their own metaphorical language, "the door of heaven is reopened."

Raja Juggut Sing left no issue, legitimate or illegitimate, and no provision had been made for a successor during his life. But, as the laws of Rajpootana, political or religious, admit of no *interregnum*, and the funeral pyre must be lit by an adopted child if there be no natural issue, it was necessary at once to inaugurate a successor; and the choice fell on Mohun Sing, son of the ex-prince of Nurwar. As this selection, in opposition to the established rules of succession, would,

* *Ras-caphoor*, I am aware, means, 'corrosive sublimate,' but it may also be interpreted 'essence of camphor.'

but for a posthumous h, have led to a civil war, it may be proper to touch the subject of heirs in Rajpootana, ... those of J of exact knowl respecting this political relations with us were at th have had the most injurious effects on To set this in its proper light, we shall e of the alliance which rendered Jeipoor a tributary of

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CHAPTER IV.

Jeipoor, the last of the Rajpoot states to embrace the proffered alliance of the British.—Procrastination habitual to the Rajpoots, as to all Asiatics.—Motives and considerations which influenced the Jeipur court in declining our alliance.—A treaty concluded,—Death of Juggut Sing.—Effects of our interference in the intrigues respecting the succession.—Law of primogeniture.—The evils attending an ignorance of Rajpoot customs.—Violation of the law of succession in the placing of Mohun Sing on the gadi.—*Reasons for departing from the rules of succession.—Conduct of the British authorities.—The title of Mohun Sing disputed by the legal heir-presumptive.—Dilemma of the Nazir and his faction,—The threatened disorders prevented by the unexpected pregnancy of one of the queens of Juggut Sing.—Birth of a posthumous son.*

JEIPOOR was the last of the principalities of Rajpootana to accept the protection tendered by the government of British India. To the latest moment, she delayed her sanction to a system which was to banish for ever the enemies of order. Our overtures and expostulations were rejected, until the predatory powers of India had been, one after another, laid prostrate at our feet. The Pindarries were annihilated; the Peshwa was exiled from Poona to the Ganges; the Bhonsla was humbled; Sindia palsied by his fears; and Holkar, who had extensive lands assigned him, besides a regular tribute from Jeipoor, had received a death-blow to his power in the field of Mehidpoor.

Procrastination is the favourite expedient of all Asiatics; and the Rajpoot, though a fatalist, often, by protracting the irresistible *honhar* (destiny), works out his deliverance. Ameer Khan, the lieutenant of Holkar, who held the lands and tribute of Jeipoor in *jaedad*, or assignment for his troops,

was the sole enemy of social order left to operate on the fears of Jeipoor, and to urge her to take refuge in our alliance; and even he was upon the point of becoming the illustrious allies, who were to enjoy the "perpetual friendship" of Great Britain. The Khan was at that very moment battering Madhorajpoora, a town almost within the sound of cannon-shot of Jeipoor, and we are compelled to make an indirect use of this incident to hasten the decision of the Cuchwaha prince. The motives of his backwardness will appear from the following details.

Various considerations combined to check the ardour with which we naturally expected our offer of protection would be embraced. The Jeipoor court retained a lively, but no grateful remembrance, of the solemn obligations we contracted with her in 1803, and the facility with which we extricated ourselves from them when expediency demanded, whilst we vainly attempted to throw the blame of violating the treaty upon our ally. To use the words of one who has been mixed up with all the political transactions of that eventful period, with reference to the letter delivered by the envoy at the Jeipoor court from our viceroy in the East, notifying the dissolution of the alliance; "the justice of these grounds was warmly disputed by the court, which, under a lively sense of that imminent danger to which it had become exposed from this measure, almost forgot for a moment the temper and respect which it owed to the English nation." But the native envoy from Jeipoor, attending the camp of the gallant Lake, took a still higher tone, and with a manly indignation observed, that "this was the first time, since the English government was established in India, that it had been known to make its faith subservient to its convenience:" a reproach the more bitter and unpalatable from its truth.*

[illegible] and prophetic views of Marquis Wellesley, which suggested the policy of uniting all these regular governments in a league against the predatory powers, were counteracted by the timid, temporising policy of Lord Cornwallis, who could discover nothing but weakness in this extension of our influence. What misery would not these states have been spared, had those engagements, executed through the noble Lake (a name never mentioned in India, by European or native, without reverence), been maintained; for the fifteen years which intervened between the two periods produced more mischief to Rajwarra than the preceding half century, and half a century more will not repair it!

* *Vide* Malcolm's Political History of India.

A circumstance that tended to increase this distrust was our tearing Vizier Alli from his sanctuary at Jeipoor, which has cast an indelible stain upon he Cuchwaha name. We have elsewhere* explained the privileges of *sirna*, or 'sanctuary,' which, when claimed by the unfortunate or cirminal, is sacred in [illegible] This trust [illegible] forced the Jeipoor sta[illegible] to violate, though she was then independent of us. It wa[illegible] no excuse for the act that the fugitive was a foul assassin; we had no right to demand his surrender.†

There were other objections to the [illegible] of no small weight. The Jeipoor court justly [illegible] one-fifth (*eight lakhs*) of the gross revenues of the crown, a high rate of insurance for protection; but when we further stipulated for a prospective increase ‡ of nearly *one-third* of all surplus revenue beyond *forty lakhs*, they saw, istead of the generous Briton, a sordid trafficker of mercenary protection, whose rapacity transcended that of the Mahratta.

Independent of these state objections, there were abundance of private and individual motives arrayed in hostility to the British offer. For example, the ministers dreaded the *surveillance* of a resident agent, as obnoxious to their authority and influence; and the chieftains, whom rank and ancient usage kept at court as the counsellors of their prince, saw in prospect the surrender of crown-lands, which fraud, favour, or force, had obtained for them. Such were the principal causes which impeded the alliance between Amber and the Governor-General of British India; but it would have marred the uniformity of Lord Hasting's plan to have left a gap in the general protective system by the omission of Jeipoor. The events rapidly happening around them—the presence of Meer Khan—the expulsion of [illegible] orange flag of the Mahratta, and the substitution of [illegible] British

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* Vol. I.

† A better commentary on the opinions held by the natives upon this subject could not be given than the speech of Holkar's envoy to the agent of the Governor General of India, then with Lord Lake: "Holkar's vakeel demanded, with no slight degree of pertinacity, the cession of the Jeipoor and Boondi tributes; and one of them, speaking for the former, stated, that he no doubt would continue to enjoy the friendship of the English, as he had disgraced himself to please that nation, by giving up Vizier Alli (who had sought his protection) to their vengeance. The vakeel was severely rebuked by the agent (Colonel, now Sir John Malcolm) for this insolent reflection on the conduct of an ally of the British Government, who had delivered up a murderer whom it would have been infamy to shelter;" though the author of the "Political History of India" might have added—but whom it was still great infamy, according *to their code*, to surrender. See Malcolm's Political History of India, p. 432.

‡ See Article 6 of the Treaty, Appendix, No. 5.

banner on the battlements of Ajmeer—at length produced a tardy and ungracious assent, and, on the 2nd of April 1818, a treaty of ten articles was concluded, which made the Cuchwaha princes the friends and tributaries in perpetuity of Great Britain.

On the 21st of December of the same year, Juggut Sing died, and the choice of a successor speedily evinced to the ministers the impracticability of their exercising, as in days of yore, that "absolute power over their country and dependants," guaranteed to them by the treaty.* Our office of arbitrating the difference between the Raja and his vassals, on the subject of the usurpations from the crown-lands, was easy, and left no unpleasant feeling; but when we intermeddled with the intrigues respecting the succession, our ignorance of established rights and usage rendered the interference offensive, and made the Jeipoor chiefs repent the alliance which temporary policy had induced their prince to accept.

It may be of use in future negotiations, to explain the usages which govern the different states of Rajpootana in respect to succession. The law of primogeniture pevails in all Rajpoot sovereignties; the rare instances in which it has been set aside, are only exceptions to the rule. The inconclusive dicta of Menu, on this as on many other points, are never appealed to by the Rajpoots of modern days. Custom and precedent fix the right of succession, whether to the *gadi* of the state, or to a fief, in the eldest son, who is styled *Rajkomar*, *Pat-komar*, or simply *Komarji*, 'the prince;' while his brothers have their proper names affixed, as *Komar Jowan Sing*, 'Prince Jowan.' Seniority is, in fact, a distinction pervading all ranks of life, whether in royal families or those of chieftains all have their *Pat-komar*, and *Pat-rani*, or 'head child,' and 'head queen.' The privileges of the Pat-rani are very considerable. In minorities, she is the guardian, by custom as well as nature, of her child; and in Mewar (the oldest sovereignty in India), she is publicly enthroned with the Rana. Seniorit[illegible] marriage bestows the title of *Pat-rani*, but as soon as an [illegible]r is given to the state, the queen-mother assumes this title, or that of *Mahji*, simply 'the mother.'† In the duties of guardian, she is assisted by the chiefs of certain families, who, with certain officers of the household enjoy this as an established hereditary distinction.

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* See Article 8 of the Treaty.

† In Mewar, simply *mahji*; at Jeipoor, where they have long used the language and manners of Delhi, they affix the Persian word *Sahebeh*, or 'lady-mother.'

On the demise of a prince without lawful issue of his body, or that of near kindred, brothers or cousins, there are certain families in every principality (*raj*) of Rajwarra, in whom is vested the right of presumptive heirship to the *gadi*. In order to restrict the circle of claimants, laws have been established in every state limiting this right to the issue of a certain family in each principality. Thus, in Mewar, the elder of the Ranawut clans, styled *Babas*, or 'the infants,' possesses the latent right of heir presumptive. In Marwar, the independent house of Eedur, of the family of Joda; in Boondi, the house of Doogari; in Kotah, the Apjis of Polaitoh; in Bikaner, the family of Mahajin; and in Jeipoor, the branch Rajawut (according to seniority), of the stock of Raja Maun. Even in this stock there is a distinction between those prior, and those posterior, to Raja Madhu Sing; the former are styled simply *Rajawut*, or occasionally conjoined, *Mansingote*; the other *Madhani*. The Rajawuts constitute a numerous *frerage*, of which the Jhulary house takes the lead; and in which, provided there are no mental or physical disabilities, the right of furnishing heirs to the *gadi* of Jeipoor is a long-established, incontrovertible, and inalienable privilege.

We have been thus minute, because, notwithstanding the expressed wish of the government not to prejudge the question, the first exercise of its authority as lord-paramount was to justify a proceeding by which these established usages were infringed, in spite of the eighth article of the treaty: "The Maharaja and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their country and dependants according to long-established usage," &c. "*Cest le premier pas qui coute*;" and this first step, being a wrong one, has involved an interference never contemplated and fully justifying that wariness on the part of Jeipoor, which made her hesitate to link her destiny with ours.

Both the sixth and seventh articles contain the seeds of disunion, whenever it might suit the chicanery or bad faith of the protected, or the avarice of the protector. The former has already been called into operation, and the 'absolute rulers' of Jeipoor have been compelled to unfold to the resident agent the whole of their financial and territorial arrangements, to prove that the revenues did not exceed the sum of forty *lakhs*, as, of the sum in excess (besides the stipulated tributary *fifth*), our share was to be *three sixteenth*.*

* Mewar was subjected to the same *premium* on her reviving prosperity. The author unsuccessfully endeavoured to have a limit fixed to the demand; but he has heard with joy that some important modifications have since been made in the tributary engagements both with Mewar and

While, therefore, we deem ourselves justified in interfering in the two chief branches of government, the succession and finances, how is it possible to avoid being [illegible]licated in the acts of the government-functionaries, and [illegible]nvolved in the party views and intrigues of a court, stigmatized even by the rest of Rajwarra with the epithet of *jootha durbar*, the 'lying [illegible]rt!' While there is a resident agent at Jeipoor, whatever [illegible] resolves, he will find it next to impossible to keep aloof [illegible] of intrigue. The purest intentions, the [illegible]nts, will scarcely avail to counteract this syste-[illegible] and with one party at least, but eventually with [illegible]tation of his government will be compromised.

[illegible]s us back to the topic which suggested these [illegible] installation of a youth upon the *gadi* of Jeipoor. We shall expose the operation of this transaction by a literal translation of an authentic document, every word of which was thoroughly substantiated. As it presents a curious picture of manners, and is valuable as a precedent, we shall give it entire in the Appendix, and shall here enter no farther into details than is necessary to unravel the intrigue which violated the established laws of succession.

The youth, named Mohun Sing, who was installed on the *gadi* of Jeipoor, on the morning succeeding Juggut Sing's decease, was the son of Munohur Sing, the ex-Raja of Nurwar, who was chased from his throne and country by Sindia. We have stated that the Jeipoor family sprung from that of Nurwar eight centuries ago; but the parent state being left without direct lineage, they applied to Amber and adopted a son of Prithwi Raj I., from whom the boy now brought forward was fourteen generations in descent. This course of proceeding was in direct contravention of usage, which had fixed, as arleady stated, the heirs-presumptive, on failure of lineal issue, to the *gadi* of Amber, in the descendants of Raja Maun,

Amber [illegible] be made too light. Discontent in Rajpootana will not be [illegible] a few lakhs of extra-expenditure. I gave my opinions fearles[illegible] everything at stake; I will not suppress them now, when I [illegible] to hope or to fear but for the perpetuity of the British [illegible]ns, and the revival of the happiness and independe[illegible] who have sought our protection. He will prove the greate[illegible]ntry, who, in ignorance of the true position of the Raj[illegible] at further trenching upon their independence. Read the [illegible] war between Arungzeb and the Rahtors! where is the d[illegible] Look at the map: a desert at their back, the Aravalli in front; no enemies to harass or disturb them! How different would a Rajpoot foe prove from a contemptible Mahratta, or the mercenary array of traitorous Nawabs, whom we have always found easy conquests! Cherish the native army: conciliate the Rajpoots; then, laugh at foes!

and the branch Madhani, generally styled *Rajawut*, of whom the first claimant was the chief of Jhulaye, and supposing his incompetency, Kamah, and a dozen other houses of the 'infantas' of Jeipoor.

The causes of departure from the recognized rule, in this respect, were the following. At the death of Juggut Sing, the reins of power were, and had been for some time, in the hands of the chief eunuch of the *rawula* (seraglio), whose name was Mohun Nazir,* a man of considerable vigour of understanding, and not without the reputation of good intention in his administration of affairs, although the system of chicanery and force,† by which he attempted to carry his object, savoured more of self-interest than of loyalty. The youth was but nine years of age; and a long minority, with the exclusive possession of power, suggested the true motives of the Nazir. His principal co-adjutor, amongst the great vassals of the state, was Megh Sing of Diggee, a chief who had contrived by fraud and force to double his hereditary fief by usurpations from the crown-lands, to retain which he supported the views of the Nazir with all the influence of his clan (the Khangarote), the most powerful of the twelve great families of Amber.‡ The personal servants of the crown, such as the *Purohits, Dhabhaes* (domestic chaplains and foster-brothers), and all the subordinate officers of the house-hold, considered the Nazir's cause as their own: a minority and his favour guaranteed their places, which might be risked by the election of a prince who could judge for himself, and had friends to provide for.

A reference to the "Summary of Transactions" (in the Appendix) will shew there was no previous consultation or concert amongst the military vassals, or the queens; on the contrary, acting entirely on his own responsibility, the Nazir, on the morning succeeding the death of his master, placed young Mohun in "the car of the sun," to lead the funeral procession, and light the pyre of his adopted sire. Scarcely were the ablutions and necessary purifications from this rite concluded, when he received the congratulations of all present as lord of

* *Nazir* is the official name, a Mahomedan one, denoting his capacity, as emasculated guardian of the seraglio. Jeipoor and Boondi are the only two of the Rajpoot principalities who, adopting the Moslem custom, have contaminated the palaces of their queens with the presence of these creatures.

† See "Summary of Transaction," Appendix, No. 5.

‡ The Khangarote clan enumerates twenty-two fiefs, whose united rent-rolls amount to 4,02,806 rupees annually, and their united quotas for the service of the state, six hundred and forty-three horse. Megh Sing, by his turbulence and intelligence, though only the sixth or seventh in the scale of rank of this body, had taken the lead, and become the organ of his clan at court.

the Cuchwahas, under the revived name of Maun Sing the Second. The transactions which followed, as related in the diary, until the final *denouement*, distinctly shew, that having [illegible] the Nazir was anxious to [illegible] through [illegible] cence [illegible] igns-manual. It will be seen that [illegible] received and replied to in that [illegible] courteous, manner, which pledged the writer [illegible] gained him time for the formation of a [illegible]: the decision was thus suspended; all eyes [illegible] to the paramount power; and the Nazir, whose [illegible] was to propitiate this, entreated the British func- [illegible] Delhi to send his confidential moonshee to Jeipoor [illegible]. This agent reached Jeipoor from Delhi six days after the death of Juggut. He was the bearer of instructions, "requiring a full account of the reasons for placing the son of the Nurwar Raja on the musnud; of his family, lineage, right of succession, and by whose councils the measure was adopted." On the 11th of January this requisition was reiterated; and it was further asked, whether the measure had the assent of the queens and chiefs, and a declaration to this effect, under their signatures, was required to be forwarded. Nothing could be more explicit, or more judicious, than the tenor of these instructions.

The replies of the Nazir and confidential moonshee were such, that on the 7th of February the receipt of letters of congratulation from the British agent, accompanied by one from the supreme authority, was formally announced, which letters being read in full court, "the *nobut* (kettledrum) again sounded, and young Maun Sing was conducted to the Pratap Mahl, and seated on the musnud." On this formal recognition by the British Government, the agents of the chieftains at their sovereign's court, in reply to the Nazir's demand, "to know the opinions of the chiefs," answered, that "if he called them, they were ready to obey;" but at the same time they rested their adhesion on that of the chief queen, sister of the Raja of Jodpoor, who breathed nothing but open defiance of the Nazir and his *junta*. Early in March, public discontent became more manifest; and the Rajawut chief of Jhulaye determined to appeal to arms in support of his rights as heir presumptive, and was soon joined by the chiefs of Sirwur and Eesurda, junior but powerful branches of the same stock.

Another party seemed inclined, on this emergency, to revive the right of [illegible] posthumous son of Prithi Sing, whom we have already described as living in exile at Gwalior, on the bounty of Sindia; and nothing but the unfavourable report of

his intellect and debased habits prevented the elder branch of the sons of Madhu Sing recovering their lost honours.

While the paramount authority was thus deluded, and the chieftains were wavering amidst so many conflicting opinions, the queen continued resolute, and the Rajawuts were arming— and the Nazir, in this dilemma, determined as a last resource, to make Raja Maun of Jodpoor the umpire, hoping by this appeal to his vanity, to obtain his influence over his sister to an acquiescence in the irremediable step, which had been taken "in obedience (as he pretend) to the will of the deceased prince." Raja Maun's reply is important : "that there could be no occasion for his or his sister's signature to the required declaration on the right of succession to the musnud of Jeipoor, which depended upon, and was vested in, the elders of the twelve tribes of Cuchwahas ; that if *they* approved and signed the declaration, the queen, his sister, and afterwards himself, would sign it, if requisite."

The Nazir and his faction, though aided by the interposition of the moonshee, were now in despair, and in these desperate circumstances, he attempted to get up a marriage between the puppet he had enthroned and the grand-daughter of the Rana of Mewar. It was well contrived, and not ill-received by the Rana ; but there was an influence at his court which at once extinguished the plot, though supported at Delhi by the Rana's most influential agent. It was proposed that, at the same time, the Rana should consummate his nuptials with the Jeipoor Raja's sister, the preliminaries of which had been settled a dozen years back. Money in abundance was offered, and the Rana's passion for pageantry and profusion would have prevented any objection to his proceeding to the Jeipoor capital. To receive the chief of the universal Hindu race with due honour, the whole nobility of Amber would have left their estates, which would have been construed into, and accepted as, a voluntary acquiescence in the rights of the Nazir's choice, which the marriage would have completely cemented. Foiled in this promising design, the knot, which the precipitate and persevering conduct of the Nazir had rendered too indissoluble even for his skill to undo, was cut by the annunciation of the advanced pregnancy of the Bhattiani queen.

This timely interposition of *Mata Januvi* (the Juno Lucina of Rajwarra) might well be regarded as miraculous ; and though the sequel of this event was conducted with such publicity as almost to choke the voice of slander, it still found utterance.* It was deemed a sort of prodigy, that an event,

* The publicity, on this occasion, is precisely of the same character as marked the accouchement of the Duchess de Berri, who, it is said, not only

which would have caused a jubillee throughout Dhoondar, should have been kept secret until three months after the Raja's death.* The mysteries of the *rawuls* of Rajpoot princes find their way to the public out of doors; and in Oodipoor, more especially, are the common topics of conversation. The variety of character within its walls, the like variety of communicants without, the conflicting interests, the diversified objects of contention of these little worlds, render it utterly impossible that any secret can long be maintained, far less one of such magnitude as the pregnancy of the queen of a prince without issue. That this event should be revealed to the Nazir, the superintendent of the queen's palace, with all the formality of a new discovery, *three months* after Juggut Sing's death, must excite surprise; since to have been the bearer of such joyful intelligence to his master, to whom he was much attached, must have rivetted his influence.

At three o'clock on the 1st of April, a council of sixteen queens, the widows of the late prince, and the wives of all the great vassals of the state, "assembled to ascertain the fact of pregnancy," whilst all the great barons awaited in the antichambers of the *Zenana Deori*, the important response of this council of matrons. When it announced that the Bhattiani queen was pregnant beyond a doubt, they consulted until seven, when they sent in a written declaration, avowing their unanimous belief of the fact; and that "should a son be born, they would acknowledge him as their lord, and to none else pledge allegiance." A transcript of this was given to the Nazir, who was recommended to forward an attested copy to the British agent at Delhi. From these deliberations, from which there was no appeal, the Nazir was excluded by express desire of the Rahtore queen. He made an ineffectual effort to obtain from the chiefs a declaration, that the adoption of the Nurwar youth was in conformity to the desire of the deceased prince, their master; but this attempt to obtain indemnity for his illegal acts was defeated immediately on the ground of its untruth.†

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had the usual witnesses to silence the voice of doubt, but absolutely insisted on the *Marechaux* as well as the *Marechales* of France being in the room at the moment of parturition.

* Raja Juggut Sing died on the 21st December 1818, and the announcement of the Bhattiani being in "the eighth month of her pregnancy," was on the 24th March 1819.

† Deeming a record of these transactions useful, not only as descriptive of manners, but as a *precedent*, inasmuch as they shew the powers and position of the different authorities composing a Rajpoot state in case of succession, I have inserted in the Appendix.

By this lawful and energetic exertion of the powers directly vested in the queen-mother and the great council of the chiefs, the tongue of faction was rendered mute; but had it been otherwise, another queen was pronounced to be in the same joyful condition. * On the morning of the 25th of April, four months and four days after Juggut Sing's death, a son was ushered into the world with the usual demonstrations of joy, and received as the Autocrat of the Cuchwahas; while the infant interloper was removed from the *gadi*, and thrust back to his original obscurity. Thus terminated an affair which involved all Rajwarra in discussion, and at one time threatened a very serious result. That it was disposed of in this manner was fortunate for all parties, and not least for the protecting power.

Having thus given a connected, though imperfect, sketch of the history of the Jeipoor state, from its foundation to the present time, before proceeding with any account of its resources, or the details of its internal administration, we shall delineate the rise, progress, and existing condition of the Shekhavati federation, which has risen out of, and almost to an equality with, the parent state.

* No notice, that I am aware of, was ever taken of this second annunciation.

SHEKHAWUT FEDERATION.

CHAPTER V.

Origin of the Shekhavati federation.—Its constitution.—Descent of the chiefs from Baloji of Amber.—Mokulji.—Miraculous birth of his son.—Shekhji.—Aggrandizes his territory.—Raemul.—Sooja.—Raesil. His heroism.—Obtains grants from Akber.— Gets possession of Khundaila and Oodipoor.—His exploits and character.—Ghirdhurji.—Is cut off by assassination,—Dwarcadas.—His extraordinary feat with a lion.—Falls by Khan Jehan Lodi.—Birsingdeo.—His authority usurped by his son.—Bahadoor Sing.—Arungzeb directs the demolition of the temple of Khundaila.—Bahadoor deserts his capital—Shujaun Sing Raesilote flies to its defence—He is slain, the temple razed, and the city garrisoned—Kesuri—Partition of the territory between Kesuri and Futteh Sing.-Futteh Sing assassinated.—Kesuri resists the regal authority.—Is deserted in the field and slain.—His son Oodi Sing taken to Ajmeer—Khundaila retaken, and restored to Oodi Sing, who is liberated.—He resolves to punish the Munohurpur chief.—Is baffled by that chief's intrigues.—Is besieged by Jey Sing of Amber.—Khundaila becomes tributary to Amber.

We proceed to sketch the history of the Shekhawut confederation, which, springing from the redundant feodality of Amber, through the influence of age and circumstances, has attained a power and consideration almost equalling that of the parent state, and although it possesses neither written laws, a permanent congress, nor any visible or recognized head, subsists by a sense of common interest. It must not be supposed, however, that no system of policy is to be found in this confederation, because the springs are not always visible or in action; the moment any common or individual interest is menaced, the grand council of the Barons of Shekhavati assembles at Oodipoor to decide the course of action to be pursued.

The Shekhawut chieftains are descended from Baloji, the third son of Raja Oodikurn, who succeeded to the throne of Amber in S. 1445, A. D. 1389. At this period, if we look

back to the political state of society, we find that nearly the whole of the tracts, which now obey the Shekhavati federation, were parcelled out amongst numerous chieftains of the Chohan or Tuar tribes,* the descendants of the ancient Hindu emperors of Delhi, who evinced no more submission than the sword and their Islamite successors exacted from them.

Baloji, who was the actual founder of the numerous families, now designated by the more distinguished name of Shekhji, his grandson, obtained as an appanage the district of Amrutsir, but whether by his own prowess or by other means, is not mentioned. He had three sons; Mokulji, Khemarji, and Kharud. The first succeeded to the patrimony of Amrutsir; the second had a numerous issue styled *Balapota*, one of whom was adopted into the twelve chambers (*barakotri*) of Cuchwahas. The third had a son called Kumun, whose descendants were styled Kumawut, but are now nearly extinct.

Mokul had a son who was named Shekhji, in compliment to a miracle-working Islamite saint, to whose prayers the childless chief was indebted for a son destined to be the patriarch of a numerous race. occupying under the term Shekhawut, an important portion of the surface of Rajpootana. Shekh Boorhan was the name of this saint, whose shrine (still existing) was about six miles from Achrole, and fourteen from the residence of Mokul. As the period of time was shortly after Timoor's invasion, it is not unlikely he was a pious missionary, who remained behind for the conversion of the warlike but tolerant Rajpoot, with whom, even if he should fail in his purpose, he was certain of protection and hospitality. The Shekh in one of his peregrinations had reached the confines of Amrutsir, and was passing over an extensive meadow, in which was Mokulji. The *Mangta* (mendicant) approached with the usual salutation, "have you anything for me?" "Whatever you please, to have, *Babaji* (sire)," was the courteous reply. The request was limited to a draught of milk, and if our faith were equal to the Shekhawut's, we should believe that Shekh Boorhan drew a copious stream from the exhausted udder of a female buffalo. This was sufficient to convince the old chief that the

* The lovers of antiquity have only to make the search to find an abundant harvest, throughout all these countries, of ancient capitals and cities, whose names are hardly known even to the modern inhabitants. Of the ancient *Kajore* I have already spoken, and I now draw the attention of my countrymen to *Abhanair*, which boasts a very remote antiquity; and from an old stanza, we might imagine that its princes were connected with the *Kaian* dynasty of Persia. I copied it, some twenty years ago, from an itinerant bard, who had an imperfect knowledge of it himself, and I have

Shekh could work other miracles ; and he prayed that, through his means, he might no longer be childless. In due time he had an heir, who, according to the injunctions of Boorhan, was styled, after his own tribe, Shekh. He directed that he should wear the *Buddea*, * which, when laid aside, was to be

doubtless made it a more so, but it is still sufficiently intelligible to point at a remarkable coincidence :

" *Raja Chund ca Abhanair,*
" *Beea Sanjogayo Girnair (Girnar)*
" *Dek'h bharat, leo buale*
" *Keo bidut, mun begsae,*
" *Beao Sanjog, Permala burre*
" *Kos sat'h so, mun chit d'harre ;*
" *Tu beti* Kaicum *ca*
" *Nam Permala* (†) *ho*
" *Lekha hooa kurtar ko*
" *Eea jana sarb ko.*"

This is a fragment of a long poem relative to the rivalry of Raja Chund of Abhanair, and Raja Soorsen of Indrapoori, who was betrothed to Permala, daughter of *Kaicum*, and had gone to Girnair, or Girnar, to espouse her, when the Abhanair prince abducted her. Raja Soorsen of Indrapoori (Delhi), *if* the ancestor of the Surasem, and founder of Soorpoori, existed probably twelve hundred years before Christ. That sun-worshippers had established themselves in the peninsula of Saurashtra, (whose capital was Junagurh-Girnar), its appellations, in the days of the Greeks of Bactria, as now, proves ; (see Strabo, Justin, &c., but whether Kaicum, the father of Permala, is the Caicumaras of Ferdoosi, we shall not stop to inquire. The connection between this peninsula and Persia was intimate in later times, so as even to give rise to the assertion that the Ranas of Mewar were descended from the Sassanian kings. It was my good fortune to discover Soorpoori, on the Jumna, the residence of the rival of Chund of Abhanair, which city I leave to some one imbued with similar taste to visit, and merely add, he will find there an inscription in a *coond* or fountain dedicated to the Sun. The distance however, seven hundred coss (*kos sat'h so*), whether from Indrapoori or Abhanair, to Girnar, even admitting them to be *gao coss*, would be too much. I believe this would make it eight hundred miles, and certainly, as the crow flies, it is not seven hundred. Interwoven with the story there is much about Raja Chambha, prince of Jajnuggur, a city of great antiquity in Orissa, and containing some of the finest specimens of sculpture I ever saw. There is also mention of a Raja Saer. (*qu.* Sahir or Sehris of Arore) of Perman. In 1804, I passed through Jajnuggur, after the conquest of the province of Cuttack, with my regiment. At Jajnuggur, my earliest friend, the late Captain Bellet Sealy, employed his pencil for several days with the scu[illegible]rs. These drawings were sent to the authorities at Calcutta : perhaps this notice may rescue from oblivion the remains of Jajnuggur, and of my deceased friend's talent, for Captain Bellet Sealy was an ornament equally to private life and to his profession. He fell a victim to the fever contracted in the Nepal war. The ruins of *Abhanair* are on the Baugunga, three coss east of Lalsont.

* Strings, or threads, worn crossways by Mahomedan children.

† *Peri-mala*, means Fairy garland.

suspended at the saint's *durgah*; and further, that he should assume the blue tunic and cap, abstain from hog's flesh, and eat no meat "in which the blood remained." He also ordained that at the birth of every Shekhawut male infant, a goat should be sacrificed, the *Kulma* (Islamite creed) read, and the child sprinkled with the blood. Although four centuries have passed away since these obligations were contracted by Mokul, they are still religiously maintained by the little nation of his descendants, occupying a space of ten thousand square miles. The wild hog, which, according to immemorial usage, should be eaten once a year by every Rajpoot, is rarely even hunted by a Shekhawut; and though they have relaxed in that ordinance, which commanded the suspension of the *buddeas* at the shrine of Boorhan, still each infant wears them, as well as the blue tunic and cap, for two years after his birth; and a still greater mark of respect to the memory of the saint is evinced in the blue pennon which surmounts the yellow banner, or national flag, of Shekhawuts. It is even gravely asserted, that those who, from indolence, distance, or less justifiable motives, have neglected the least important injunction, that of depositing the initiatory strings or *buddeas*, have never prospered. But a still stronger proof is furnished of the credulity, the toleration and yet immutability of the Rajpoot character, in the fact, that, although Amrutsir, * and the lands around the *durgah*, are annexed to the fisc of Amber, yet the shrine of Shekh Boorhan continues a *sirna* (sanctuary), while lands are assigned to almost a hundred families, the descendants of the saint, who reside in the adjacent town of Tala.

Shekhji, when he attained man's estate, greatly augmented the territory left by his father, and had consolidated three hundred and sixty villages under his sway, by conquest from his neighbours, when his reputation and power attracted the jealous notice of the lord paramount of Amber. He was attacked; but by the aid of the Punnee Pathans † he successfully withstood the reiterated assaults of his suzerain. Up to this period, they had acknowledged the Amber princes as liege lords, and

* The town of Amrutsir and forty-five villages are still left to the Munohurpoor branch.

† The Punnees are a tribe of Doorannees, regarding whom Mr. Elphinstone's account of Cabul may be consulted. In after times, there was a chieftain of this tribe so celebrated for his generosity and hospitality, that his name has become proverbial:

Punne, to, punne
Nuhyn, Daod Khan Punne;

that is, if they failed elsewhere, there was always Daod Khan in reserve. His gallant bearing, and death in Ferochser's reign, are related in Scott's excellent History of the Dekhan.

in token of alliance paid as tribute all the colts reared on the original estates. * A dispute on this point was the ostensible cause (though subordinate to their rapid prosperity), which occasioned a total separation of the Shekhawut colonies from the par , until the reign of Sowae Jey Sing, who, with his m utenant of the empire, compelled homage, submission, uniary relief from them. Shekhji left a well-establi rity to his son, *Raemul*, of whom nothing is recorde ul was followed by *Sooja*, who had three sons, *viz.*, N rn, Raesil, and Gopal. The elder succeeded to the patri of Amrutsir and its three hundred sixty townships, while is brothers, the fiefs of Lambi and Jharli were respe assigned. With the second brother, Raesil, the fortunes the Shekhawuts made a rapid stride, from an occurrence in which the Rajpoot appears in the position we desire to see him occupy.

Noonkurn, the chief of the Shekhawuts, had a minister named Devidas, of the *benya* or mercantile caste, and, like thousands of that caste, energetic, shrewd, and intelligent. He one day held an argument with his lord (which the result proves he maintained with independence), that "genius with good fortune was the first gift of heaven, and to be far more prized than a man's mere inheritance." Noonkurn warmly disputed the point, which ended by his telling the minister he Lambi and make experiment of the truth of his his brother Raesil. Devidas lost no time, on this from his office, in proceeding with his family to Lambi. He was received with the usual but soon discovered that Raesil's means were too r an additional burthen, and that the field was too restricted to enable him to demonstrate the truth of the argument which lost him his place. He made known his determination to proceed to the imperial city, and advised Raesil to accompany him, and try his luck at court. Raesil, ant and not without ambition, could only equip with which he arrived at Delhi just as an army to oppose one of those Afghan invasions, so at period. In the action which ensued, Raesil fortune to distinguish himself by cutting down a nemy, in the presence of the imperial general, decided influence on the event of the day. made for the brave unknown, who had per-

* e reader's recollection a similar custom in the ancient Persian empire, where the tribute of the distant Satrapies was of the same kind. Armenia, according to Herodotus, alone gave an annual tribute of twenty thousand colts.

formed this heroic deed; but as, for reasons which will be perceived, he kept aloof from the quarters of his countrymen, the argument of Devidas would never have been illustrated, had not the imperial commander determined to seek out and reward merit. He ordered a grand *zeafut*, or 'entertainment' to be prepared for the chiefs of every grade in the army, who were commanded afterwards to pay their respects to the general. As soon as Raesil appeared, he was recognized as the individual of whom they were in search. His name and family being disclosed, his brother, Noonkurn, who was serving with his quota, was called, whose anger was peremptorily expressed at his presuming to appear at court without his permission; but this ebullition of jealousy was of little avail. Raesil was at once introduced to the great Akber, who bestc him the title of *Raesil Durbari,** and a more mark of royal favour, in a grant of the districts of Rewasso and Khasulli, then belonging to the Chundaila Rajpoots. This was but the opening of Raesil's career, for scarcely had he settled his new possessions, when he was recalled to court to take part in an expedition against Bhutnair. Fresh services obtained new favours, and he received a grant of Khundaila and Oodipoor, then belonging to the Nurbhan Rajpoots, who disdained to pay allegiance to the empire, and gave themselves up to unlicensed rapine.

Raesil finding it would be a work of difficulty to expel the brave Nurbhans from their ancient *bapota* (patrimony), had recourse to stratagem to effect his object. Previous to the expedition to Bhutnair, Raesil had espoused the daughter of the chief of Khundaila, and it is related that a casual expression, dropped on that occasion, suggested his desire to obtain it for himself. Being dissatisfied with the dower (*daeja*) given with his bride, he, with no commendable taste, pertinaciously insisted upon an increase; upon which the Nurbhan chief, losing patience, hastily replied, "we [illegible] else to give, unless you take the stones of the hill." The *Sooguni* (augur), immediately turning to Raesil, said tone, "tie a knot on the skirt of your garment in of this." An expression like this from a pr gave birth to the wish to be lord of Khundaila; vices to the king, and the imbecility of its conspired to fulfil it. Watching his opportunity, [illegible]

* It is always agreeable to find the truth of these simple annals corroborated in the historical remains of the conquerors of the Rajpoots. The name of Raesil Durbari will be found, in the Ayeen Akberi, amongst the *munsubdars* of twelve hundred and fifty horse; a rank of high importance, being equivalent to that conferred on the sons of potent Rajas.

against the place, and being in all probability supported by his liege lord, it was abandoned without defence, and the inhabitants tendered their submission to him. Henceforth, Khundaila was esteemed the principal city of the Shekhawut confederation; and the descendants of Raesil, using his name as a patronymic, are styled Raesilote, occupying all southern Shekhavati; while another branch of later origin, called *Sadhani*, holds the northern tracts. Immediately after the occupation of Khundaila, Raesil obtained possession of Oodipoor, formerly called *Kusoombi*, also belonging to the Nurbhans.*

Raesil accompanied his proper liege lord, the great Raja Maun of Amber, against the heroic Rana Pratap of Mewar. He was also in the expedition to Cabul, against the Afghans of Cohistan, in all of which enterprizes he obtained fresh distinctions. Regarding his death, there is no record; but his history is another illustration of the Rajpoot character, whilst it confirms the position of the *Banya*, that "genius and good fortune are far superior to inheritance."

Raesil, at his death, had a compact and well-managed territory, out of which he assigned appanages to his seven sons, from whom are descended the various families, who, with relative distinctive patronymics, Bhojanis, Sadhanis, Larkhanis, Taj-khanis, Pursrampotas, Hur-rampotas, are recognized throughout Rajwarra by the generic name of Shekhawut.

1. Girdhur............had Khundaila and Rewasso.
2. Larkhan................Kachriawas.
3. Bhojraj..................Oodipoor.
4. Tirmul Rao............Kasulli and eighty-four villages.
5. Pursram.................Bae.
6. Hur-ramji...............Moondurri.
7. Taj-khan..................No appanage.

We shall not break the thread of the narrative of the elder branch of Khundaila, "chief of the sons of Shekhji," to treat of the junior line, though the issue of Bhojraj have eclipsed, both in population and property, the senior descendants of Raesil.

Girdhur-ji succeeded to the prowess, the energy, and the estates of his father, and for a gallant action obtained from the

* The Nurbhan is *sach'ha*, or ramification of the Chohan race. They held long possession of these regions, of which *Kais*, or Kasoombi, now Oodipoor, was the capital, the city where the grand council of the confederation always meet on great occasions. This may throw light on the Cusoombee mentioned on the triumphal pillar at Delhi; the Nurbhan capital is more likely to be the town alluded to, than Cusoombee on the Ganges.

emperor the title of Raja of Khundaila. At this period, the empire was in a most disordered state, and the mountainous region, called Mewat, was inhabited by a daring and ferocious banditti, called Mewohs, who pillaged in gangs even to the gates of the capital. The task of taking, dead or alive, the leader of this banditti, was assigned to the chief of Khundaila, who performed it with signal gallantry and success. Aware that, by the display of superior force, his enemy would remain in his lurking places. Girdhur put himself on terms of equality with his foe, and with a small but select band hunted the Mewatti leader down, and in the end slew him in single combat. The career of Girdhur, short as it was brilliant, was terminated by assassination, while bathing in the Jumna. The anecdote is descriptive of the difference of manners between the rustic Rajpoot and the debauched retainer of the court.

One of the Khundaila chief's man was waiting, in a blacksmith's shop, while his sword was repaired and sharpened. A Mooslem, passing by, thought he might have his jest with the unpolished Rajpoot, and after asking some impertinent questions, and laughing at the unintelligible replies in the *Bakha* of Rajwarra, slipped a heated cinder in the turban of the soldier : the insult was borne with great coolness, which increased the mirth of the Mussulman, and at length the turban took fire. The sword was then ready, and the *Thakoor*, after feeling the edge, with one blow laid the jester's head at his feet. He belonged to one of the chief nobles of the court, who immediately led his retainers to the Khundaila chief's quarters, and thence to where he was performing his religious ablutions in the Jumma, and whilst engaged in which act, unarmed and almost unattended, basely murdered him. Girdhur left several children.

Dwarcadas, his eldest son, succeeded, and soon after his accession nearly fell a victim to the jealousy of the Munohurpoor chief, the representative of the elder branch of the family, being the lineal descendant of Noonkurn. The emperor had caught a lion in the toils, and gave out a grand hunt, when the Munohurpoor chief observed that his relative, the Raesilote, who was a votary of *Nahr Singh*, was the proper person to engage the king of the forest. Dwarcadas saw through his relative's treachery, but cheerfully accepted the proposal. Having bathed and prayed, to the astonishment of the king and court, he entered the arena unarmed, with a brazen platter containing the various articles used in *pooja* (worship), as grains of rice, curds, and sandal ointment, and going directly up to the monster, made the *tilac* on his forehead, put a chaplet round his neck, and prostrated himself in

the usual attitude of adoration before the lion; when, to the amazement of the spectators, the noble beast came gently up, and with his tongue repeatedly licked his face. permitting him to retire without the least indication of anger. The emperor, who concluded that his subject must "wear a charmed life," desired the Khundaila chief to make any request, with the assurance of compliance; when he received a delicate reproof, in the desire "that his majesty would never place another person in the same predicament from which he had happily escaped."

Dwarcadas was slain by the greatest hero of the age in which he lived, the celebrated Khan Jehan Lodi, who, according to the legends of the Shekhawuts, also fell by the hand of their lord; and they throw an air of romance upon the transaction, which would grace the annals of chivalry in any age or country. Khan Jehan and the chieftain of Khundaila were sworn friends, and when nothing but the life of the gallant Lodi would satisfy the king, Dwarca gave timely notice to his friend of the hateful task imposed upon him, advising either submission or flight. His fate, which forms one of the most interesting episodes in Ferishta's history, involved that of the Shekhawut chief.

He was succeeded by his son, Birsingdeo, who served with his contingent in the conquest of the Dekhan, and was made governor of Pernalla, which he had materially assisted in reducing. The Khundaila annalist is desirous to make it appear that his service was independent of his liege lord of Amber; but the probability is that he was under the immediate command of the Mirza Raja Jey Sing, at that period the most distinguished general of his nation of the court.

Birsingdeo had seven sons, of whom the heir-apparent Bahadoor Sing, remained at Khundaila, while estates were assigned to his brothers, *viz.* Amur Sing, Siam Sing, Jugdeo, Bhopal Sing, Mokri Sing, and Paim Sing, who all increased the stock of Raesilotes. While the Raja was performing his duties in the Dekhan, intelligence reached him that his son at home had usurped his title and authority; upon which, with only four horsemen, he left the army for his capital. When within two coss of Khundaila, he alighted at the house of a Jatni, of whom he requested refreshment, and begged especial care of his wearied steed, lest he should be stolen; to which she sharply replied, "Is not Bahadoor Sing ruler here? You may leave gold in the highway, and no one dare touch it.' The old chieftain was so delighted with this testimony to his son's discharge of a prince's duties, that, without disclosing

himself or his suspicions, he immediately returned to the Dekhan, where he died.

Bahadoor Sing succeeded, and on his father's death repaired to the armies in the south, commanded by Arungzeb in person. Being insulted by a Mooslem chief, bearing the same name with himself, and obtaining no redress from the bigotted prince, he left the army in disgust, upon which his name was erased from the list of munsubdars. It was at this time the tyrant issued his mandate for the capitation-tax on all his Hindu subjects, and for the destruction of their temples. *

To the personal enemy of the Shekhawut was intrusted the twofold duty of exacting tribute, and the demolition of the temple, the ornament of Khundaila, whose chief, degrading the name of Bahadoor (warrior), abandoned his capital; and the royal army had arrived within two coss without the appearance of opposition. The news spread over the lands of the confederacy, that Bahadoor had fled from Khundaila, and that the Toork was bent on the destruction of its shrines. It reached the ear of Shujaun Sing, the chieftain of Chapowlee, a descendant of Bhojraj, the second son of Raesil. Imbued with all the spirit of this hero, the brave Bhojani resolved to devote himself to the protection of the temple, or perish in its defence. At the moment the tidings reached him, he was solemnizing his nuptials on the Marwar frontier. Hastening home with his bride, he left her with his mother, and bade both a solemn farewell. In vain his kindred, collecting round him, dissuaded from his design, urging that it was Bahadoor Sing's affair, not his. "Am not I," he said, "also of Raesil's stock, and can I allow the Toork to destroy the dwelling of the *Thakoor* (lord), and not attempt to save it? Would this be acting the part of a Rajpoot?" As their entreaties were vain, they, to the number of sixty, resolved to accompany him, and share his fate. They were joined by a party of Bahadoor's adherents, and succeeded in entering

* The numerous ruined shrines and mutilated statues in every town and village, still attest the zeal with which the bigot's orders were obeyed; nor is there an image of any antiquity with an entire set of features (except in spots impervious to his myrmidons), from Lahore to Cape Comorin. Omkarji, whose temple is on a small island of the Nerbudda, alone, it is said, supported his dignity in the indiscriminate attack on the deities of Hind. "If they are gods (said the tyrannical but witty iconoclast), let them evince their power, and by some miracle resist my commands." Omkarji received the first blow on his head, as if imbued with mortal feeling, for the blood gushed from his nose and mouth, which prevented a repetition of the injury! This sensibility, though without the power of avenging himself, made Omkar's shrine doubly respected, and it continues to be one of the best frequented and most venerated in these regions.

Khundaila. The imperial commander, to whom this unlooked-for opposition was reported, well aware of what a Rajpoot is capable when excited to action, and perhaps moved by a generous feeling at seeing handful of men oppose an army, requested that two of their number might be deputed to his camp to confer with him. He told them, that notwithstanding it was the king's command that he should raze the temple to the ground, he would be satisfied (if accompanied by proper submission) with taking off the *kullus*, or golden ball which surmounted its pinnacle. They endeavoured to dissuade him; offered money to the utmost possible amount of their means; but the answer was, "the *kullus* must come down." One of these noble delegates, no longer able to contain himself, exclaimed, "Break down the *kullus*!" as with some moist clay at his feet he moulded a ball, which he placed on a little mound before him: and drawing his sword, repeated, "Break down the *kullus*! I dare you even to break this ball of clay!" The intrepidity of this action gained the applause even of the foe, and they had safe conduct to rejoin their breathern, and prepare them for the worst.

At this time, Khundaila had no fortifications; there was, however, a gateway half way up the hill in the route of ascent, which led to the place of residence of its chieftains, adjoining which was the temple. One party was stationed in the gateway, while Shujaun reserved for himself the defence of the temple, in which he took post with his kinsmen. When the mercenaries of the tyrant advanced, the defenders of the gateway, after dealing many a distant death, marched upon them sword in hand, and perished. When they pushed on to the chief object of attack, the band issued forth in small detached parties, having first made their obeisances to the image, and carried destruction along with them. Shujaun was the last who fell. The temple was levelled to earth, the idol broken in pieces, and the fragments thrown into the foundation of a mosque erected on its ruins. There is hardly a town of note in Rajwarra that has not to relate a similar tale of desperate valour in the defence of their household gods against the iniquitous and impolitic Arungzeb. Khundaila received a royal garrison; but the old officers, both territorial and financial, were retained by the conqueror.

Bahadoor Sing continued to reside in an adjacent township, and through his Dewan, obtained a certain share of the crops and transit duties, *viz.* a seer out of every maund of the former, and one pice in every rupee of the latter. In process of time, the family residence and gardens were given up to him, and when the Syeds obtained power, he regained his country,

Nawab demanded a hostage, but the young Rajpoot said he knew of none but his own mother, who willingly became the pledge for her son. He fulfilled his agreement, and the viceroy was so pleased with his frank and loyal conduct, that on paying a large *nuzzerana*, he restored him to his capital.

Oodey Sing's first act was to assemble his breathern, in order to punish Munohurpoor, whose treachery had caused them so much misery. The foster brother, who commanded on that occasion, was again entrusted with the command ; but he fled after a sharp encounter, and Munohurpoor was invested. Seeing he had no chance of salvation, he had again recourse to *chul* (stratagem). There were two feudatories of Noonkurn's line, joint-holders of Khajrolli, who had long been at variance with Deep Sing of Kasulli, the principal adviser of the young Raja of Khundaila. They were gained over to the purpose of the Munohurpoor chief, who sent them with a private message to Deep Sing, that no sooner should Munohurpoor fall than he would be deprived of Kasulli. These treacherous proceedings were but too common amongst "the sons of Shekhji." Deep Sing fell into the snare, and at break of day, when the trumpets sounded for the assault, the drums of the Kasulli chief were heard in full march to his estate. Oodey Sing, thus deprived of his revenge, followed Deep Sing, who, aware of his inability to cope with his immediate chief, fled for succour to Jeipoor, and Kasulli fell a sacrifice to the artifices which preserved Munohurpoor. The great Jey Sing then ruled Amber ; he received the suppliant chief, and promised him ample redress, on his swearing to become his vassal and tributary. Deep swore allegiance to the *gadi* of Jey Sing, and signed a tributary engagement of four thousand rupees annually !

Thus recommenced the supremacy of Amber over the confederated Shekhawuts, which had been thrown off ever since the dispute regarding the colts of Amrutsir, the ancient mark of homage, when "the sons of Shekhji" consisted only of a few hundred armed men. Shortly after this transaction, Jey Sing proceeded to the Ganges to fulfil certain rites upon an eclipse, and while performing his ablutions in the sacred stream, and the gifts for distribution to the priests being collected on the bank, he inquired "who was present to receive *dan* that day ?" The Kasulli chief, spreading out the skirt of his garment, replied, he was an applicant. Such *dan* (gifts being only given to *mangtas*, or mendicants, in which class they put priests, poets, and the poor, the Raja asked, laughing, "What is your desire, Thakoor ?" To which Deep Sing replied, that through his intercession the son of Futteh Sing might

obtain his father's share of Khundaila; which request was complied with.

This occurrence was in A. D. 1716, when the Jats were rising into power, and when all the minor Rajas served with their contingents under the great Jey Sing, as lieutenant of the emperor. Along with the princes of Kerowli, Bhadorea, Sheopoor, and many others of the third rank, was Oodey Sing of Khundaila. During the siege of Thoon, the Shekhawut chief was reprimanded for neglect of duty, and although he owed a double allegiance to Jey Sing, as his natural liege lord and lieutenant of the king, he would not brook the censure from one of his own race, and indignantly withdrew from the siege. Chooramun, the Jat, having contrived to make his peace with the Syed vizier, when Thoon was upon the eve of surrender, and Oodey Sing being implicated in this intrigue, Jey Sing, who was mortified at an occurrence which prevented the gratification of a long-cherished resentment against the upstart Jats, determined that the Khundaila chief should suffer for his audacity. Attended by the imperialists under Bazeed Khan, and all his home clans, he laid siege to the citadel called Oodigurh. Oodey Sing held out a month in this castle he had constructed and called by his own name, when his resource failing, he fled to Nuroo in Marwar, and his son, Sowae Sing, presented the keys, throwing himself on the clemency of the conqueror. He was well received, and pardoned, on condition of becoming tributary to Amber. He followed the example of the Kasulli chief, and signed an engagement to pay annually one lakh of rupees. From this a deduction of fifteen thousand was subsequently made, and in time being reduced twenty thousand more, sixty-five thousand continued to be the tribute of Khundaila, until the decay of both the parent state and its scion, when the weakness of the former, and the merciless outrages of the predatory powers, Pathan and Mahratta, rendered its amount uncertain and difficult to realize. Moreover, recalling his promise to Deep Sing, he restored the division of the lands as existing prior to the murder of Futteh Sing, *viz.* three shares to Sowae Sing, with the title of chief of the Shekhawuts, and two to Dheer Sing, son of Futteh Sing. The young cousin chieftains, now joint-holders of Khundaila, attended their liege lord with their contingent; and Oodey Sing, taking advantage of their absence, with the aid of a band of outlawed Larkhanis, surprised and took Khundaila. Attended by the Jeipoor troops, the son performed the dutiful task of expelling his father from his inheritance, who again fled to Nuroo, where he resided upon a pension of five rupees a day, given by his son, until his

death. He, however, outlived Sowae Sing, who left three sons; Bindrabun, who succeeded to Khundaila; Simboo, who had the appanage of Ranolli; and Koosul, having that of Piperolli.

CHAPTER VI.

Bindrabun Das adheres to Madhu Sing in the civil wars of Amber.—Partition of lands annulled.—Self-immolation of the Brahmins.—Consequences to Bindrabun, in his contest with Indur Sing, the other chief of Khundaila.—Civil war.—Prodigal expiatory sacrifice of Bindrabun.—He abdicates.—Govind Sing.—Is assassinated.—Nursing Das.—Rise and devastations of the Mahrattas.—Siege of Khundaila.—Terms of redemption.—Murder of deputies by the Mahrattas.—Indur Sing perishes in the attempt to avenge them.—Pertap Sing.—Rise of the Seekur chief.—Transactions between Pertap and Nursing, his co-partner.—Pertap obtains the whole of Khundaila.—Nursing recovers by stratagem his share of Khundaila.—Domestic broils and feuds.—General assembly of the Sadhani and Raesilote chiefs, to counteract the encroachments of Amber.—Treaty between the Shekhawuts and the court of Amber.—Violated by the latter.—The confederacy assault the town of the Huldea faction.—Nursing refuses tribute to the court, and Khundaila is sequestrated.—Nursing and Pertap treacherously made captive, and conveyed to Jeipoor.—Khundaila annexed to the fisc.

BINDRABUN DAS steadfastly adhered to Madhu Sing in the civil wars which ensued for the *gadi* of Amber, and the latter, when success attended his cause, wished to reward the important services of his feudatory. At his request, he consented that the partition of the lands which had caused so much bloodshed shuld be annulled, and that Bindrabun should rule as sole lord of Khundaila. Five thousand men were placed under his command for the expulsion of the minor, Indur Sing, grandson of Deo Sing, who made a stout resistance for many months; but at length his little castle was no longer tenable, and he fled to Parasoli, where he again defended himself, and was again on the point of surrender, when an unexpected accident not only saved him from exile, but restored him to his rights.

The mercenaries were supported at the sole charge of Bindrabun, and as his ancestors left no treasury, he was compelled to resort to the contribution called *dind* from his subjects, not even exempting the hierarchy. Piqued at this unusual demand, some of the wealthiest Brahmins expostulated with the Raja on this indignity to the order. But their appeals were disregarded by their chief, whose existence depended on supplies. The loss of influence as well as wealth being the fruit of this disregard of their remonstrance, they had recourse to that singular species of revenge termed *chandi*, or self-immolation and poignarded themselves in his presence, pouring maledictions on his head with their last breath. The blood of Brahmins now rested on the head of Brindabun; even amongst his personal friends he laboured under a species of excommunication, and his liege lord, Madhu Sing of Amber, in order to expiate his indirect share in the guilt, recalled his troops, and distributed twenty thousand rupees to the Brahmins of his own capital. Indur Sing had thus time to breathe, and having collected all his retainers, wisely joined the Jeipoor army assembling under the command of the celebrated Khoshialiram Bhora to chastise the Rao of Macherri, who was expelled and obliged to seek refuge with the Jats. In this service Indur Sing so much distinguished himself, that, on the payment of a *nuzzerana* of fifty thousand rupees, he recovered his lost share of Khundaila, by a regular *putta*, or grant, of the Raja.

Perpetual feuds, however, raged between these two kings of Khundaila, each of whom had his castle, or fortified palace. Each day "there was war even in the gates" of Khundaila, and at the hazard of prolixity we shall state how it was conducted, challenging the records of any civil war to produce an instance in which all the ties of blood and kindred were more disregarded than *bellum plusquam civile.*

Indur Sing had popularity on his side to balance the other's superior power, and he was briskly pushing an attack on Oodigurh, the castle of his opponent, when he was joined by Raghunath Sing, the younger son of his foeman. This youth, who had the township of Koochore in appanage, helped himself to three more, to retain which he sided with his father's foe. Bindrabun, in order to create a diversion, sallied out to attack Koochore; to oppose which, his son, together with his nephew, Pirthi Sing of Ranolli and his retainers, withdrew from the batteries to defend it. But the attack on Koochore had already failed, and Bindrabun was on his retreat to regain Khundaila, when he was intercepted. The battle took place outside the city, whose gates were shut against

friend and foe, to prevent a pell-mell entry. At the same time, the siege of Oodigurh was not slackened ; it was defended by Govind Sing, the eldest son of Brindabun, while the batteries against it were commanded by another near kinsman Nahr Sing of Cherana. For several days daily combats ensued, in which were to be seen father and son, uncles and nephews, and cousins within every degree of affinity, destroying each other. At length, both parties were exhausted and compromise ensued, in which Indur Sing obtained the rights he had so manfully vindicated.

At this time, a dying and desultory effort to regain his lost power was made by Nujuf Kooli Khan, at the head of the imperialists, who, conducted by the traitorous Macherri Rao, led the royal army into the lands of the confederacy to raise contributions, for which he was cordially and laudably detested. Nowul Sing of Nowulgurh, Bagh Sing of Keytri, Soorajmul of Bussao, all chieftains of the Sadhanis, unable to comply with the requisitions, were carried off, and retained captive till ransomed for many lakhs of rupees ; and eventually raised upon the impoverished husbandman and industrious merchant.

The din of civil war having ended, the ministers of religion never ceased pouring into the ears of Bindrabun, the necessity of expiation and oblations for the murder of their bretheru, and he was daily sacrificing the birthright of his children, in grants of the best lands of Khundaila, to these drones of society, when Govind, the heir-apparent, remonstrated, which was followed by the abdication of Bindrabun, who, appropriating five townships and the impost duties of Khundaila for his support, left the cares of government to his son.*

Govind Sing did not long enjoy the honours of chief of the Raesilotes. The year of his elevation having produced an unfavourable harvest, at the request of his vassal of Ranolli he proceeded to inspect the crops preparatory to a reduction in the assessment. Less superstitious than his father, he preserved in spite of the predictions of the astrologer, who told him, "to beware the ides *(amavus)* of Paush," and not to go abroad that day. In the course of the excursion, one of his personal attendants, a Rajpoot of Kajrolli, had lost some valuable article entrusted to his charge, and the impetuous chief broadly taxed him with theft. His protestations of innocence were unavailing, and considering himself dishonoured by the imputation, which might possibly be followed by some

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* His second son, Raghunath, had Koochore in appanage.

disgraceful punishment, he determined to anticipate his chief, and murdered him that night. Govind left five sons, Nursing, Soorajmul (who had Dodea), Bagh Sing, Jowan Sing, and Runjeet, all of whom had families.

Nursing Das, his eldest son, succeeded. In spite of internal dissensions, occasional chastisement, and pecuniary exactions from the imperial armies, or those of their immediate liege lord of Amber, the confederated *frerage* of Shekhavati had increased their territory and population. Only the shadow of a name now remained to the empire of the Great Mogul; and their own lord-paramount, satisfied with a certain degree of homage, tribute, and service on emergencies, was little inclined to trench further upon their national independence. But a new enemy had now arisen, and though of their own faith, far more destructive than even the intolerant Islamite. Happy were the inhabitants of the desert, who had an ocean of sand between them and this scourge of India, the insatiable Mahratta. After the fatal day of Mairta, where the evil genius of Rajpootana enabled De Boigne to give the last blow to her independence, the desultory hordes roved in bands through the lands of the confederation, plundering, murdering, and carrying off captive the principal chiefs or their children, as hostages for contributions they could not realize. These were dragged about after their armies, until the hardships and indignities they underwent made them sell every article of value, or until the charge of keeping, or the trouble of guarding them, rendered their prolonged captivity burdensome to the wandering Southrons.

Let us follow the path of the barbarians, and trace only one day's acts of outrage. When the Mahrattas entered the lands of the federation, soon after the battle of Mairta, they first attacked Bae. The inhabitants, knowing that they had no hope of mercy from these marauders, fled, carrying away all the effects they could to the larger towns, while a garrison of eighty Rajpoots took post in the little castle, to defend the point of honour against this new assailant. Bae was stormed; not one Rajpoot would accept of quarter, and all were put to the sword. The enemy proceeded to Khundaila, the route marked by similar tracks of blood. When within two *coss* of the town, the horde halted at Hodegong, and a *Pundit* * was sent to Rao Indur Sing to settle the contribution, which was fixed at twenty

* The ministers of religion were the only *clerks*, amongst this race of depredators, and they were not behind the most illiterate in cupidity, and to say the truth, courage, when required; and as for skill in negotiation a Mahratta Brahmin stands alone: keen, skilful, and imperturbable, he would have baffled Machiavelli himself.

thousand rupees, besides three thousand in *ghoos** (bribe), for the Brahmin negotiator. The two chiefs, who negotiated on the part of the joint Rajas of Khundaila, proceeded with the Pundit to the enemy's camp; their names were Nowal and Duleel. As it was out of their power to realize so large a sum, they were accompanied by the joint revenue officers of Khundaila as *ole*, or hostage, when to their dismay the Southron commander demurred, and said they themselves must remain. One of the chieftains, with the *sang froid* which a Rajpoot never loses, coolly replied, that should not be, and taking his *hooka* from his attendant, began unceremoniously to smoke, when a rude *Dekhany* knocked the pipe from his hand. The Thakoor's sword was unsheathed in an instant, but ere he had time to use it a pistol-ball passed through his brain. Duleel Sing's party, attempting to avenge their companion, were cut off to a man; and Indur Sing, who had left Khundaila to learn how the negotiations sped, arrived just in time to see his clansmen butchered. He was advised to regain Khundaila: "No," replied the intrepid Raesilote; "better that I should fall before the gates of Khundaila than enter them after such disgrace, without avenging my kinsmen." Dismouting from his horse, he turned him loose, his adherents following his example; and sword in hand they rushed on the host of assassins and met their fate. Indur Sing was stretched beside his vassals, and, strange to say, Duleel was the only survivor: though covered with wounds, he was taken up alive, and carried to the hostile camp.

Such was the opening scene of the lengthened tragedy enacted in Shekhavati, when Mahratta actors succeeded to Pathans and Moguls: heirs to their worst feelings, without one particle of their magnanimity or courtesy. But the territory of the confederacy was far too narrow a stage; even the entire plain of India appeared at one time too restricted for the hydra-headed banditti, nor is there a principality, district, or even township, from the Sutlej to the sea, where similar massacres have not been known, and but for our interposition, such scenes would have continued to the present hour.

Pertap Sing, who succeeded his brave father in his share of the patrimony, was at this crisis with his mother at Sikrae, a strong fort in the hills, ten miles from Khundaila. To save the town, the principal men dug up the grain-pits selling their property to release their minor chief from further trouble.

* *Ghoos* is literally 'a bribe;' and no treaty or transaction was ever carried on without this stipulation. So sacred was the *ghoos* held, from tyrant usage, that the Peswa ministers, when they ruled the destinies of nation, stipulated that the *ghoos* should go to the privy purse!

Having obtained all they could, the enemy proceeded to the lands of the Sadhanis. Oodipoor was the first assaulted, taken, and sacked; the walls were knocked down, and the floors dug up in search of treasure. After four days' havock, they left it a ruin, and marched against the northern chieftains of Singhana, Jhoonjoonoo, and Keytri. On the departure of the foe, young Pertap and his kinsman, Nursing, took up their abode in Khundaila; but scarcely had they recovered from the effects of the Dekhani incursion, before demands were made by their liege lord of Amber for the tribute. Pertap made his peace by assigning a fourth of the harvest; but Nursing, in the procrastinating and haughty spirit of his ancestors, despised an arrangement which, he said (and with justice), would reduce him to the level of a common *Bhomia* landholder.

At this period, a remote branch of the Khundaila Shekawuts began to disclose a spirit that afterwards gained him distinction. Devi Sing, chieftain of Seekur, a descendant of Rao Tirmul of Kasulli, had added to the partimony by the usurpation of no less than twenty-five large townships, as Lohagurra, Kho, &c.; and he deemed this a good opportunity, his chief being embroiled with the court, to make an attack on Rewasso; but death put a stop to the ambitious views of the Seekur chieftain. Having no issue, he had adopted Luchmun Sing, son of the Shahpoora Thakoor; but the Jeipoor court, which had taken great umbrage at these most unjustifiable assaults of the Seekur chief on his weaker brethren, commanded Nundram Huldia (brother of the prime minister Doulet Ram), collector of the Shekhawut tribute, to attack and humble him. No sooner were the orders of the court promulgated, than all the *Barwuttias** gathered round the standard of the collector, to aid in the redemption of their patrimonies wrested from them by Seekur. Besides the Khundaila chief in person there were the *Puttawuts* of Kasulli, Bilara, and others of Tirmul's stock; and even the Sadhanis, who little interfered in the affairs of the Raesilotes, repaired with joy with their tribute and their retainers to the camp of the Jeipoor commander, to depress the Seekur chief, who was rapidly rising over them all. Nearly the whole troops of the confederacy were thus assembled. Devi Sing, it may be imagined, was no common character, to have excited such universal hatred; and his first care had been to make strong friends at court, in order to retain what he had acquired. He had especially cultivated

* *Barwuttia*, is 'one expatriated,' 'from *bar*,' out of,' and *wattun*,' 'a country, and it means either an exile, or an outlaw, according to the measure of crime which caused his banishment from his country.

the minister's friendship, which was now turned to account. A deputation, consisting of a Chondawut chief, the Dewan of Seekur, and that important character the *Dhabhae*, repaired to the Huldia, and implored him in the name of the deceased, not to give up his infant son to hungry and revengeful *Barwuttias.* The Huldia said there was but one way by which he could avoid the fulfilment of his court's command, which was for them, as he approached the place, to congregate a force so formidable from its numbers, as to exonerate him from all suspicion of collusion. With the treasury of Devi Sing, overflowing from the spoliation of the Kaimkhani of Futtehpoor, it was easy to afford such indemnity to the Huldia, at whose approach to Seekur ten thousand men appeared to oppose him. Having made a shew of investing Seekur, and expended a good deal of ammunition, he addressed his court, where his brother was minister, stating he could make nothing of Seekur without great loss, both of time, men, and money and advising an acceptance of the proffered submission. Without waiting a reply, he took two lakhs as a fine for his sovereign, and a present of one for himself. The siege was broken up, and Seekur was permitted to prosecute his schemes; in which he was not a little aided by the continued feuds of the co-partner chiefs of Khundaila, Pertap took advantages of Nursing's non-compliance with the court's requisition, and his consequent disgrace, to settle the feud of their fathers, and unite both shares in his own person; and stipulated in return to be responsible for the whole tribute, be ready with his contingent to serve the court, and pay besides a handsome *nuzzerana* or investiture. The Huldia was about to comply, when Rawul Indur Sing of Samote, chief of the Nathawut clan, interceded for Nursing, and inviting him on his own responsibility to the camp, acquainted him with the procedure of his rival, in whose name the patent for Khundaila was actually made out; "but even now," said this noble chief, "I will stay it if you comply with the terms of the court." But Nursing either would not or could not, and the Samote chief urged his immediate departure; adding that as he came under his guarantee, he was desirous to see him safe back, for "such were the crooked ways of the Amber house," that if he prolonged his stay, he might be involved in ruin in his desire, to protect him. Accordingly, at dusk, with sixty of his own retainers, he escorted him to Nowulgurh, and the next morning he was in his castle of Govindgurh. The precautions of the Samote chief were not vain, and he was reproached and threatened with the court's displeasure, for permitting Nursing's departure; but he nobly replied, "he had performed the

duty of a Rajpoot, and would abide the consequences." As the sequel will further exemplify the corruptions of courts, and the base passions of kindred, under a system of feudal government, we shall trespass on the reader's patience by recording the result.

Samote and Chomoo are the chief houses of the Nathawut clan; the elder branch enjoying the title of Rawul, with supremacy over the numerous vassalage. But these two families had often contested the lead, and their feuds had caused much bloodshed. On the disgrace of Indur Singh, as already related, his rival of Chomoo repaired to court, and offered so large a *nuzzerana* as to be invested with rights of seniority. Avarice and revenge were good advocates: a warrant was made out and transmitted to Indur Sing (still serving with the collector of the tribute) for the sequestration of Samote. Placing, like a dutiful subject, the warrant to his forehead, he instantly departed for Samote, and commanded the removal of his family, his goods and chattles from the seat of his ancestors, and went into exile in Marwar. In after times, his Rani had a grant of the village of Peeplye, to which the magnanimous, patriotic, and loyal Indur Sing, when he found the hand of death upon him, repaired, that he might die in the lands of the Cuchwahs, and have his ashes buried amongst his fathers. This man, who was naturally brave, acted upon the abstract principle of *swamdherma*, or 'fealty,' which is not even now exploded, in the midst of corruption and demoralization. Indur Sing would have been fully justified, according to all the principles which govern these states, in resisting the iniquitous mandate. Such an act might have been deemed rebellions by those who look only at the surface of things; but let the present lords-paramount go deeper, when they have to decide between a Raja and his feudatories, and look to the origin and condition of both, and the ties which alone can hold such associations together

To return: Protap Sing, having thus obtained the whole of Khundaila, commenced the demolition of a fortified gate, whence during the feuds his antagonist used to play some swivels against his castle. While the work of destruction was advancing, an omen occured, foreboding evil to Pertap. An image of Ganesa, the god of wisdom and protector of the arts, (more especially of architecture), was fixed in the wall of this gate, which an ill-fated and unintentional blow knocked from its elevated position to the earth, and being of *terracotta*, his fragments lay dishonoured and scattered on the pavement. Notwithstanding this, the demolition was completed, and the long obnoxious gateway levelled

with the earth. Pertap, having adjusted affairs in the capital proceeded against Rewasso, which he reduced, and then laid siege to Govindgurh aided by a detachment of the Huldia. Having encamped at Goorah, two coss from it, and twice that distance from Ranolli, its chief, who still espoused the cause of his immediate head, the unfortunate Nursing, sent his minister to the Huldia, offering not only to be responsible for all arrears due by Nursing, but also a handsome *douceur*, to restore him to his rights. He repaired to Khundaila, stationed a party in the fortified place of Nursing, and consented that they should be expelled, as if by force of his adherents, from Govindgurh. Accordingly, Soorajmul and Bagh Sing, the brothers of Nursing, in the dead of night, with one hundred and fifty followers, made a mock attack on the Huldia's followers, expelled them, and made good a lodgment in their ancient dwelling. Pertap was highly exasperated; and to render the acquisition useless, he ordered the possession of a point which commanded the *mahl*; but here he was anticipated by his opponent, whose party now poured into Khundaila. He then cut off their supplies of water, by fortifying the reservoirs and wells, and this brought matters to a crisis. An action ensued, in which many were killed on each side, when the traitorous Huldia interposed the five-coloured banner, and caused the combat to cease. Nursing, at this juncture, joined the combatants in person, from his castle of Govindgurh, and a treaty was forthwith set on foot, which left the district of Rewasso to Pertap, and restored to Nursing his share of Khundaila.

These domestic broils continued, however, and occasions were perpetually recurring to bring the rivals in collision. The first was on the festival of the *Gangore*;* the next on the Ranolli chief placing in durance a vassal of Pertap, which produced a general gathering of the clans: both ended in an appeal to the lord-paramount, who soon merged the office of arbitrator in that of dictator.

The Shadhanis, or chieftains of northern Shekhavati, began to feel the bad effects of these feuds of the Raesilotes, and to express dissatisfaction at the progressive advances of the Jeipoor court for the establishment of its supremacy. Until this period they had escaped any tributary engagements, and only recognized their connexion with Amber by marks of homage and fealty on lapses, which belonged more to kindred than political superiority. But as the armies of the court were now perpetually on the frontiers, and might soon pass

* See Vol. I, for an account of this festival.

over, they deemed it necessary to take measures for their safety. The township of Tooe, appertaining to Nowulgurh, had already been seized, and Ranolli was battered for the restoration of the subject of Pertap. These were grievances which affected all the Sadhanis, who, perceiving they could no longer preserve their neutrality, determined to abandon their internal dissensions, and form a system of general defence. Accordingly, a general assembly of the Sadhani lords, and as many of the Raesilotes as chose to attend, was announced at the ancient place of rendezvous, Oodipoor. To increase the solemnity of the occasion, and to banish all suspicion of treachery, as well as to extinguish ancient feuds, and reconcile chiefs who had never met but in hostility, it was unanimously agreed that the most sacred pledge of good faith, the *Noon-dab*,* or dipping the hand in the salt, should take place.

The entire body of the Sadhani lords, with all their retainers, met at the appointed time, as did nearly all the Raesilotes, excepting the joint chieftains of Khundaila, too deeply tainted with mutual distrust to take part in this august and national congress of all "the children of Shekhji." It was decided in this grand council, that all internal strife should cease; and that for the future, whenever it might occur, there should be no appeals to the arbitration of Jeipoor; but that on all such occasions, or where the general interests were endangered, a meeting should take place at "the Pass of Oodipoor," to deliberate and decide, but above all to repel by force of arms, if necessary, the further encroachments of the court. This unusual measure alarmed the court of Amber, and when oppression had generated the determined resistance, it disapproved and disowned the proceedings of its lieutenant who was superseded by Rora Ram, with orders to secure the person of his predecessor. His flight preserved him from captivity in the dungeons of Amber, but his estates, as well as those of the minister, his brother, were resumed, and all their property was confiscated.

The new commander, who was a tailor by caste, was ordered to follow the Huldia to the last extremity; for, in these regions, displaced ministers and rebels are identical. It was expected, if they did not lose their heads, to see them in opposition to the orders of their sovereign lord, whose slaves they had so lately proclaimed themselves; in fact, a rebel minister in Rajwarra, is like an ex-Tory or ex-Whig elsewhere, nor does restoration to the councils of his sovereign, perhaps in a few short months after he carried arms against him, plun-

* *Noon* or *loon* 'salt,' and *dabna*, 'to dip, bespatter, or sprinkle.'

dered his subjects, and carried conflagration in his towns, excite more than transient emotion. The new commander was eager to obtain the services of the assembled Shekhawuts against the Huldias, but experience had given them wisdom; and they not only exacted stipulations befitting their position, as the price of this aid, but, what was of more consequence, negotiated the conditions of their future-connexion with the lord-paramount.

The *first* article was the immediate restoration of the townships which the Huldia had seized upon, as Tooe, Gwala, &c.

The *second*, that the court should disavow all pretensions to exact tribute beyond what they had voluntarily stipulated, and which they would remit to the capital.

Third, that on no account should the armies of the court enter the lands of the confederation, the consequences of which had been so strongly marked in the atrocities at Khundaila.

Fourth, that the confederacy would furnish a contingent for the service of the court, which should be paid by the court while so employed.

The treaty being ratified through the intervention of the new commander, and having received in advance 10,000 rupees for their expenses, the chiefs with their retainers repaired to the capital, after paying homage to their liege lord, zealously set to work to execute its orders on the Huldia faction, who were dispossessed of their estates. But, as observed in the annals of the parent state, Jeipoor had obtained the distinction of the *jhoota durbar*, or 'lying court,' of the justness of which epithet it afforded an illustration in its conduct to the confederated chieftains, who soon discovered the difference between promises and performance. They had done their duty, but they obtained not one of the advantages for which they agreed to serve the court; and they had the mortification to see they had merely displaced the garrisons of the Huldia for those of Rora Ram. After a short consulation, they determined to seek themselves the justice that was denied them; accordingly, they assaulted in succession the towns occupied by Rora Ram's myrmidons, drove them out, and made them over to their original proprietors.

At the same time, the court having demanded the usual tribute from Nursing Das, which was always in arrear, he had the imprudence to stone the agent, who was a relation of the minister. He hastened to the Presence, "threw his turban at the Raja's feet," saying, he was dishonoured for ever. A mandate was instantaneously issued for the sequestration of Khundaila and the capture of Nursing, who bade his

liege lord defiance from his castle of Govindgurh: but his co-partner, Pertap Sing, having no just cause of apprehension, remained in Khundaila, which was environed by the Jeipoor troops under Assaram. His security was his ruin; but the wily Banyan (Assaram), who wished to seize at once the joint holders of the estate, offered no molestation to Pertap, while he laid a plot for the other. He invited his return, on the *buchun*, or 'pledge of safety,' of the Munohurpoor chief. Nursing did not hesitate for rank as was the character of his countrymen in these degenerate days, no Rajpoot had ever incurred the epithet of *Buchunchook*, tenfold more odious than that of murderer, and which no future action, however brilliant, could obliterate, even from his descendants to the latest posterity. On the faith of this *buchun*, Nursing came, and a mock negotiation was carried on for the arrears of tribute, and a time fixed for payment. Nursing returned to Khundaila, and Assaram broke up his camp and moved away. The crafty Banyan, having thus successfully thrown him off his guard, on the third day rapidly retraced his steps, and at midnight surrounded Nursing in his abode, who was ordered to proceed forthwith to the camp. Burning with indignation, he attempted self-destruction, but was withheld; and accompanied by a few Rajpoots who swore to protect or die with him, he joined Assaram to see the issue.

A simple plan was adopted to secure Pertap, and he fearlessly obeyed the summons Both parties remained in camp; the one was amused with a negotiation for his liberation on the payment of a fine; the other had higher hopes; and in the indulgence of both their vassals relaxed in vigilance. While they were at dinner, a party planted in ambuscade rushed out, and before they could seize their arms, made captive both the chiefs. They were pinioned like felons, put into a covered carriage, despatched under the guard of five hundred men to the capital, and found apartments ready for them in the state-prison of Amber. It is an axiom with these people, that the end sanctifies the means; and the prince and his minister congratulated each other on the complete success of the scheme. Khundaila was declared *khalisa* (fiscal), and garrisoned by five hundred men from the camp, while the inferior feudatories, holding estates detached from the capital, were received on terms, and even allowed to hold their fiefs on the promise that they did not disturb the sequestrated lands.

CHAPTER VII.

Bagh Sing opposes the faithless court of Amber.—He is joined by the celebrated George Thomas.—Desperate action.—Bagh Sing placed in the fortified palace at Khundaila.—His garrison, with his brother, slain by Hunwunt Sing, son of Pertap.—Bagh regains the palace.—The lands of Khundaila farmed by Amber to two Brahmins. They are expelled by the feudatory Barwuttias, *who resist the court.—They become a banditti.—Singram Sing, cousin to Pertap, their leader.—He avoids the treachery of the court.—His death.—The confederacy unite in the league against Jodpoor.—New treaty with the Amber court.—Liberation of Pertap and Nursing.—Grand union of the Shekhawuts.—Abhe Sing succeeds in Khundaila.—Treachery of the court.—Hunwunt regains Govindgurh, Khundaila &c.—Restoration of Khooshialiram to the ministry of Jeipoor.—New investitures granted to the feudatories of Khundaila.—Abhe and Pertap inducted into their ancestral abodes.—Incident illustrative of the defects of the Rajpoot feudal system.—Khundaila assailed by Luchman Sing, chief of Seekur.—Gallant defence of Hunwunt. His death.—Surrender of Khundaila to Luchman Sing.—The co-heirs exiled.—Power and influence of Luchman Sing.—Foils the designs of the Purohit. Present attitude of Luchman Sing.—Subordinate branches of the Shekhawuts.—The Sadhanis.—Their territories wrested from the Kaimkhanis and Rajpoots.—The Keytri branch of the family of Sadhoo attains superiority.—Bagh Sing of Keytri murders his own son.—The Larkhanis.—Revenues of Shekhavati.*

DEENARAM BOHRA was now (A. D. 1798-9) prime minister of Jeipoor, and he no sooner heard of the success of Assaram, than he proceeded to join him in person, for the purpose of collecting the tribute due by the Sadhani chiefs. Having formed a junction with Assaram at Oodipoor, they marched to Pursarampoor, a town in the heart of the Sadhanis, whence they issued commands for the tribute to be brought; to expedite which, the ministers sent *dhoos** to all the townships of

* *Dhoos* is an expedient to hasten the compliance of a demand from a dependent. A party of horse proceeds to the township, and are commanded to receive so much per day till the exaction is complied with. If the *dhoos* is refused, it is considered tantamount to an appeal to arms

the confederacy. This insulting process irritated the Sadhanis to such a degree that they wrote to Deenaram to withdraw his parties instantly, and retrace his steps to Jhoonjoonoo, or abide the consequences; declaring, if he did so, that the collective tribute, of which ten thousand was then ready, would be forthcoming. All had assented to this arrangement but Bagh Sing, brother of the captive prince of Khundaila, who was so incensed at the faithless conduct of the court, after the great service they had so recently performed, that he determined to oppose by force of arms this infraction of their charter, which declared the inviolability of the territory of the confederation so long as the tribute was paid. He was joined by five hundred men of Keytri, with which having levied contributions at Singhana and Futtehpoor from the traitorous lord of Seekur, he invited to their aid the celebrated George Thomas, then carving out his fortunes amongst these discordant political elements. Nearly the whole of the Jeipoor mercenary and feudal army was embodied on this occasion, and although far superior in numbers to the confederation, yet the presence of Thomas and his regulars more than counterpoised their numerical inferiority. The attack of Thomas was irresistible; the Jeipoor lines led by Rora Ram gave way, and lost several pieces of artillery. To redeem what the cowardice and ill conduct of the general in chief had lost, chieftain of Chomoo formed a *gole* or dense band of the feudal chivalry, which he led in person against Thomas's brigade, charging to the mouths of his guns. His object, the recovery of the guns, was attained with great slaughter on each side. The Chomoo chief (Runjeet Singh) was desperately wounded, Buhadur Sing, Pahar Sing, chiefs of the Khangarote clans, with many others, were slain by discharges of grape; the guns were retrieved, and Thomas and his auxiliaries were deprived of a victory and ultimately compelled to retreat.*

The captive chiefs of Khundaila deemed this revolt and union of their countrymen favourable to their emancipation, and addressed them to this effect. A communication was made to the discomfited Rora Ram, who promised his influence, provided an efficient body of Raesilotes joined his camp, and, by their services seconded their requests. Bagh Sing was selected; a man held in high esteem by both parties,

* Franklin, in his life of George Thomas, describes this battle circumstantially; but makes it appear an affair of the Jeipoor court, with Thomas and the Mahrattas, in which the Shekhawuts are not mentioned. Thomas gives the Rajpoot chivalry full praise for their gallant bearing.—Memoir of George Thomas P. 109.

and even the court manager of Khundaila found it necessary to retain his services, as it was by his influence only over his unruly brethern that he was enabled to make anything of the new fiscal lands. For this purpose, and to preserve the point of honour, the manager permitted Bagh Sing to remain in the forfeited palace of Khundaila, with a small party of his brethern: but on being selected to lead the quotas of his countrymen with the court commander, he left his younger brother, Luchman Sing, as his deputy.

No sooner did it reach the ears of Hunwunt Sing of Sillede, son of the captive Pertap, that Bagh Sing had joined the army, than in the true spirit of these relentless feuds, he determined to attempt the castle. As soon as the darkness of night favoured his design, he hastened its accomplishment, escaladed it, and put the unprepared garrison to the sword. Intelligence of this event reached Bagh Sing at Ranolli, who instantly countermarched, and commenced the assault, into which even the towns people entered heartily, inspired as they were with indignation at the atrocious murder of the young chief. The day was extremely hot; the defendants fought for their existence, for their leader could not hope for mercy. The assailants were served with the best food; such as the enthusiasm, that even the women forgot their fears, and cheered them on as the ladders were planted against the last point of defence. Then the white flag was displayed, and the gate opened, but the murderer had fled.

Manji Das succeeded Deenaram as minister of Jeipoor, and Rora Ram, notwithstanding his disgraceful defeat and the lampoons of the bards, continued to be collector of the Shekhawut tribute, and farmed the fiscal lands of Khundaila to a Brahmin for twenty thousand rupees annually. This Brahmin, in conjunction with another speculative brother, had taken a lease of the *Mapa Rahdari*, or town and transit duties at Jeipoor, which having been profitable, they now agreed to take on lease the sequestrated lands of Khundaila Having not only fulfilled their contract the first year, but put money in their pocket, they renewed it for two more. Aided by a party of the *Sillehposhians* of the court, the minister of religion shewed he was no messenger of peace, and determined to make the most of his ephemeral power, he not only levied contributions on the yet independent feudatories, but attacked those who resisted, and carried several of their castles sword in hand. The brave "sons of Raesil," could not bear this new mark of contumely and bad faith of the court,—"to be made the sport of a tailor and a Brahmin," —and having received intimation from the captive chiefs that

there was no hope of their liberty, they at once threw away the scabbard, and commenced a scene of indiscriminate vengeance, which the Rajpoot often has recourse to when urged to despair. They at once assailed Khundaila, and in spite of the resistance of seven thousand *Dadoopuntis*, dispossessed the Purohit, and sacked it. Then advancing with the Jeipoor domains, they spread terror and destruction, pillaging even the estates of the queen. Fresh troops were sent against them, and after many actions the confederacy was broken up. The Ranolli chief and others of the elder branches made their peace, but the younger branches fled from the country, and obtained *sirna* (sanctuary) and subsistence in Marwar and Bikaner: Singram Sing of Soojawas (cousin to Pertap) sought the former Bagh Sing and Sooruj Sing the latter, whose prince gave them lands. There they abode in tranquillity for a time, looking to that justice from the prince which tributary collectors knew not; but when apathy and neglect mistook the motive of this patient suffering, he was roused from his indifference to the fate of the brave *Barwutteas*, by the tramp of their horses' feet even at the gates of his capital.

Singram Sing headed the band of exiles, which spread fear and desolation over a great portion of Dhoondar. In many districts they established *rekwalli*;* and wherever they succeeded in surprising a *thanna* (garrison) of their liege lord, they cut it up without mercy. They, sacked the town of Kho, within a few miles of the city of Jeipoor, from under whose walls they carried off horses to mount their gang. Animated by successful revenge, and the excitement of a life so suited to the Rajpoot, Singram became the leader of a band of several hundred horse, bold enough to attempt anything. Complaints for redress poured in upon the court from all quarters, to which a deaf ear might have been turned, had they not been accompanied with applications for reduction of rent. The court at length, alarmed at this daring desperado, made overtures to him through Shiam Sing, Sadhani, the chief of Bussao, on whose *buchun* (pledge) consented to appear before his liege lord. As soon as he arrived under the walls of the city, his cavalcade was surrounded by all classes, but particularly the Sikh mercenaries, all of whom recognized their property, some a horse, some a camel, others arms, &c.; but none durst advance a claim to their own, so daring was their attitude and so guarded their condrct. The object of the minister was to secure the person of Singram,

* The *salvamenta*, or black-mail of our own feudal system

regardless of the infamy which would attach to the chief who, at his desire, had pledged himself for his safety. But Shiam Sing, who had heard of the plot, gave Singram warning. In forty-eight hours, intelligence reached the court that Singram was in Tuarvati, and that joined by the Tuars and Larkhanis, he was at the head of one thousand horse. He now assailed the large fiscal towns of his prince; contributions were demanded, and if they could not be complied with, he carried off in *ole* (hostage) the chief citizens, who were afterwards ransomed. If a delay occurred in furnishing either, the place was instantly given over to pillage, which was placed upon a body of camels. The career of this determined *Barwuttia* was at length closed. He had surrounded the town of Madhupoor, the estate of one of the queens, when a ball struck him in the head. His body was carried to Ranolli and burnt, and he had his cenotaph amongst the *Joojars* (those slain in battle) of his fathers. The son of Singram succeeded to the command and the revenge of his father, and he continued the same daring course, until the court restored his patrimony of Soojawas. Such were the tumultuous proceedings in Shekhavati, when an event of such magnitude occurred as to prove an epoch in the history of Rajpootana, and which not only was like oil effused upon their afflictions, but made them prominent to their own benefit in the transaction.

That grand international war, ostensibly for the hand of the Helen of Rajwarra, was on the point of bursting forth. The opening scene was in Shekhavati, and the actors chiefly Sadhanis. It will be recollected, that though this was but the underplot of a tragedy, chiefly got up for the deposal of Raja Maun of Jodpoor, in favour of Dhonkul Sing, Rae-Chund was then Dewan, or prime minister, of Jeipoor; and to forward his master's views for the hand of Kishna, supported the cause of the pretender.

The minister sent his nephew, Kirparam, to obtain the aid of the Shekhawuts, who appointed Kishen Sing as interpreter of their wishes, while the *Kher* assembled at the "Pass of Oodipoor." There a new treaty was formed, the main article of which was the liberation of their chieftains, the joint Rajas of Khundaila, and the renewal of the ancient stipulations regarding the non-interference of the court in their internal arrangements, so long as they paid the regulated tribute, Kishen Sing, the organ of the confederation, together with Kirparam, left the assembly for the capital, where they soon returned with their ratification of their wishes. On those conditions ten thousand of the sons of Shekhji were embodied, and ready to accompany their lord-paramoun

wherever he might lead them, receiving *paiti*, or subsistence, while out of their own lands.

These preliminaries settled, Shiam Sing Champawut (nephew of the Pokurn chief) with Kirparam repaired to Keytri, whence they conveyed the young pretender, Dhonkul Sing, to the camp of the confederates. They were met by a deputation headed by the princess Anundi Kowur (daughter of the late Raja Pertap, and one of the widows of Raja Bheem of Marwar, father of the pretender), who received the boy in her arms as the child of her adoption, and forthwith returned to the capital, where the army was forming for the invasion of Marwar.

It moved to Katoo, ten coss from Khundaila, where they waited the junction of the Bikaner Raja and other auxiliaries. The Shekhawut lords here sent in their imperative demand for the liberation of the sons of Raesil. "that they might march under a leader of their own, equal in celebrity to the proudest of that assembled host." Evasion was dangerous; and in a few days their chiefs were formally delivered to them. Even the self-abdicated Bindiabun could not resist this general appeal to arms. The princes encamped in the midst of their vassals, nor was there ever such a convocation of 'the sons of Shekhji:' Raesilotes, Shadhanis, Bhojanis, Larkhanis, and even the *Barwuttias*, flocked around the 'the yellow banner of Raesil.' The accounts of the expedition are elsewhere narrated, and we shall only add that the Shekhawuts participated in all its glory and all its disgrace, and lost both Rao Nursing and his father ere they returned to their own lands.

Abhe Sing, the son of Nursing succeeded, and conducted the contingent of his countrymen until the ill-starred expedition broke up, when they returned to Khundaila. But the faithless court had no intention of restoring the lands of Khundaila. Compelled to look about for a subsistence, with one hundred and fifty horse, they went to Raja Buktawur Sing of Macherri; but he performed the duties of kindred and hospitality so meanly, that they only remained a fortnight. In this exigence, Pertap and his son repaired to the Mahratta leader, Bapoo Sindia, at Dewnsa, while Hunwunt, in the ancient spirit of his race, determined to attempt Govindgurh. In disguise, he obtained the necessary information, assembled sixty of his resolute clansmen, whom he concealed at dusk in a ravine, whence, as soon as silence proclaimed the hour was come, he issued, ascended the well-known path, planted his ladders, and cut down the sentinels ere the garrison was alarmed. It was soon mastered, several being killed and the rest turned out. The well-known beat of the Raesilote *nakarras* awoke the

Larkhanis, Neenas, and all the Rajpoots in the vicinity, who immediately repaired to the castle. In a few weeks the gallant Hunwunt was at the head of two thousand men, prepared to act offensively against his faithless liege lord. Khundaila and all the adjacent towns surrendered, their garrisons flying before the victors, and Khoshial Daroga, a name of note in all the intrigues of the *durbar* of that day, carried to court the tidings of his own disgrace, which, his enemies took care to proclaim arose from his cupidity: for though he drew pay and rations for a garrison of one hundred men, he only had thirty. Accompanied by Ruttun Chund, with two battalions and guns, and reproaches of his sovereign, he was commanded at his peril to recover Khundaila. The gallant Hunwunt disdained to await the attack, but advanced outside the city to meet it, drove Khoshial back, and had he not in the very moment of victory been wounded, while the Larkhanis hung behind, would have totally routed them. Hunwunt was compelled to retreat within the walls, where he stood two assaults, in one of which he slew thirty *Sillehposh*, or men in armour, the body-guard of the prince; but the only water of the garrison being from *tankas* (reservoirs), he was on the point of surrendering at discretion, when an offer of five townships being made, he accepted the towns.

Another change took place in the ministry of Amber at this period; and Khooshialiram, at the age of fourscore and four years, was liberated from the state-prison of Amber, and once more entrusted with the administration of the government. This hoary-headed politician, who, during more than half a century, had alternately met the frowns and the smiles of his prince, at this the extreme verge of existence, entered with all the alacrity of youth into the tortuous intrigues of office, after witnessing the removal of two prime ministers, his rivals, who resigned power and life together.' Khooshialiram had remained incarcerated since the reign of Raja Pertap, who, when dying, left three injunctions; the first of which was that the Bohra (his caste) should never be enfranchised; but if in evil hour his successor should be induced to liberate him "he should be placed uncontrolled at the head of affairs."*

When this veteran politician, whose biography would fill

* The second injunction was to keep the office of Foujdar, or commander of the forces, in the family of Simboo Sing, Googawut, a tribe always noted for their fidelity, and like the Mairteas of Marwar, even a blind fidelity, to the *gadi*, whoever was the occupant. The third injunction is left blank in my manuscript.

a volume,* succeeded to the helm at Jeipoor, a solemn deputation of the principal Shekhawut chieftains repaired to the capital, and begged that through his intercession they might be restored to the lands of their forefathers. The Bohra, who had always kept up, as well from sound principle as from personal feeling, a good understanding with the feudality, willingly became their advocate with his sovereign, to whom he represented that the defence of the state lay in a willing and contended vassalage: for, notwithstanding their disobedience and turbulence, they were always ready, when the general weal was threatened, to support it with all their power. He appealed to the late expedition, when ten thousand of the children of Shekhji were embodied in his cause, and what was a better argument, he observed, the Mahrattas had only been able to prevail since their dissensions amongst themselves. The Bohra was commanded to follow his own good will and pleasure: and having exacted an engagement, by which the future tribute of the Raesilotes was fixed at sixty thousand rupees annually, and the immediate payment of a *nuzzerana* of forty thousand, fresh *puttas* of investiture were made out for Khundaila and its dependencies. There are so many conflicting interests in all these courts, that it by no means follows that obedience which runs on the heels of command; even though the orders of the prince were countersigned by the minister, the *Nagas*, who formed the garrison of Khundaila, and the inferior fiefs, shewed no disposition to comply. The gallant Hunwunt, justly suspecting the Bohra's good faith, proposed to the joint Rajas a *coup de main*, (a sudden enterprise) which he volunteered to lead. They had five hundred retainers amongst them; of these Hunwunt selected twenty of the most intrepid, and repaired to Oodigurh, to which he gained admission as a messenger from himself; twenty more were at his heels, who also got in, and the rest rapidly following, took post at the gateway. Hunwunt then disclosed himself, and presented the fresh *putta* of Khundaila to the Nagas, who still hesitating to obey, he drew his sword, when seeing that he was determined to succeed or perish.

* His first act, after his emancipation from the dungeons of Amber, was the delicate negotiation at Dhonee, the castle of Chand Sing, Googawut. He died at Busswah, 22nd April 1812, on his return from Macherri to Jeipoor, where he had been unsuccessfully attempting a reconciliation between the courts. It will not be forgotten that the independence of the *Narooca* chief in Macherri had been mainly achieved by the Bohra, who was originally the *homme d'affaires* of the traitorous Narooca.

they reluctantly withdrew, and Abhe and Pratap were once more inducted into the dilapidated abodes of their ancestors. The adversity they had undergone, added to their youth and inexperience, made them both yield a ready acquiescence to the advice of their kinsman, to whose valour and conduct they owed the restoration of their inheritence, and the ancient feuds, which were marked on every stone of their castellated *mahls*, were apparently appeased.

Shortly after this restoration, the Shekhawut contingents were called out to serve against the common enemy of Rajpootana the notorious Meer Khan, whose general, Mahomed Shah Khan, was closely blockaded in the fortress of Bhomgurh, near Tonk by the whole strength of Jeipoor, commanded by Rao Chand Sing of Dhoonee. An incident occurred, while the siege was approaching a successful conclusion, which well exemplifies the incorrigible imperfections of the feudal system, either for offensive or defensive operations. This incident, trivial as it is in its origin, proved a death-blow to these unfortunate princes, so long the sport of injustice, and appears destined to falsify the *dhom*, who prophecied, on the anceptance of his self-sacrifice, that seven successive generations of his issue should occupy the *gadi* of Khundaila. In the disorderly proceedings of this feudal array, composed of all the quotas of Amber, a body of Shekhawuts had sacked one of the townships of Tonk, in which a Googawut inhabitant was slain, and his property plundered, in the indiscriminate pell-mell. The son of the Googawut instantly carried his complaints to the besieging general, Chand Sing, the head of his clan, who gave him a party of the *Sillehposh* (men in armour) to recover his property. The Shekhawuts resisted, and reinforced their party; Chand Singh did the same; the Khundaila chiefs repaired in person, accompanied by the whole confederacy, with the exception of Seekur; and the Googawut chief, who had not only the ties of clanship, but the dignity of commander-in-chief, to sustain, sent every man he could spare from the blockade. Thus nearly the whole feudal array of Amber was collected round a few *hakeries* (carts), ready to cut each other to pieces for *the point of honour*: neither would relinquish the claim, and swords were already drawn, when the Khangarote chief stepped between them as peace-maker, and proposed an expedient which saved the honour of both, namely, that the plundered property should be permitted to proceed to its destination, the Khundaila prince's quarters, who should transmit it, "*of his own accord*," to the commander-in-chief of the army. The Shekhawuts assented; the havoc was prevented; but the pride of Chand Sing was hurt, who saw in this conces-

sion to the commander of the army, but none to the leader of the Googawuts.

Luchman Sing, the chief of Seekur, who, as before stated, was the only Shekhawut who kept aloof from the affray, saw the moment was arrived for the accomplishment of his long-concealed desire to be lord of Khundaila, The siege of Bhomgurh being broken up, in consequence of these dissensions and the defection of the confederate Shekhawuts, the Seekur chief no sooner saw them move by the circuitous route of the capital, than he marched directly for his estates, and throwing aside all disguise, attacked Seessoh, which by an infamous stratagem he secured, by inveigling the commandant, the son of the late Bohra minister. Then making overtures to the enemy, against whom he had just been fighting, for the sum of *two lakhs* of rupees, he obtained a brigade of the mercenary Pathans, under their leaders Munnoo and Mahtab Khan, the last of whom, but a few days before, had entered into a solemn engagement with Hunwunt, as manager for the minor princes, to support whose cause, and to abstain from molesting their estates, he had received fifty thousand rupees! Such nefarious acts were too common at that period even to occasion remark, far less reprehension.

The gallant Hunwunt now prepared for the defence of the lands which his valour had redeemed. His foeman made a lavish application of the wealth, which his selfish policy had acquired, and Rewasso and other fiefs were soon in his possession. The town of Khundaila, being open, soon followed, but the castle held out sufficiently long to enable him to strengthen and provision Kote, which he determined to defend to the last. Having withstood the attacks of the enemy, during three weeks, in the almost ruined castle, he sallied out sword in hand, and gained Kote, where he assembled all those yet faithful to the family, and determined to stand or fall with the last stronghold of Khundaila. The other chiefs of the confederation beheld with indignation this unprovoked and avaricious aggression on the minor princes of Khundaila, not only because of its abstract injustice, but of the undue aggrandizement of this inferior branch of the Raesilotes, and the means employed, namely, the common enemy of their country. Many leagued for its prevention but some were bribed by the offer of a part of the domain, and those who were too virtuous to be corrupted, found their intentions defeated by the necessity of defending their own homes against the detachments of Meer Khan, sent by desire of Seekur to neutralize their efforts. The court was steeled against all remonstrance, from the unhappy rupture at Bhom-

gurh, the blockade of which, it was represented, was broken by the conduct of the followers of Khundaila.

Hunwunt and some hundreds of his brave clansmen were thus left to their own resources. During three months, they defended themselves in a position outside the castle, when a general assault was made on his intrenchments. He was advised to retreat into the castle, but he nobly replied, "Khundaila is gone for ever, if we are reduced to shelter ourselves behind walls;" and he called upon his brethern to repel the attack or perish. Hunwunt cheered on his kinsmen, who charged the battalions sword in head, drove them from their guns, and completely cleared the intrenchments. But the enemy returned to the conflict, which lasted from morn until nightfall. Another sortie was made; again the enemy was ignominously dislodged, but the gallant Hunwunt, leading his men to the very muzzle of the guns, received a shot which ended his career. The victory remained with the besieged, but the death of their leader disconcerted his clansmen, who retired within the fort. Five hundred of the mercenary Pathans and men of Seekur (a number equal to the whole of the defenders) accompanied to the shades of the last intrepid Raesilote of Khundaila.

The next morning, an armistice for the removal of the wounded and obsequies of the dead was agreed to, during which terms were offered, and refused by the garrison. As soon as the death of Hunwunt was known, the Oodipoor chief, who from the first had upheld the cause of justice, sent additional aid both in men and supplies; and had the Keytri chief been at his estate, the cause would have been further supported; but he was at court, and had left orders with his son to act according to the advice of the chief of Bussao, who had been gained over to the interests of Seekur by the bribe of participation in the conquered lands. Nevertheless, the garrison held out, under every privation, for five weeks longer, their only sustenance at length begin a little Indian corn introduced by the exertions of individual *Meenas.* At this extremity, an offer being made of ten townships, they surrendered. Pertap Sing took his share of this remnant of his patrimony, but his co-heir Abhe Sing inherited too much of Raesil's spirit to degrade himself by owing aught to his criminal vassal and kinsman. It would have been well for Pertap had he shewn the same spirit; for Luchman Sing, now lord of Khundaila, felt too acutely the injustice of his success, to allow the rightful heir to remain upon his patrimony; and he only allowed sufficient time to elapse for the consolidation, of his acquisition, before he expelled the young prince.

Both the co-heirs, Abhe Sing and Pertap, now reside at Jhoonjoonoo, where each receives five rupees a day, from a joint purse made for them by the Sadhanis, nor at present* is there a ray of hope of their restoration to Khundaila.

In 1814, when Misr Sheonarain, then minister of Jeipoor, was involved in great pecuniary difficulties, to get rid of the importunities of Meer Khan, he cast his eyes towards the Seekur chief, who had long been desirous to have his usurpation sanctioned by the court; and it was stipulated that on the payment of nine lakhs of rupees (*viz.*, five from himself, with the authority and force of Jeipoor to raise the rest from the Sadhanis), he should receive the *putta* of investiture of Khundaila. Meer Khan, the mutual agent on this occasion, was then at Ranolli, where Luchman Sing met him and paid the amount, receiving his receipt, which exchanged for the grant under the great seal.

Immediately after, Luchman Sing proceeded to court, and upon the further payment of one year's tribute in advance, henceforth fixed at fifty-seven thousand rupees, he received from the hands of his liege-lord, the Raja Juggut Sing, the *khelat* of investiture. Thus, by the ambition of Seekur, the cupidity of the court, and the jealousies and avarice of the Sadhanis, the birth, right of the lineal heirs of Raesil was alienated.

Luchman Sing, by his talents and wealth, soon established his influence at the court of his sovereign; but the jealousy which this excited in the Purohit minister of the day very nearly lost him his dearly-bought acquisition. It will be recollected that a Brahmin obtained the lease of the lands of Khundaila, and that for his extortion, he was expelled with disgrace. He proceeded, however, in his career of ambition; subverted the influence of his parton Shoenarain Misr, forcing him to commit suicide, ruined the prospects of his son, and by successful and daring intrigue established himself in the ministerial chair of Amber. The influence of Luchman Sing, who was consulted on all occasions, gave him umbrage, and he determined to get rid of him. To drive him into opposition to his sovereign was his aim, and to effect this there was no better method than to sanction an attack upon Khundaila. The Sadhanis, whose avarice and jealousies made them overlook their true interests, readily united to the troops of the court, and Khundaila was besieged. Luchman Sing, on this occasion, shewed he was no common character. He tranquilly abided the issue at Jeipoor, thus neutralizing

* This was written in 1813 14.

the malignity of the Purohit, while, to ensure the safety of Khundaila, a timely supply of money to the partizan, Jumsheed Khan, brought his battalions to threaten the Purohit in his camp. Completely foiled by the superior tact of Luchman Sing, the Brahmin was compelled to abandon the undertaking and to return to the capital, where his anger made him throw aside the mask, and attempt to secure the person of his enemy. The Seekur chief had a narrow escape; he fled with fifty horse, hotly pursued by his adversary, while his effects, and those of his partizans (amongst whom was the Samote chief) were confiscated. The Sadhanis, led by the chiefs of Keytri and Bussao, even after the Purohit had left them, made a bold attempt to capture Khundaila which was defeated, and young Abhe Sing, who was made a puppet on the occasion, witnessed the last defeat of his hopes.

If necessity or expediency could palliate or justify such nefarious acts, it would be shewn in the good consequences that have resulted from evil. The discord and bloodshed produced by the partition of authority between the sons of Bahadur Sing are now at an end. Luchman Sing is the sole tyrant in Khundaila, and so long as the system which he has established is maintained, he may laugh at the efforts, not only of the Sadhanis, but of the court itself, to supplant him.

• Let us, in a few words, trace the family of Luchman Sing. It will be recollected that Raesils the first Raja amongst the sons of Shekhji, had seven sons, the fourth of whom, Tirmul (who obtained the title of Rao), held Kasulli and its eighty-four townships in appanage. His son, Hurree Sing, wrested the district of Bilara, with its one hundred and twenty-five townships, from the Kaimkhanis of Futtehpoor, and shortly after, twenty-five more from Rewasso. Seo Sing, the son of Hurree, captured Futtehpoor itself, the chief abode of the Kaimkhanis, where he established himself. His son, Chand Sing, founded Seekur, whose lineal descendant, Devi Sing, adopted Luchman Sing, son of his near kinsman, the Shappoora *thakoor*. The estates of Seekur were in admirable order when Luchman succeeded to his uncle, whose policy was of the exterminating sort. Luchman improved upon it; and long before he acquired Khundaila, had demolished all the castles of his inferior feudatories, not even sparing that of Shahpoora, the place of his nativity, as well as Bilara, Buthotie, and Kasulli; and so completely did he allow the ties of adoption to supersede those of blood, that his own father preferred exile, to living under a son who, covered with "the turban of Seekur," forgot the author of his life, and retired to Jodpoor.

Luchman Sing has now a compact and improving country, containing five hundred towns and villages, yielding a revenue of eight lakhs of rupees. Desirous of transmitting his name to posterity, he erected the castle of Luchmangurh,* and has fortified many other strongholds, for the defence of which he has formed a little army, which, in these regions, merits the title of regulars, consisting of eight battalions of *alligole*, armed with matchlocks, with a brigade of guns to each battalion. He has besides an efficient cavalry, consisting of one thousand horse, half of which are *bargeers*, or stipendiary; the other half *jagheerdars*, having lands assigned for their support. With such means, and with his ambition, there is very little doubt that, had not the alliance of his liege lord of Amber with the English government put a stop to the predatory system, he would, by means of the same worthy allies by whose aid he obtained Khundaila,† before this time have made himself supreme in Shekhavati.

Having thus brought to a conclusion the history of the princes of Khundaila, we shall give a brief account of the other branches of the Shekhawuts, especially the most powerful, the Sadhani.

The Sadhanis are descended from Bhojraj, the third son of Raesil, and in the division of fiefs amongst his seven sons obtained Oodipoor and its dependencies. Bhojraj had a numerous issue, styled Bhojani, who arrogated their full share of importance in the infancy of the confederacy, and in process of time, from some circumstance not related, perhaps the mere advantage of locality, their chief city became the *rendezvous* for the great council of the federation, which is still in the defile of Oodipoor.‡

Several generations subsequent to Bhojraj, Jugram succeeded to the lands of Oodipoor. He had six sons, the eldest of whom, Sadhoo, quarrelled with his father, on some cere-

* Luchmangurh, or "the castle of Luchman," situated upon a lofty mountain, was erected in S. 1862, or A. D. 1806, though probably on the ruins of some more ancient fortress. It commands a most extensive prospect, and is quite a beacon in that country, studded with hill-castles. The town is built on the model of Jeipoor, with regular streets intersecting each other at right angles, in which there are many wealthy merchants, who enjoy perfect security.

† Khundaila is said to have derived its name from the *Khokur* Rajpoot. The Khokur is often mentioned in the Bhatti Annals, whom I have supposed to be the Ghuker, who were certainly Indo-Scythic. Khundaila has four thousand houses, and eighty villages dependent on it.

‡ The ancient name of Oodipoor is said to be Kaes; in contains three thousand houses, and has forty-five villages attached to it, divided into four portions.

monial connected with the celebration of the military festival, the *dosserah*,* and quitting the paternal roof, sought for his fortunes abroad. At this time, almost all the tract now inhabited by the Sadhanis was dependent on Futtehpoor (Jhoonjoonoo), the residence of a Nawab of the Kaimkhani tribe of Afghans, who held it as a fief of the empire. To him Sadhoo repaired, and was received with favour, and by his talents and courage rose in consideration, until he was eventually intrusted with the entire management of affairs. There are two accounts of the mode of his ulterior advancement: both may be correct. One is, that the Nawab, having no children, adopted young Sadhoo, and assigned to him Jhoonjoonoo and its eighty-four dependencies, which he retained on the Kaimkhani's death. The other, and less favourable though equally probable account, is that, feeling his influence firmly established, he hinted to his patron, that the township of——was prepared for his future residence, where he should enjoy a sufficient pension, as he intended to retain possession of his delegated authority. So completely had he supplanted the Kaimkhani, that he found himself utterly unable to make a party against the ungrateful Shekhawut. He therefore fled from Jhoonjoonoo to Futtehpoor, the other division of his authority, or at least one of his own kin, who espoused his cause, and prepared to expel the traitor from Jhoonjoonoo. Sadhoo, in this emergency, applied to his father, requesting him to call upon his brethren, as it was a common cause. The old chief, who, in his son's success, forgave and forgot the conduct which made him leave his roof, instantly addressed another son, then serving with his liege lord, the Mirza Raja Jey Sing, in the imperial army, to obtain succour for him; and some regular troops with guns were immediately despatched to reinforce young Sadhoo and maintain his usurpation, which was accomplished, and moreover Futtehpoor was added to Jhoonjoonoo. Sadhoo bestowed the former with its dependencies, equal in value to his own share, on his brother, for his timely aid, and both, according to previous stipulation, agreed to acknowledge their obligations to the Raja by an annual tribute and *nuzzerana* on all lapses, as lord-paramount. Sadhoo soon after wrested Singhana, containing one hundred and twenty-five villages, from another branch of the Kaimkhanis; Sooltano, with its *chourasi* or divisions of eighty-four townships from the Gor Rajpoots; and Keytri and its dependencies from the Tuars, the descendants of the ancient emperors of Delhi: so that, in process of time, he

* See Vol. I.

possessed himself of a territory comprising more than one thousand towns and villages. Shortly before his death, he divided the conquered lands amongst his five sons, whose descendants, adopting his name as the patronymic, are called Sadhani; *viz.* Zoorawur Sing, Kishen Sing, Nowul Sing, Kesuri Sing, and Pahar Sing.

Zoorawur Sing, besides the paternal and original estates, had, in virtue of primogeniture, the town of Chokeri and its twelve subordinate villages, with all the other emblems of state, as the elephants, palkees, &c.; and although the cupidity of the Keytri chief, the descendant of the second son, Kishen, has wrested the patrimony from the elder branch, who has now only Chokeri, yet the distinctions of birth are never lost in those of fortune, and the petty chief of Chokeri, with its twelve small townships, is looked upon as the superior of Abhe Sing, though the lord of five hundred villages.

The descendants of the other four sons, now the most distinguished of the Sadhanis, are,*

Abhe Sing of Keytri;
Shiam Sing of Bussao;
Gyan Sing of Nowulgurh; †
Shere Sing of Sooltano.

Besides the patrimonies assigned to the five sons of Sadhoo, he left the districts of Singhana, Jhoonjoonoo, and Soorujgurh (the ancient Oreecha), to be held in joint heirship by the junior members of his stock. The first, with its one hundred and twenty-five villages, has been usurped by Abhe Sing of Keytri, but the others still continue to be frittered away in sub-infeudations among this numerous and ever-spreading *frerage*.

Abhe Sing has assumed the same importance amongst the Shadhanis, that Luchman Sing has amongst the Raesilotes, and both by the same means, crime, and usurpation. The Seekur chief has despoiled his senior branch of Khundaila; and the Keytri chief has not only despoiled the senior, but also the junior, of the five branches of Sadhoo. The transaction which produced the last result, whereby the descendant of Shere Sing lost Sooltano, is so peculiarly atrocious, that it is worth relating, as a proof to what lengths the Rajpoot will go "to get land."

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* It must be borne in mind that this was written in 1814.

† Nowulgurh contains four thousand houses, environed by a *seher-*[illegible]. It is on a more ancient site called Roleani, whose old castle in ruins is to the south-east, and the new one midway between it and the town, built by Nowul Sing in S. 1802, or A. D. 1746.

Pahar Sing had an only son, named Bhopal, who being killed in an attempt on Loharoo, he adopted the younger son of his nephew, Bagh Sing of Keytri. On the death of his adopted father, the Sooltano chief, being too young to undertake the management of his fief in person, remained under the paternal roof. It would appear as if this alienation of political rights could also alienate affection and rupture all the ties of kindred, for his unnatural father embrued his hands in the blood of his own child, and annexed Sooltano to Keytri. But the monster grievously suffered for the deed, he became the scorn of his kinsmen, "who spit at him and threw dust on his head," until he secluded himself from the gaze of mankind. The wife of his bosom ever after refused to look upon him; she managed the estates for the surviving son, the present Abhe Sing. During twelve years that Bagh Sing survived, he never quitted his apartment in the castle of Keytri, until carried out to be burned, amidst the execrations and contempt of his kinsmen.

Larkhanis.—Having made the reader sufficiently acquainted with the genealogy of the Sadhanis, as well as of the Raesilotes, we shall conclude with a brief notice of the Larkhanis, which term, translated, "the beloved lords," ill-accords with their occupation, as the most notorious marauders in Rajpootana. *Larla* is a common infantine appellation, meaning 'beloved;' but whether the adjunct of *Khan* to this son of Raesil as well as to that of his youngest, Taj-khan (the crown of princes, was out of compliment to some other Mooslem saint, we know not. Larkhan conquered his own appanage, Dantah Ramgurh, on the frontiers of Marwar, then a dependency of Sambhur It is not unlikely that his father's influence at court secured the possession to him. Besides this district, they have the *tuppa* of Nosul, and altogether about eighty townships, including some held of the Rajas of Marwar and Bikaner, to secure their abstinence from plunder within their bounds The Larkhanis are a community of robbers; their name, like *Pindarri* and *Kuzzak*, is held in these regions to be synonimous with 'freebooter,' and as they can muster five hundred horse, their raids are rather formidable. Sometimes their nominal liege lords calls upon them for tribute, but being in a difficult country, and Ramgurh being a place of strength, they pay little regard to the call, unless backed by some of the mercenary partizans, such as Meer Khan, who contrived to get payment of arrears of tribute to the amount of the twenty thousand rupees.

Revenues.—We conclude this sketch with a rough statement of the revenues of Shekhavati, which might yield in peace

and prosperity, now for the first time beginning to beam upon them, from twenty-five to thirty lakhs of rupees; but at present they fall much short of this sum, and full one-half of the lands of the confederation are held by the chiefs of Seekur and Keytri:—

	Rupees
Luchman Sing, of Seekur, including Khundaila	8,00,000
Abhe Sing, of Keytri, including Kot-Pootli, given by Lord Lake	6,00,000
Shiam Sing of Bussao, including his brother Runjeet's share of 40,000, (whom he killed)	1,90,000
Gyan Sing of Nowulgurh, including Mundao, each fifty villages	70,000
Luchman Sing, Mayndsir, the chief sub-infeudation of Nowulgurh	30,000
Taen and its lands, divided amongst the twenty-seven great grandsons of Zoorawur Sing, eldest son of Sadhoo	1,00,000
Oodipoor-vati	1,00,000
Munohurpoor *	30,000
Larkhanis	1,00,000
Hur-ramjis	40,000
Girdhur-potas	40,000
Smaller estates	2,00,000
TOTAL ...	23,00,000

The tribute established by Jeipoor is as follows:—

	Rupees
Sadhanis	2,00,000
Khundaila	60,000
Futtehpoor	64,000
Oodipoor and Bubhye	22,000
Kasulli	4,000
TOTAL ...	3,50,000

Thus, supposing the revenues, as stated, at tewenty-three lakhs, to be near the truth, and the tribute at three and a half, it would be an assessment of one-seventh of the whole, which is a fair proportion, and a measure of justice which the British Government would do well to imitate.

* The Munohurpoor chief was put to death by Raja Juggut Sing (vide Madarri Lall's Journal of A. D. 1814), and his lands were sequestrated and partitioned amongst the confederacy: the cause, his inciting the *Rahtis* or *Rates* (an epithet for the proselyte Bhatti plunderers of Bhattiana) to invade and plunder the country.

CHAPTER VIII.

Reflections.—Statistics of Amber.—Boundaries.—Extent.—Population.—Number of townships.—Classification of inhabitants.—Soil.—Husbandry.—Products.—Revenues.—Foreign army.—The feudal levies.

WE have thus developed the origin and progress of Cuchwaha tribe, as well as its scions of Shekhavati and Macherri. To some, at least, it may be deemed no uninteresting object to trace in continuity the issue of a fugitive individual, spreading, in the course of eight hundred years over a region of fifteen thousand square miles; and to know that forty thousand of his flesh and blood have been marshalled in the same field, defending, sword in hand, their country and their prince. The name of 'country' carries with it a magical power in the mind of the Rajpoot. The name of his wife or his mistress must never be mentioned at all, nor that of his country but with respect, or his sword is instantly unsheathed. Of these facts, numerous instances abound in these Annals; yet does the ignorant *purdesi* (foreigner) venture to say there are no indigenous terms either for patriotism or gratitude in this country.

Boundaries and Extent.—The boundaries of Amber and its dependencies are best seen by an inspection of the Map. Its greatest breadth lies between Sambhur, touching the Marwar frontier on the west, and the town of Surout, on the Jat frontier, east. This line is one hundred and twenty British miles, whilst its greatest breadth from north to south, including Shekhavati, is one hundred and eighty. Its form is very irregular. We may, however estimate the surface of parent state, Dhoondhar or Jeipoor, at nine thousand five hundred square miles, and Shekhavati at five thousand four hundred; in all, fourteen thousand nine hundred square miles.

Population,—It is difficulty to determine with exactitude the amount of the population of this region; but from the best information, one hundred and fifty souls to the square mile would not be too great a proportion in Amber, and eighty in Shekhavati; giving an average of one hundred and twenty-four to the united area, which consequently contains 185,670; and when we consider the very great number of large towns in this region, it may not be above, but rather below, the truth. Dhoondhar, the parent country, is calculated

to contain four thousand townships, exclusive of *poorwas*, or hamlets, and Shekhavati about half that number, of which Luchman Sing of Seekur and Khundaila, and Abhe Sing of Keytri, have each about five hundred, or the half of the lands of the federation.

Classification of Inhabitants.—Of these population, it is still more difficult to classify its varied parts, although it may be asserted with confidence that the Rajpoots bear but a small ratio to the rest, whilst they may equal in number any individual class, except the aboriginal *Meenas*, who, strange to say, are still the most numerous. The following are the principal tribes, and the order in which they follow may be considered as indicative of their relative numbers. 1. Meenas; 2. Rajpoots; 3. Brahmins; 4. Banias; 5. Jats; 6. Dhakur, or Kirar (qu. *Cirata?*); 7. Goojurs.

Meenas.—The Meenas are subdivided into no less than thirty-two distinct clans or classes, but it would extend too much the annals to this state to distinguish them. Moreover, as they belong to every state in Rajwarra, we shall find a fitter occasion to give a general account of them. The immunities and privileges preserved to the Meenas best attest the truth of the original induction of the exiled prince of Nurwar to the sovereignty of Amber; and it is a curious fact, showing that such establishment must have been owing to adoption, not conquest, that this event was commemorated on every installation by a Meena of Kalikho marking with his blood the *teeka* of sovereignty on the forehead of the prince. The blood was obtained by incision of the great toe, and though, like many other antiquated usages, this has fallen into desuetude here (as has the same mode of inauguration of the Ranas by the Ondeva Bhils), yet both in the one case and in the other, there cannot be more convincing evidence that these now outcasts were originally the masters. The Meenas still enjoy the most confidential posts about the persons of the princes of Amber, having charge of the archives and treasure in Jeygurh; they guard his person at night, and have that most delicate of all trusts, the charge of the *rawula*, or seraglio. In the earlier stages of Cuchwaha power, these their primitive subjects had the whole insignia of state, as well as the person of the prince, committed to their trust; but presuming upon this privilege too far, when they insisted that, in leaving their bounds, he should leave these emblems, the *nakarra* and standards, with them, their pretensions were cancelled in their blood. The Meenas, Jats, and Kirars, are the principal cultivators, many of them holding large estates.

Jats.—The Jats nearly equal the Meenas in numbers.

as well as in extent of possessions, and are, as usual, the most industrious of all husbandmen.

Brahmins.—Of Brahmins, following secular as well as sacred employments, there are more in Amber than in any other state, in Rajwarra; from which we are not to conclude that her princes were more religious than their neighbours, but on the contrary, that they were greater sinners.

Rajpoots.—It is calculated that, even now, on an emergency, if a national war roused the patriotism of the Cuchwaha feudality, they could bring into the field thirty thousand of their kin and clan, or, to repeat their own emphatic phrase, "the sons of one father," which includes the Naroocas and the chiefs of the Shekhawut federation. Although the Cuchwahas, under their popular princes, as Pujoon, Raja Maun, and the Mirza Raja, have performed exploits as brilliant as any other tribes, yet they do not now enjoy the same reputation for courage as either the Rahtores or Haras. This may be in part accounted for by the demoralization consequent upon their proximity to the Mogul Court, and their participation in all its inervating vices; but still more from the degradations they have suffered from the Mahrattas, and to which their western brethren have been less exposed. Every feeling, patriotic or domestic, became corrupted whenever their pernicious influence prevailed.

Soil, husbandry products.—Dhoondhar contains every variety of soil, and the *khureef* and *rubbee*, or autumnal and spring crops, are of nearly equal importance. Of the former *bajra* predominates over *jooar*, and in the latter barley over wheat. The other grains, pulses, and vegetables, reared all over Hindusthan, are here produced in abundance, and require not to be specified. The sugar-cane used to be cultivated to a very great extent, but partly from extrinsic causes, and still more from its holding out such an allurement to the renters, the husbandman has been compelled to curtail this lucrative branch of agriculture; for although land fit for *eek* (cane) is let at four to six rupees beega, sixty have been exacted before it was allowed to be reaped. Cotton of excellent quality is produced in considerable quantities in various districts, as are indigo and other dyes common to India. Neither do the implements of husbandry or their application differ from those which have been described in this and various other works sufficiently well known.

Farming System.—It is the practice in this state, to farm its lands to the highest bidder; and the mode of farming is most pernicious to the interests of the estate, and the cultivating classes, both of whom it must eventually impoverish.

The farmers-general are the wealthy bankers and merchants, who make their offers for entire districts; these they under-let in *tuppas*, or subdivisions, the holders of which again subdivide them into Single villages, or even shares of a village. With the profits of all these persons, the expenses attending collections, quartering of *burkendases*, or armed police, are the poor *Bhomias* and Ryots saddled. Could they only know the point where exaction must stop, they would still have a stimulous to activity; but when the crops are nearly got in, and all just demands satisfied, they suddenly hear that a new renter has been installed in the district, having ousted the holder by some ten or twenty thousand rupees, and at the precise moment when the last toils of the husbandman were near completion. The renter has no remedy; he may go and "throw his turban at the door of the palace, and exclaim *dohae Raja Saheb*!" till he is weary, or marched off to the cutwal's *chabootra*, and perhaps fined for making a disturbance. Knowing, however, that there is little benefit to be derived from such a course, they generally submit, go through the whole accounts, make over the amount of the collections, and with the host of vultures in their train, who, never unprepared for such changes, have been making the most of their ephemeral power by battening on the hard earnings of the peasantry, retire for this fresh band of harpies to pursue a like course. Nay, it is far from uncommon for three different renters to come upon the same district in one season, or even the crop of one season, for five or ten thousand rupees, annulling the existing engagement, no matter how far advanced. Such *was* the condition of this estate; and when to these evils were superadded the exactions called *dind*, or *burrar*, forced contributions to pay those armies of robbers who swept the lands, language cannot exaggerate the extent of misery. The love of country must be powerful indeed which can enchain man to a land so misgoverned, so unprotected.

Revenues.—It is always a task of difficulty to obtain any correct account of the revenues of these states, which are ever fluctuating. We have now before us several schedules, both of past and present reigns, all said to be copied from the archives, in which the name of every district, together with its rent, town and transit duties, and other sources of income, are stated; but the details would afford little satisfaction, and doubtless the resident authorities have access to the fountain head. The revenues of Dhoondhar, of every description, fiscal, feudal, and tributary, or impost, are stated, in round numbers, at one crore of rupees, or about a million of pounds

sterling, which, estimating the difference of the price of labour, may be deemed equivalent to four times that sum in England. Since this estimate was made, there have been great alienations of territory, and no less than sixteen rich districts have been wrested from Amber by the Mahrattas, or her own rebel son, the Narooca chief of Macherri.

The following is the schedule of alienations :—

No.	District	Remarks
1.	Kamah	Taken by General Perron, for his master India; since rented to the Jats, and retained by them.
2.	Khori	
3.	Pahari	
4.	Kanti	Seized by the Macherri Rao
5.	Ookrode	
6.	Pundapun	
7.	Gazi-ca-thana	
8.	Rampoora (kirda)	
9.	Gaonrie	
10.	Rinnie	
11.	Purbainie	
12.	Mozpoor Hursana	
13.	Kanorh or Kanound*	Taken by De Boigne and given to Morteza Khan, Baraitch, confirmed in them by Lord Lake.
14.	Narnol	
15.	Kotpootlee	Taken in the war of 1803-4, from the Mahrattas, and given by Lord Lake to Abhe Sing of Keytri.
16.	Tonk	Granted to Holcar by Raja Madhu Sing, confirmed in sovereignty to Meer Khan by Lord Hastings.
17.	Rampoora.	

It must, however, be borne in mind, that almost all these alienated districts had but for a comparatively short period formed an integral portion of Dhoondhar; and that the major part were portions of the imperial domians, held in *jaedad* or 'assignment,' by the princes of this country, in their capacity of lieutenants of the emperor. In Raja Prithwi Sing's reign about half a century ago, the rent-roll of Amber and her tributaries was seventy-seven lakhs: and in a very minute schedule formed in S. 1858 (A. D. 1802), the last year of the reign of Raja Pertab Sing, they were estimated at seventy-nine lakhs: an ample revenue, if well administered, for every object. We shall present the chief items which form the budget of ways and means of Amber.

* Kanorh was the fief of Ameer Sing, Khangarote, one of the twelve great lords of Amber.

Schedule of the Revenues of Amber for S. 1858 (A. D. 1802-3; the year of Raja Juggut Sing's accession.

KHALSA, OR FISCAL LANDS.

	Rupees.
Managed by the Raja, or rented...........................	20,55,000
Deori talooka, expenses of the queen's household......	5,00,000
Sagird-pesha, servants of the household..............	3,00,000
Ministers, and civil officers..................................	2,00,000
Jagheers for the Sillehposh, or men at arms...........	1,50,200
Jagheers to army, *viz.* ten battalions of infantry with cavalry	7,14,000
Total Fiscal lands ...	39,19,000
Feudal lands (of Jeipoor Proper) ...	17,00,000
Ooduk, or charity lands, chiefly to Brahmins...	16,00,000
Dan and Mauppa, or transit and impost duties, of the country	1,90,000
Cucherri, of the capital, includes town-duties fines, contributions, &c., &c.	2,15,000
Mint	60,000
Hoondi-bharra, insurance, and dues on bills of exchange	60,000
Foujdari, or commandant of Amber (annual fine)	12,000
Foujdari, or commandant of city Jeipoor ...	8,000
Bedaet, petty fines from the Cucherri, or hall of justice	16,000
Subzi-mandi, vegetable market	3,000
Total lakhs ...	77,83,000
Tribute.... Shekhavati ...	3,50,000
Tribute.... Rajawut and other feudatories of Jeipoor*	30,000
Tribute.... Kotrees of Harouti †...	20,000
Total Tribute ...	4,00,000
Grand Total ...	81,83,000

* Burwarra, Kheerni, Sowar, Iserdeh, &c., &c.

† Anterdeh, Bulwun, and Indurguh

If this statement is correct, and we add thereto the Shekhawut, Rajawut, and Hara tributes, the revenues fiscal, feudal, commercial, and tributary, of Amber, when Juggut Sing came to the throne, would exceed eighty lakhs of rupees, half of which is *khalsa*, or appertaining to the Raja—nearly twice the personal revenue of any other prince in Rajwarra. This sum (forty lakhs) was the estimated amount, liable to tribute, when the treaty was formed with the British Government; and of which the Raja has to pay eight lakhs annually, and *five-sixteenths* of all revenue surplus to this amount. The observant reader will not fail to be struck with the vast inequality between the estates of the defenders of the country, and these drones of the Brahmins,—a point on which we have elsewhere treated :* nor can anything more powerfully mark the utter prostration of intellect of the Cuchwaha princes, than their thus maintaining an indolent and baneful hierarchy, to fatten on the revenues which would support four thousand Cuchwaha cavalries. With a proper application of her revenues, and princes like Raja Maun to lead a brave vassalage, they would have foiled all the efforts of the Mahrattas; but their own follies and vices have been their ruin.

Foreign army.—At the period (A. D. 1803) this schedule was formed of the revenues of Amber, she maintained a foreign army of thirteen thousand men, consisting of ten battalions of infantry with guns, a legion of four thousand *Nagas*, a crops of alligoles for police duties, and one of cavalry, seven hundred strong. With these, the regular contingent of feudal levies amounting to about four thousand efficient horse, formed a force adequate to repel any insult; but when the *kher*, or *levee en masse*, was called out, twenty thousand men, horse and foot, were ready to back the always embodied force.

A detailed schedule of the feudal levies of Amber may diversify the dry details of these annals, obviate repetition, and present a perfect picture of a society of clanships. In this list we shall give precedence to the *kotribund*, the holders of the twelve great fiefs (*bara-kotri*) of Amber.

* See Dissertation on the religious Establishments of Mewar, vol. I.

Schedule of the names and appanages of the twelve sons of Raja Prithwi Raj, whose descendants form the bara-kotri, *or twelve great fiefs of Amber.*

Sons of Prithwi Raj.	Names of Families	Names of Fiefs.	Present Chiefs.	Revenues	Pe Q
1. Chuthurbhooj ..	Chuthurbhojote	Pinar and Bhugroo	Bagh Sing		28
2. Kullian	Kullianote ..	Lotwarra	Gunga Sing		47
3. Nathoo	Nathawut ..	Chomoo	Kishen Sing		[illegible]
4. Balbudhur ..	Baibudhurote ..	Acherole	Kaim Sing	28,850	57
5. Jugmul, his son Khanger ..	Khangarote ..	Thodree	Prithwi Sing	25,000	
6. Sooltan.	Sooltanote ..	Chandsirr			
7. Puchaen	Puchaenote ...	Sambra	Sullee Sing	17,70	
8.	Googawut ..	Dhoonee	Rao Chand Sing	70	
9. Kaem ..	Khoombani ..	Bhanskho	Puddum Sing	21,535	
10. Koombho	Khoombawut ..	Mahar	Rawut Suroop Sing	27,538	
11. Soorut ..	Sheoburrunpota	Neendir	Rawut Hurree Sing	10,000	
12. Bunbeer ..	Bunbeerpota	Batko	Suroop Sing	19,000	

It will be remarked that the estates of these, the chief vassals of Amber, are with the exception of two, far inferior in value to those of the *sixteen* great chiefs of Mewar, or the *eight* of Marwar; and a detailed list of all the inferior feudatories of each *kotree* or clan, would shew that many of them have estates greater than those of their leaders: for instance, Kishen Sing of Chomoo has upwards of a *lakh*, while Berri Sal of Samote, the head of the clan (Nathawut), has only forty thousand: again, the chief of Ballahairi holds an estate of thirty-five thousand, while that of the head of his clan is but twenty-five thousand. The representative of the Sheoburrunpotas has an estate of only ten thousand, while the junior branch of Gooroh has thirty-six thousand. Again, the chief of the Khangarotes has but twenty-five thousand, while no less than three junior branches hold lands to double that amount; and the inferior of the Balbhudurotes holds upwards of a lakh, while his superior of Acherole has not a third of this rental. The favour of the prince, the turbulence or talents of individuals, have caused these inequalities; but, however disproportioned the gifts of fortune, the attribute of honor always remains with the lineal descendant and representative of original fief.

We shall further illustrate this subject of the feudalities of Amber by inserting a general list of all the clans, with the number of subdivisions, the resources of each, and the quotas they ought to furnish. At no remote period this was held to be correct, and will serve to give a good idea of the Cuchwaha aristocracy. It was my intention to have given a detailed

account of the subdivisions of each fief, their names, and those of their holders, but on reflexion, though they cost some diligence to obtain, they would have little interest for the general reader.

Schedule of the Cuchwaha clans; the number of fiefs or estates in each; their aggregate value, and quotas of horse for each estate.

	Names of Clans.	Number of Fiefs in each Clanship or Clan.	Aggregate Revenue.	Aggregate Quotas.
	Chuthurbhojote	6	53,800	92
	Kullianote	19	2,45,196	422
	Nathawut	10	2,20,800	371
	Balbudherote	2	1,30,850	157
	Khangarote	22	4,02,806	643
12*	Sooltanote	—	—	—
	Puchaenote	3	24,700	45
	Googawut	13	1,67,900	273
	Khoombani	2	22,787	35
	Koombhawut	6	40,738	68
	Seoburrunpota	3	49,500	73
	Bunbeerpota	3	26,575	48
	Rajawut	16	1,98,137	392
4†	Narooca	6	91,069	92
	Bhaukawut	4	34,600	53
	Purimmalote	1	10,000	19
	Bhatti	4	1,04,039	205
	Chohan	4	30,500	61
	Birgoojur	6	32,000	58
	Chunderawut	1	14,000	21
10‡	Sikerwar	2	4,500	8
	Goojurs	3	15,300	30
	Rangras	6	2,91,105	549
	Khettris	4	1,20,000	281
	Brahmins	12	3,12,000	606
	Musulman	9	1,41,400	274

* The first *twelve* are the Bara-kotris, or twelve great fiefs of Amber.

† The next *four* are of the Cuchwaha stock, but not reckoned amongst the *Kotribunds*.

‡ The last *ten* are foreign chieftains, of various tribes and classes.

No doubt great changes have taken place since this list was formed, especially amongst the mercenary *Puttaets*, or Jagheerdars. The quotas are also irregular, though the qualification of a cavalier in this state is reckoned at five hundred rupees of income.

We shall conclude the annals of Amber with the names of a few of the ancient towns, in which research may recover something of past days.

Mora—Nine coss east of Deonsah; built by Mordhuj, a Chohan Raja.

Abhanair—Three coss east of Lalsont; very ancient, capital of a Chohan sovereignty.

Bhangurh—Five coss from Tholai; the ruins of an ancient town and castle in the hills, built by the old princes of Dhoondhar, prior to the Cuchwahas.

Amurgurh—Three coss from Kooshalgurh; built by the Nagvansa.

Birat—Three coss from Bussye in Macherri, attributed to the Pandus.

Patun and *Ganipoor*—Both erected by the ancient Tuar kings of Delhi.

Khurar, or *Khandar*—Near Rinthumbor.

Ootgeer—On the Chumbul.

Amber, or *Amb-Keswur*, a title of Siva, whose symbol is in the centre of a *coond* or tank in the middle of the old town. The water covers half the *lingam*; and a prophecy prevails, that when it is entirely submerged, the state of Amber will perish! There are inscriptions.

ANNALS OF HARAVATI.

CHAPTER I.

Haravati defined.—Fabulous origin of the Agnicula *races.—Mount Aboo.—The Chohans obtain Macavati, Golconda, and the Konkan.—Found Ajmeer.—Ajipal.—Manik Rae.—First Islamite invasion.—Ajmeer taken.—Sambhur founded; its salt lake.—Offspring of Manik Rae.—Establishments in Rajpootana.—Contests with the Mahomedans.—Beelundeo of Ajmeer; Goga Chohan of Mehera; both slain by Mahmoud.—Beesuldeo.—Generalissimo of the Rajpoot nations; his period fixed; his column at Delhi; his alliances.—Origin of the Hara tribe. Anuraj obtains Asi.—Dispossessed.—Ishtpal obtains Aser.—Rao Hamir.—Rao Chund slain.—Aser taken by Alla-o-din.—Prince Rainsi escapes to Cheetore; settles at Bynasror, in Mewar.—His son Kolun declared lord of the* Pathar.

HARAVATI, or Haropti, 'the country of the Haras,' comprehends two principalities, *viz.* Kotah and Boondi. The Chumbul intersects the territory of the Hara race, and now serves as their boundary, although only three centuries have elapsed since the younger branch separated from and became independent of Boondi.

The Hara is the most important of the twenty-four Chohan *sacha*, being descended from Anuraj, the son of Manik Rae, king of Ajmree, who in S. 741 (A. D. 685) sustained the first shock of the Islamite arms.

We have already sketched the pedigree of the Chohans,* one of the most illustrious of the "thirty-six royal races" of India.† We must, however, in this place, enter into it some-

* See Vol. I.

† According to Herodotus, the Scythic *sacæ* enumerated eight races with the epithet of royal, and Strabo mentions one of the tribes of the Thyssagetæ as boasting the title of *Basilii.* The Rajpoots assert that in ancient times they only enumerated eight royal *sacham* or branches, *viz.* Surya, Soma, Hya or Aswa (qu. Asi?) Nima, and the four tribes of Aghivansa, *viz.* Pramara, Purihara, Solanki, and Chohan.

Abulgazi states that the Tatars or Scythians were divided into six grand families. The Rajpoots have maintained those ideas, originally brought from the Oxus.

what more fully; and in doing so, we must not discard even the fables of their origin, which will at least demonstrate that the human understanding has been similarly constructed in all ages and countries, before the thick veil of ignorance and superstition was withdrawn from it. So scanty are the remote records of the Chohans, that it would savour of affectation to attempt a division of the periods of their history, or the improbable, the probable, and the certain. Of the first two, a separation would be impracticable, and we cannot trace the latter beyond the seventh century.

"When the impieties of the kings of the warrior race drew upon them the vengeance of Parusarama, who twenty-one times extirpated that race, some, in order to save their lives, called themselves bards; others assumed the guise of women; and thus the *singh* (horn) of the Rajpoots was preserved, when dominion was assigned to the Brahmins. The impious avarice of the Sahasra Arjuna, of the Hya race, king of Maheswar on the Nerbudda, provoked the last war, having slain the father of Parusarama.

"But as the chief weapon of the Brahmin is this curse or blessing, great disorders soon ensued from the want of the strong arm. Ignorance and infidelity spread over the land; the sacred books were trampled under foot, and mankind had no refuge from the monstrous brood.* In this exigence, Viswamitra, the instructor in arms† of Bhagwan, revolved within his own mind, and determined upon, the re-creation of the Chetries. He chose for this rite the summit of Mount Aboo,‡ where dwell the hermits and sages (*Moonis* and *Risis*) constantly occupied in the duties of religion, and who had carried their complaints even to the *kheer samudra* (sea of curds), where they saw the Father of Creation floating upon the hydra (emblem of eternity). He desired them to regenerate the warrior race, and they returned to Mount Aboo with Indra, Bramha, Roodra, Vishnu, and all the inferior divinities, in their train. The fire-fountain (*anul-coond*) was lustrated with the waters of the Ganges, expiatory rites were performed, and, after a protracted debate, it was resolved that Indra should initiate the work of re-creation. Having formed an image (*pootli*) of the *dhurba* grass, he sprinkled it with the water of life, and threw it into the fire-fountain. Thence, on pronouncing the *sanjivan mantra* (incantation to give life), a figure

* Or, as the bard says, Dytes, Asuras, and Danoos, or demons and infidels, as they style the Indo-Scythic tribes from the north-west, who paid no respect to the Brahmins.

† Awud-guru.

‡ My last pilgrimage was to Aboo.

slowly emerged from the flame, bearing in the right hand a mace, and exclaiming, "*Mar! mar!*" (slay, slay). He was called Pramar; and Aboo, Dhar, and Oojein were assigned to him as a territory.

"Brahma was then entreated to frame one from his own essence (*ansa*). He made an image, threw it into the pit, whence issued a figure armed with a sword (*kharga*) in one hand, with the *veda* in the other, and a *zunoo* round his neck. He was named Chalook or Solanki, and Anhulpoor Patun was appropriated to him.

"Roodra, formed the third. The image was sprinkled with the water of the Ganges, and on the incantation being read, a black ill-favoured figure arose, armed with the *dhanoos* or bow. As his foot slipped when sent against the demons, he was called Purihar, and placed as the *poleoh*, or guardian of the gates. He had the *nonangul Marusthali*, or 'nine habitations of the desert,' assigned to him.

"The fourth was formed by Vishnu; when an image like himself, four-armed, each having a separate weapon, issued from the flames, and was thence styled Chaturbhooja Chau-han, or the 'four-armed.' The gods bestowed their blessing upon him, and *Macavati-nagari* as a territory. Such was the name of Gurra-Mundilla in the Dapur, or silver age.

"The Dytes were watching the rites, and two of their leaders were close to the fire-fountain; but the work of re-generation being over, the new-born warriors were sent against the infidels, when a desperate encounter ensued. But as fast as the blood of the demons was shed, young demons arose; when the four tutelary divinities, attendant on each newly-created race, drank up the blood, and thus stopped the multi-plication of evil. These were

Asapurana, of the Chohan.
Gajun Mata.........Purihar.
Keonj Mata,.........Solanki,
Sanchair Mata,......Pramara.

"When the Dytes were slain, shouts of joy rent the sky; ambrosial showers were shed from heaven; and the gods drove their cars (*vahan*) about the firmament, exulting at the victory thus achieved.

"Of all the thirty-six royal races (says Chund, the great bard of the Chohans), the *Agnicula* is the greatest: the rest were born of woman; these were created by the Brahmins!*—

* It is by no means uncommon for this arrogant priesthood to lay claim to powers co-equal with those of the Divinity, nay often superior to them.

Gotr-acharya of the Chohans. Sham Veda, Somvansa, Madhooni sacha, Vacha gotra, panch purwur junoo, Laktuncari nekas, Chandrabhaga Nadi, Brigooneshan, Amba-ca-Bhavani, Balun Putra, Kal-Bhiroo, Aboo Achileswar Mahadeo, Chatur-bhooja Chauhan."

The period of this grand convocation of the gods on Mount Aboo, to regenerate the warrior race of Hind, and to incite them against "the infidel races who had spread over the land," is dated so far back as the opening of the second age of the Hindus: a point which we shall not dispute. Neither shall we throw a doubt upon the chronicles which claim Prince Sehl, one of the great heroes of the *Mahabharat*, as an intermediate link between Anhul Chohan and Satpati, who founded Macavati, and conquered the Konkan; while another son, called Tuntur Pal, conquered Aser and Gowalcoond (*Golconda*), planted his garrisons in every region, and possessed nine hundred elephants to carry *puckals*, or water skins.

Let us here pause for a moment before we proceed with the chronicle, and inquire who were these warriors, thus regenerated to fight the battles of Brahminism, and brought within the pale of their faith? They must have been either the aboriginal debased classes, raised to moral importance by the ministers of the prevading religion, or foreign races who had obtained a footing amongst them. The contrasted physical appearance of the respective races will decide this question. The aborigines are dark, diminutive, and ill-favoured; the Agniculas are of good stature, and fair, with prominent features, like those of the Parthian kings. The ideas which pervade their martial poetry are such as were held by the Scythian in distant ages, and which even Brahminism has failed to eradicate; while the *tumuli*, containing ashes and arms, discovered throughout India, especially in the south about Gowalcoond, where the Chohans held sway, indicate the nomadic warrior of the north as the proselyte of Mount Aboo.

Of the four Agnicula races, the Chohans were the first who obtained extensive dominion. The almost universal power of the Pramaras is proverbial; But the wide sway possessed by the Chohans can only be discovered with difficulty. Their glory was on the wane when that of the Pramaras was

Witness the scene in the *Ramayuna*, where they make the deity a mediator, to entreat the Brahmin Vashishta to hearken to King Vishwamitra's desire for his friendship. Can anything exceed this? Parallel it, perhaps, we may, in that memorable instance of Christian idolatry, where the Almighty is called on to intercede with St. Januarius to perform the annual miracle of liquefying the congealed blood.

in the zenith; and if we may credit the last great bard of the Rajpoots, the Chohans held *in capite* of the Pramaras of Telingana, in the eighth century of Vicrama, though the name of Pirthwiraj threw a parting ray of splendour upon the whole line of his ancestry, even to the fire-fountain on the summit of classic Aboo.

The facts to be gleaned in the early page of the chronicle are contained in a few stanzas, which proclaim the possession of paramount power, though probably of no lengthened duration. The line of the Nerbudda, from Maçavati, or Macaouti, to Maheswar, was their primitive seat of sovereignty, comprehending all the tracts in its vicinity both north and south. Thence, as they multiplied, they spread over the peninsula, possessing Mandoo, Aser, Golconda, and the Konkan; while to the north, they stretched even to the fountains of the Ganges. The following is the bard's picture of the Chohan dominion:

"From 'the seat of government,' (*rajasthan*) Macaouti, the oath of allegiance (*an*) resounded in fifty-two castles. The land of Tatha, Lahore, Mooltan, Peshore,* the Chohan in his might arose and conquered even to the hills of Bhadri. The infidels (*asuras*) fled, and allegiance was proclaimed in Delhi and Cabul, while the country of Nepal he bestowed on the Mallani.† Crowned with the blessing of the gods, he returned to Macaouti."

It has already been observed, that Macaouti-Nagari was the ancient name of Gurr Mundilla, whose princes for ages continued the surname of Pal, indicative, it is recorded by tradition, of their nomadic occupation. The Aheers, who occupied all Central India, and have left in one nook (*Aheerwarra*) a memorial of their existence, was a branch of the same race, Aheer being a synonym for Pal. Bhelsa, Bhojpoor, Diep, Bhopal, Airun, Garspoor, are a few of the ancient towns established by the Pal, or Palis; and could we master the still unknown characters appertaining

* The Mahomedan writers confirm this account, for in their earliest recorded invasion, in A. H. 143, the princes of Lahore and Ajmeer, said to be of the same family, are the great opponents of Islam, and combated its advance in fields west of the Indus. We know beyond a doubt that Ajmeer was then chief seat of Chohan power.

† The Mallani is (or rather was) one of the Chohan Sachæ, and may be the *Malli* who opposed Alexander at the confluent arms of the Indus. The tribe is extinct and was so little known even five centuries ago, that a prince of Boondi, of the Hara tribe, intermarried with a Mallani, the book of genealogical affinities not indicating her being within the prohibited canon. A more skilful bard pointed out the incestuous connection, when divorce and expiation ensued.

to the early colonists of India, more light would be thrown on the history of the Chohans.*

A scion from Macaouti, named Ajipal, established himself at Ajmeer,† and erected its castle of Tarragurh. The name of Ajipal is one of the most conspicuous that tradition has preserved, and is always followed by the epithet of *chukwa*, or universal potentate. His era must ever remain doubtful, unless, as already observed, we master the characters said to belong to this race, and which are still extant, both on stone and on copper.‡ From what cause is not stated (most probably a failure of lineal issue), Pirthwi Pahar was brought from Macaouti to Ajmeer. By a single wife (for polygamy was then unknown to these races), he had twenty-four sons, whose progeny peopled these regions, one of whose descendants, Manik Rae, was lord of Ajmeer and Sambhur, in the year S. 741, or A. D. 685.

With the name of Manik Rae, the history of the Chohan emerges from obscurity, if not fable; and although the bard does not subsequently entertain us with much substantial information, we can trace his subject, and see his heroes fret their hour upon the uncertain stage, throughout a period of twelve hundred years. It was at this era (A. D. 685), that Rajpootana was first visited by the arms of Islam, being the sixty-third year of the Hejira. Manik Rae, then prince of Ajmeer, was slain by the *Asuras*, and his only child, named Lot, then an infant of seven years of age, was killed by an arrow while playing on the battlements (*kangras*). The invasion is said to have been from Sinde, in revenge for the ill-treatment of an Islamite missionary, named Roshan Ali, though the complexion of the event is more like an enterprize prompted by religious enthusiasm. The missionary being condemned to lose his thumb, "the disjointed member

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* All these towns contain remains of antiquity, especially in the district of Diep, Bhojpoor, and Bhelsa. Twenty years ago, in one of my journeys, I passed the ruins of Airun, where a superb column stands at the junction of its two streams. It is about thirty feet in height, and is surmounted by a human figure, having a glory round his head, a colossal bull is at the base of the column. I sent a drawing of it to Mr. Colebrooke at the time, but possess no copy.

† It is indifferently called *Aji-mer*, and *Aji-doorg*, the invincible hill (*mera*), or invincible castle (*doorg*). Tradition, however, says that the name of this renowned abode, the key of Rajpootana, is derived from the humble profession of the young Chohan, who was a goat-herd. *Aja* meaning 'a goat' in Sanskrit; still referring to the original pastoral occupation of the Palis.

‡ I obtained at Ajmeer and at Poshkur several very valuable medals, Bactrian, Indo-Scythic, and Hindu, having the ancient Pali on one side, and the effigy of a horse on the other.

flew to Mecca," and gave evidence against the Rajpoot idolator ; when a force was prepared, disguised as a caravan of horse-merchants, which surprised and slew Doola Rae and his son, and obtained possession of Gurh-beetli, the citadel.

Puerile as is the transaction, its truth is substantiated by the fact, that the Caliph Omar at this very time sent an army to Sinde, whose commander, Abul Aas, was slain in an attempt on the ancient capital, Alore. Still nothing but the enthusiasm of religious frenzy could have induced a band to cross the desert in order to punish this insult to the new faith.

Whatever were the means, however, by which Ajmeer was captured, and Doola Rae slain, the importance of the event has been deeply imprinted on the Chohans ; who, in remembrance of it, deified the youthful heir of Ajmeer : "Lot putra" is still the most conspicuous of the Chohan *penates*. The day on which he was killed is sanctified, and his effigy then receives divine honours from all who have the name of Chohan. Even the anklet of bells which he wore has become an object of veneration, and is forbidden to be used by the children of this race.

"Of the house of Doola Rae of Chohan race, Lot-Deo, the heir-apparent, by the decree of Siva, on Monday the 12th of the month of Jeyt, went to heaven."

Manik Rae, the uncle of the youth (*putra*), (who is still the object of general homage, especially of the Chohan fair), upon the occupation of Ajmeer, retired upon Sambhur, which event another couplet fixes, as we have said, in S. 741.* Here the bard has recourse to celestial interposition in order to support Manik Rae in his adversity. The goddess *Sacambhari* appears to him, while seeking shelter from the pursuit of this merciless foe, and bids him establish himself in the spot where she manifested herself, guaranteeing to him the possession of all the ground he could encompass with his horse on that day ; but commanded him not to look back until he had returned to the spot where he left her. He commenced the circuit, with what he deemed his steed could accomplish, but forgetting the injunction, he was surprised to see the whole space covered as with a sheet. This was the desiccated *sirr*, or salt-lake, which he named after his patroness Sacambhari, whose statue still exists on a small island in the lake, now corrupted to Sambhur. †

* "*Samvat, sath soh ektalees*
"*Malut bali bes*
"*Sambhur aya tuti sun-us*
"*Manik Rae, Nur-es.*"

† An inscription on the pillar at Feroz Shah's palace at Delhi, be

However *jejune* these legends of the first days of Chohan power, they suffice to mark with exactness their locality; and the importance attached to this settlement is manifested in the title of "Sambhri Rao," maintained by Pirthwi Raj, the descendant of Manik Rae, even when emperor of all northern India.

Manik Rae, whom we may consider as the founder of the Chohans of the north, recovered Ajmeer. He had a numerous progeny, who established many petty dynasties throughout Western Rajwarra, giving birth to various tribes, which are spread even to the Indus. The Kheechie, * the Hara, the Mohi, Nurbhana, Badorea, Bhowrecha, Dhunairea, and Bagrecha, are all descended from him. The Kheechies were established in the remote Do-abeh, called Sinde-Sagur, comprising all the tract between the Behut and the Sinde, a space of sixty-eight coss, whose capital was Keechpoor-Patun. The Haras obtained or founded Asi (*Hansi*) in Heriana; while another tribe held Gowalcoond, the celebrated Golconda, now Hydrabad, and when thence expelled, regained Aser. The Mohils had the tracts round Nagore. † The Bhadoreas had an appanage on the Chumbul, in a tract which bears their name, and is still subject to them. The Dhunaireas settled at Shahabad, which by a singular fatality has at length come into the possession of the Haras of Kotah. Another branch fixed at Nadole, but never changed the name of Chohan. ‡

longing to this family, in which the word *sacambhari* occurs, gave rise to many ingenious conjectures by Sir W. Jones, Mr. Colebrooke, and Colonel Wilford.

* Called Kheech-kote by Baber.

† In the annals of Marwar it will be shewn, that the Rahtores conquered *Nagore*, or *Naga-doorg* (the 'serpent's castle'), from the Mohils, who held fourteen hundred and forty villages so late as the fifteenth century. So many of the colonies of Agniculas bestowed the name of *serpent* on their settlements, that I am convinced all were of the Tak, Takshac, or Nagvansa race from Sacadwipa, who, six centuries anterior to Vicramaditya, under their leader Sehesnaga, conquered India, and whose era must be the limit of Agnicula antiquity

‡ The importance of Nadole was considerable, and is fully attested by existing inscriptions as well as by the domestic chronicle. Midway from the founder, in the eighth century, to its destruction in the twelfth, was Rao Lakhun, who in S. 1039 (A. D. 983), successfully coped with the princes of Nehrvalla.

"*Sumeah dos seh onchalees*
"*Bar ekhouta, patun pyla pol*
"*Dan Chohan agavi*
"*Mewar Dhanni dind bhurri*
"*Tis bar Rao Lakhun thuppi*
"*Jo arumba, so kurri.*"

Literally: "In S. 1039, at the farther gate of the city of Patun, the

Many chieftainships were scattered over the desert, either trusting to their lances to maintain their independence, or holding of superiors; but a notice of them, however interesting, would here, perhaps, be out of place. Eleven princes are enumerated in the *Jaega's* catalogue, from Manik Rae to Beesildeo, a name of the highest celebrity in the Rajpoot annals, and a landmark to various authorities, who otherwise have little in common even in their genealogies, which I pass over in silence, with the exception of the intermediate name of Hursraj, * common to the *Hamir Rasa* as well as the Jaega's list. The authority of Hursraj stretched along the Aravali mountains to Aboo, and east of the Chumbul. He ruled from S. 812 to 827 (A. H. 138 to 153), and fell in battle against the Asuras, having attained the title of *Ari-murdhan.* Ferishta says, that "in A. H. 143, the Mooslems greatly increased, when issuing from their hills they obtained possession of Kirman, Peshore, and all the lands adjacent; and that the Raja of Lahore, who was of the family of the Raja of Ajmeer, sent his brother † against these Afghans, who were reinforced by the tribes of Ghilij, of Ghor and Cabul, just became proselytes to Islam," † and he adds, that during five months, seventy battles were fought with success; or, to use the historian's own words, "in which *Sepahi sirmah* (General Frost) was victorious over the infidel, but who returned when the cold season was passed with fresh force. The armies met between Kirman and Peshawer; sometimes the infidel (Rajpoot) carried the war to the *Kohistan*, 'mountanous regions,' and drove the Moosulmans before him; sometimes the Moosulmans, obtaining reinforcements, drove the infidel

Chohan collected the commercial duties (*dan*). He took tribute from the lord of Mewar, and performed whatever he had a mind to."

Lakhun drew upon him the arms of Soobektegin, and his son Mahmoud, when Nadole was stripped of its consequence; its temples were thrown down, and its fortress was dilapidated. But it had recovered much of its power, and even sent forth several branches, who all fell under Alla-o-din in the thirteenth century. On the final conquest of India by Shahbudin, the prince of Nadole appears to have effected a compromise, and to have become a vassal of the empire. This conjecture arises from the singularity of its currency, which retains on the one side the names in Sanskrit of its indigenous princes, and on the other that of the conqueror.

* Hursraj and Beejy Raj were sons of Aji-pal, king of Ajmeer, according to the chronicle.

† This is a very important admission of Ferishta, concerning the proselytism of all these tribes, and confirms my hypothesis, that the Afghans are converted *Jadoons* or *Yadus*, not *Yahudis*, or Jews. The *Gor* is also a well-known Rajpoot tribe, and they had only to convert it into Ghor. *Vide* Annals of the Bhattis.

by flights of arrows to their own borders, to which they always retired when the torrents swelled the Nilab *(Indus).*'

Whether the Raja of Ajmeer personally engaged in these distant combats the chronicle says not. According to the *Hamir Rasa,* Hursraj was succeeded by Doojgun-deo, whose advanced post was Bhutnair, and who overcame Nasir-oo-din, from whom he captured twelve hundred horse, and hence bore the epithet *Sultan Graha,* or 'King-seizer.' Nazir-oo-din was the title of the celebrated Soobektegin, father to the still more celebrated Mahmood. Soobektegin repeatedly invaded India during the fifteen years' reign of his predecessor Aliptegin.

Passing over the intermediate reigns, each of which is marked by some meagre and unsatisfactory details of battles with the Islamite, we arrive at Beesildeo. The father of this prince, according to the Hara genealogists, was Dherma-Guj, apparently a title,—'in faith like an elephant,'—as in the *Jaega's* list is Beer Beelundeo, confirmed by the inscription on the triumphal column at Delhi. The last of Mahmood's invasions occurred during the reign of Beelundeo, who, at the expense of his life, had the glory of humbling the mighty conqueror, and forcing him to relinquish the siege of Ajmeer. Before we condense the scanty records of the bards concerning Visala-Deva,* we may spare a few words to commemorate a Chohan, who consecrated his name and that of all his kin, by his deeds in the first passage of Mahmood into India.

Goga Chohan was the son of Vacha Raja, a name of some celebrity. He held the whole of Jungul-des, or the forest lands from the Sutlej to Heriana; his capital, called Mehera, or, as pronounced, *Goga ca Mairi,* was on the Sutlej. In defending this he fell, with forty-five sons and sixty nephews; and as it occurred on Sunday (*Rubwar*), the ninth (*nomee*) of the month, that day is held sacred to the *manes* of Goga by the "thirty-six classes"† throughout Rajpootana, but especially in the desert, a portion of which is yet called *Gogadeo ca thul.* Even his steed, *Javadia,*‡ has been immortalized, and has

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* The classical mode of writing the name of Beesildeo.

† *Chateesapon.*

‡ It is related by the Rajpoot romancers that Goga had no children; that lamenting this, his guardian deity gave him two barley-corns (*java* or *jao*), one of which he gave to his queen, another to his favourite mare, which produced the steed (*Javadia*) which became as famous as Goga himself. The Rana of Oodipoor gave the author a blood-horse of Kattiawar, whose name was Javadia. Though a lamb in disposition, when mounted, he was a piece of fire, and admirably broken into all the *manege* exercise. A more perfect animal never existed. The author brought him, with another (*Mirg-raj*), from Oodipoor to the ocean, intending to bring them home; but the grey he gave to a friend, and fearful of the voyage, he sent Javadia back six hundred miles to the Rana, requesting "he might

become a favourite name for a war-horse throughout Raj-pootana, whose mighty men swear "by the *saca* of Goga," for maintaining the Rajpoot fame when Mahmood crossed the Sutlej.

This was probably the last of Mahmood's invasions, when he marched direct from Mooltan through the desert. He attacked Ajmeer, which was abandoned, and the country around given up to devastation and plunder. The citadel, Gurh-Beetli, however, held out, and Mahomed was foiled, wounded, and obliged to retreat by Nadole,* another Chohan possession, which he sacked, and then proceeded to Nehrwalla, which he captured. His barbarities promoted a coalition, which, by compelling him to march through the western deserts to gain the valley of Sinde, had nearly proved fatal to his army.

The exploits of Beesildeo form one of the books of Chund, the bard. The date assigned to Beesildeo in the *Rasa* (S. 921) is interpolated—a vice not uncommon with the Rajpoot bard, whose periods acquire verification from less mutable materials than those out of which he weaves his song. †

Chund gives an animated picture of the levy of the Rajpoot chivalry, which assembled under Beesildeo, who, as the champion of the Hindu faith, was chosen to lead its warriors against the Islamite invader. The Chalook king of Anhulwarra alone refused to join the confederation, and in terms which drew upon him the vengeance of the Chohan. A literal translation of the passage may be interesting:—

"To the Goelwal Jait, the prince entrusted Ajmeer, saying, 'on your fealty I depend;' where can this Chalook find refuge? He moved from the city (Ajmeer), and encamped on the lake Visala, ‡ and summoned his tributaries and vassals to meet him. Maunsi Purihar, with the army of Mundore, touched

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be the first worshipped on the annual military festival." a request which he doubts not was complied with.

* See note p. 1304, for remarks on Nadole, whence the author obtained much valuable matter, consisting of coins, inscriptions on stone and copper, and MSS., when on a visit to this ancient city in 1821.

† We have abundant checks, which, could they have been detailed in the earlier stage of inquiry into Hindu literature, would have excited more interest for the hero whose column at Delhi has excited the inquiries of Jones, Wilford, Colebrooke.

‡ This lake still bears the name of *Beesil-ca-tal* notwithstanding the changes which have accrued during a lapse of one thousand years, since he formed it by damming-up the springs. It is one of the reservoirs of the Looni river. The emperor Jehangir erected a palace on the banks of the Beesil-ca tal, in which he received the ambassador of James I of England

his feet.* Then came the Ghelote, the ornament of the throng; † and the Pawasir, with Tuar, ‡ and Rama the Gor; § with Mohes, the lord of Mewat ‖. The Mohil of Doonapoor with tribute sent excuse.¶ With folded hands arrived the Baloch, 1 but the lord of Bamuni abandoned Sinde. 2 Then came the Nuzzur from Bhutnair, 3 and the *Nalbundi* from Tatta 4 and Mooltan. 5 When the summons reached the Bhomia Bhatti of Derrawul, 6 all obeyed; as did the Jadoon of Mallunwas. 7 The Mori 8 and Birgoojur 9 also joined with the Cuchwahas of Anterved. 10 The subjugated Meras worshipped his feet. 11 Then came the army of Takitpoor, headed by

* This shews that the Purihars were subordinate to the Chohans of Ajmeer.

† The respectful mention of the Ghelote as 'the ornament of the throng,' early proves that the Cheetore princes came as an ally. How rejoicing to an antiquary to find this confirmed by an inscription found amidst the ruins of a city of Mewar, which alludes to this very coalition! The inscription is a record of the friendship maintained by their issue in the twelfth century,—Samarsi of Cheetore, and Pirthwiraj, the last Chohan king of India—on their combining to chastise the king of Patun Anhulwarra, "in like manner as did Beesildeo and Tejsi of old unite against the foe. so," &c. &c. Now Tejsi was the grandfather of Rawul Samarsi, who was killed in opposing the final Mooslem invasion, on the Caggar, after one of the longest reigns in their annals: from which we calculate that Tejsi must have sat on the throne about the year S. 1120 (A. D. 1064). His youth and inexperience would account for his acting subordinately to the Chohan of Ajmeer. The name of Udyadita further confirms the date, as will be mentioned in the text. His date has been fully settled by various inscriptions found by the author. (See Transactions Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i, page 223.)

‡ This Tuar must have been one of the Delhi vassals, whose monarch was of this race.

§ The Gor was a celebrated tribe, and amongst the most illustrious of the Chohan feudatories; a branch until a few years ago held Sooe-Soopoor and about nine lakhs of territory. I have no doubt the Gor appanage was west of the Indus, and that this tribe on conversion became the Ghor.

‖ The Mewoh race of Mewat is well known; all are Mahomedans now.

¶ The Mohils have been sufficiently discussed.

1 The Baloch was evidently Hindu at this time: and as I have repeatedly said, of Jit or Gete origin.

2 "The lord of Bamuni," in other places called Bamunwasso, must apply to the ancient Brahminabad or *Dewal*, on whose site the modern Tatta is built.

3 See Annals of Jessulmeer.

4 5 All this evinces supremacy over the Princes of this region: the Soda, the Samma, and Soomura.

6 Of Derrawul we have spoken in the text.

7 Mallunwas we know not.

8 9 10 The Moris, the Cuchwahas and Birgoojurs require no further notice.

11 The Meras inhabited the Aravali.

the Goelwal Jait.[12] Mounted in haste came Udya Pramar,[13] with the Nurbhan [14] and the Dor, [15] the Chundail, [16] and the Dahima."[17]

In this short passage, a text is afforded for a dissertation on the whole genealogical history of Rajpootana at that period. Such extracts from the more ancient bards, incorporated in the works of their successors, however laconic, afford decisive evidence that their poetic chronicles bore always the same character ; for this passage is introduced by Chund merely as a preface to the history of his own prince, Pirthwiraj, the descendant of Beesildeo.

A similar passage was given from the ancient chronicles of Mewar, recording an invasion of the Mooslems, of which the histories of the invaders have left; no trace. The evidence of both is incontestable; every name affords synchronism not to be disputed ; though the insolated passage would afford a very faint ray of light to the explorer of those days of darkness, yet when the same industrious research has pervaded the annals of all these races, a flood of illumination pours upon us, and we can at least tell who the races were who held sway in these regions a thousand years ago.

Amidst meagre, jejune, and unsatisfactory details, the annalist of Rajpootana must be content to wade on, in order to obtain some solid foundation for the history of the tribes ; but such facts as these stimulate his exertions and reward his toil: without them, his task would be hopeless. To each of the twenty tribes enumerated, formed under the standard of the Chohan, we append a separate notice, for the satisfaction of the few who can appreciate their importance, while some general remarks may suffice as a connection with the immediate object of research, the Haras, descended from Beesildeo.

In the first place, it is of no small moment to be enabled to adjust the date of Beesildeo, the most important name in the annals of the Chohans from Manik Rae to Pirthwiraj, and a slip from the genealogical tree will elucidate our remarks.

12 Takitpoor is the modern Thoda, near Tonk, where there are fine remains.

13 Udyadita, now a landmark in Hindu history.

14 See annals of Shekhavati for the Nurbhans, who held Khundaila as a fief of Ajmeer.

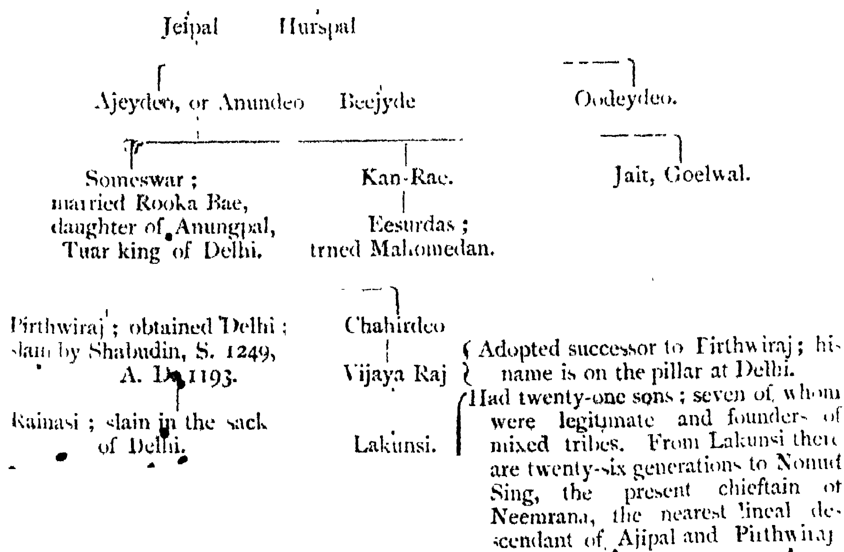
15 16 The Dor and Chundail were well known tribes ; the latter contended with Prthwi-Raj, who deprived them of Mahoba and Kalinger, and all the modern Boondelkund.

17 The renowned Dahima was lord of Biana ; also called Druinadhar.

CHOHAN GENEALOGY.

From Anhul to Beelundeo, these are but a few of the leading names. From Beelundeo the chain is continuous to the last Chohan king, Pirthwiraj.

Name	Notes
Anhul ...	or Agnipala "offspring of fire," the first Chohan; probable period 650, before Vicrama when an invasion of the *Turshkas* took place; established Macavati-nagari (Gurra Mundilla): conquered the Konkan, Aser, Golconda.
Suvatcha	
Mallan ...	In all probability this is the patriarch of the Mallani tribe.
Gulun Soor	
S. 202...Ajipala "*Chukwa.*"	or universal potentate; founder of Ajmeer. Some authorities say, in 202 of the *Vicrama*; others of the *Virat*-Samvat: the latter is the most probable.
Dola Rae	Slain, and lost Ajmeer, on the first irruption of the Mahomedans, S. 741, A.D. 685.
S. 741 ...Manik Rae	Founded Sambhur: hence the title of Sambri-Rao borne by the Chohan princes, his issue.
S. 827 ...Hursraj	Defeated Nazir-oo-din (*qu.* Soobektegin?), thence styled 'Sooltan-graha.'
Beer Beelundeo	or Dhermaguj: slain when defending Ajmeer against Mahmood of Ghizni.
1066 Beesuldeo 1130	(Classically, Visaladeva); his period, from various inscriptions, S. 1066 to S. 1130.
Sarangdeo	Died in nonage.
Anah.	Constructed the Ana-Sagur at Ajmeer; still bears his name.



The name of Beesildeo (*Visaladeva*) heads the inscription on the celebrated column erected in the centre of Feroz Shah's palace at Delhi. This column, alluded to by Chund, as "telling the fame of the Chohan," was "placed at Nigumbode," a place of pilgrimage on the Jumna, a few miles below Delhi, whence it must have been removed to its present singular position.*

The inscription commences and ends with the same date *viz.* 15th of the month Bysakh, S. 1220. If correctly copied, it can have no reference to Beesildeo, excepting as the ancestor of *Prativa Chahmana tilaca Sacambhari bhupati*; or 'Pirthwiraja Chohan, the anointed of Sambhur, '*Lord of the earth*,' who ruled at Delhi in S. 1220, and was slain in S. 1249, retaining the ancient epithet of 'Lord of Sambhur', one of the early seats of their power.† The second stanza, however, tells us we must distrust *the first* of the two dates, and read 1120 (instead of 1220), when Visaladeva "exterminated the barbarians" from *Aryaverta.* The numerals 1 and 2, in Sanskrit, are easily mistaken. If, however, it is decidedly 1220, then the whole inscription belongs to *Prativa Chahmana*, between whom and Visala no less than six princes intervene,‡ and the opening is merely to introduce Pirthwiraja's lineage in which the sculptor has foisted in the date.

* See Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. P. 379, Vol. vii. p. 180, and Vol. ix. p. 453.

† I brought away an inscription of this, the last Chohan emperor, from the ruins of his place at Hasi or Hansi, dated S. 1224. See comments thereon, Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol. i, p. 133.

‡ These inscriptions, while they have given rise to ingenious interpretations, demonstrate the little value of mere translations, even when made by first rate scholars, who possess no historical knowledge of the tribes to whom they refer. The inscription was first translated by Sir W. Jones in 1784 (Asiatic Researches, Vol. i). A fresh version (from a fresh transcript I believe) was made by Mr. Colebrooke in 1800 (Asiatic Researches, Vol. viii), but rather darkening than enlightening the subject, from attending to his pundit's emendation, giving to the prince's name and tribe a metaphorical interpretation. Nor was it till Wilford had published his hodge-podge Eassy on Vicramaditya and Salivahana, that Mr. Colebrooke discovered his error, and amended it in a note to that volume; but even then, without rending the inscription useful as a historical document. I call Wilford's essay a hodge-podge advisedly. It is a paper of immense research; vast meterials are brought to his task, but he had an hypothesis, and all was confounded to suit it. Chohans, Solankis, Ghelotes, all are amalgamated in his crucible. It was from the *Sarangadhar Padhati*, written by the bard of Hamira *Chohan*, not *king* of Mewar (as Wilford has it), but of Rinthumbor, lineally desended from Visaladeva, and slain by Alla-o-din Sarangadhar was also author of the *Hamir Rasa*, and the *Hamir Cavya*, bearing this prince's name, the essence of both of which I translated with the aid of my Guru. I was long bewildered in my admiration of Wilford's researches; but experience inspired distrust, and I adopted the useful adage in all these in all these matters, "*nil admirari.*"

I feel inclined to assign the first stanza to Visaladeva (Beesildeo), and what follows to his descendant Pirthwiraj, who by a conceit may have availed himself to the anniversary of the victroy of his ancestor, to record his own exploits. These exploits were precisely of the same nature,—successful war against the Islamite, in which each drove him from *Aryaverta*; for even the Mooslem writers acknowledge that Shahbudin was often ignominiously defeated before he finally succeeded in making a conquest of northern India.

If, as I surmise, the first stanza belongs to Beesildeo, the date S. 1120, or A. D. 1064, and this grand confederation described by the Chohan bard was assembled under his banner, preparatory to the very success, to commemorate which the inscription was recorded.

In the passage quoted from Chund, recording the princes who led their household troops under Beesildeo, there are four names which establish synchronisms: one, by which we arrive directly at the date, and three indirectly. The first is Udyadit Pramar, king of Dhar (son of Raja Bhoj), whose period I established from numerous inscriptions,* as between S. 1100 and S. 1150; so that the date of his joining the expedition would be about the middle of his reign. The indirect, but equally strong testimony consists of,

First, the mention of "the Bhomia Bhatti from Derrawul;"† for had there been anything apocryphal in Chund, Jessulmeer, the present capital, would have been given as the Bhatti abode.‡

Second, the Cuchwahas, who are also described as coming from *Anterved* (the region between the Jumna and Ganges); for the infant colony transmitted from Nurwar to Amber was yet undistinguished.

The third proof is in the Mewar inscription, when Tejsi, the grandfather of Samarsi, is described as in alliance with Beesildeo. Beesildeo is said to have lived sixty-four years.

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* See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

† See Annals of Jessulmeer, for foundation of Derrawul, p. 1114.

‡ In transcribing the annals of the Kheechies, an important branch of the Chohans, their bards have preserved this passage; but ignorant of Derrawul and Ladorva (both preserved in my version of Chund), they have inserted Jessulmeer. By such anachronisms, arising from the emendations of ignorant bards, their poetic chronicles have lost half their value. To me the comparison of such passages, preserved in Chund from the older bards, and distorted by the modern, was a subject of considerable pleasure. It reconciled much that I might have thrown away, teaching me the difference between absolute invention, and ignorance creating errors in the attempt to correct them. The Kheechie bard, no doubt, thought he was doing right when he erased Derrawul and inscribed Jessulmeer.

Supposing this date, S. 1120, to be the medium point of his existence, this would make his date S. 1088 to S. 1152, or A. D. 1032 to A. D. 1096; but as his father, Dherma Guj, "the elephant in faith," or Beer Beelun Deo (called Malun Deo, in the *Hamir Rasa*), was killed defending Ajmeer on the last invasion of Mahmood, we must necessarily place Beesil's birth (supposing him an infant on that event), ten years earlier, or A. D. 1022 (S. 1078), to A. D. 1086 (S. 1142), comprehending the date on the pillar of Delhi, and by computation all the periods mentioned in the catalogue. We may therefore safely adopt the date of the *Rasa, viz.* S. 1066 to S. 1130.

Beesildeo was, therefore, contemporary with Jeipal, the Tuar king of Delhi; with Doorlub and Bhima of Guzzerat; with Bhoj and Udya Dit of Dhar; with Pudumsi and Tejsi of Mewar; and the confederacy which he headed must have been that against the Islamite king Modud, the fourth from Mahmood of Ghizni, whose expulsion from the northern part of Rajpootana (as recorded on the pillar of Delhi) caused *Aryaverta* again to become 'the land of virtue'. Mahmood's final retreat from India by Sinde, to avoid the armies collected "by Byramdeo and the prince of Ajmeer," to oppose him. was in A.H. 417, A. D. 1026, or S. 1082, nearly the same date as the assigned by Chund, S. 1086.

We could dilate on the war which Beesildeo waged against the prince of Guzzerat, his victroy, and the erection of Beesilnuggur,* on the spot where victory perched upon his lance; but this we reserve for the introduction of the history of the illustrious Pirthwiraj. There is much fable mixed up with the history of Beesildeo, apparently invented to hide a blot in the annals, warranting the inference that he became a convert, in all likelihood a compulsory one, to the doctrines of Islam. There is also the appearance of his subsequent expiation of this crime in the garb of a penitent; and the mound (*dhoond*), where he took up his abode, still exists, and is called after him, *Beesil-ca-dhoond*, at Kalik Johnair.†

According to the *Book of kings* of Gomund Ram (the Hara bard), the Haras were descended from Anuraj, son of Beesildeo; but Mog-ji, the Kheechie bard, makes Anuraj

* This town,—another proof of the veracity of the chronicle,—yet exists in Northern Guzzerat.

† The pickaxe, if applied to this mound (which gives its name to Dhoondar), might possibly shew it to be a place of sepulture, and that the Chohans, even to this period, may have entombed at least the bones of their dead. The numerous *tumuli* about Hydrabad, the ancient Gowalcoond, one of the royal abodes of the Chohans, may be sepultures of this race, and the arms and vases they contain all strengthen my hypothesis of their Scythic origin.

progenitor of the Kheechies, and son of Manik Rae. We follow the Hara bard.

Anuraj had assigned to him in appanage the important frontier fortress of Asi (*vulg.* Hansi). His son Ishtpal, together with Agunraj, son of Ajey-Rao, the founder of Keechpoor Patun in Sinde-Sagur, was preparing to seek his fortunes with Rundheer Chohan, prince of Gowalcoond: but both Asi and Golconda were almost simultaneously assailed by an army "from the wilds of Gujlibund." Rundheer performed the *saca*; and only a single female, his daughter, named Soorahbae, survived, and she fled for protection towards Asi, then attacked by the same furious invader. Anuraj prepared to fiy; but his son, Ishtpal, determined not to wait the attack, but seek the foe. A battle ensued, when the invader was slain, and Ishtpal, grievously wounded, pursued him till he fell, near the spot where Soorahbae was awaiting death under the shade of a *peepul*: for "hopes of life were extinct, and fear and hunger had reduced her to a skeleton." In the moment of despair, however, the *ashtwa* (peepul) tree under which she took shelter was severed, and *Asapurna*, the guardian goddess of her race, appeared before her. To her, Soorahbae related how her father and twelve brothers had fallen in defending Golconda against 'the demon of Gujlilbund.' The goddess told her to be of good cheer, for that a Chohan of her own race had slain him, and was then at hand; and led her to where Ishtpal lay senseless from his wounds. By her aid he recovered,* and possessed himself of that ancient heir-loom of the Chohans the famed fortress of Aser.

Ishtpal, the founder of the Haras, obtained Aser in S. 1081† (or A. D. 1025); and as Mahmood's last destructive visit to India, by Mooltan through the desert to Ajmeer, was in A. H 417, or A. D. 1022, we have every right to conclude that his father Anuraj lost his life and Asi to the king of Ghizni; at the same time that Ajmeer was sacked, and the country laid waste by this conqueror, whom the Hindu bard

* Or, as the story goes, his limbs, which lay dissevered, were collected by Soorahbae, and the goddess sprinkling them with "the water of life," he arose! Hence the name *Hara*, which his descendants bore, from *har*, or 'bone,' thus collected; but more likely from having lost (*hara*) Asi.

† The Hara chronicle says S. 981, but by some strange, yet uniform error, all the tribes of the Chohans antedate their chronicles by a hundred years. Thus Beesildeo's taking possession of Anhulpoor Patun is "nine hundred, fifty, thirty and six" (S. 986), instead of S. 1086. But it even pervades Chund, the poet of Pirthwiraj, whose birth is made 1115, instead of S. 1215; and here, in all probability, the error commenced, by the ignorance (wilful we cannot imagine) of some rhymer.

might well style, "the demon from Gujlibund."* The Mehomedan historians give us no hint even of any portion of Mahmood's army penetrating into the peninsula, though that grasping ambition, which considered the shores of Saurashtra but an intermediate step from Ghizni to the conquest of Ceylon and Pegu,† may have pushed an army during his long halt at Anhulwarra, and have driven Rundheer from Golconda. But it is idle to speculate upon such slender materials; let them suffice to illustrate one new fact, namely, that these kingdoms of the south as well as the north were held by Rajpoot sovereigns, whose offspring, blending with the original population, produced that mixed race of Mahrattas, inheriting with the names, the warlike propensities, of their ancestors, but who assume the name of their abodes as titles, as the Nimalkurs, the Phalkias, the Patunkars, instead of their tribes of Jadoon, Tuar, Puar, &c. &c.

Ishtpal had a son called Chand-kurn; his son, Lok Pal, had Hamir and Gumbir, names well known in the wars of Pirthwiraj. The brothers were enrolled amongst his one hundred and eight great vassals, from which we may infer that, though Aser was not considered absolutely as a fief, its chief paid homage to Ajmeer, as the principal seat of the Chohans.

In the *Conouj Samya*, that book of the poems of Chund devoted to the famous war in which the Chohan prince carries off the princess of Canouj, honourable mention is made of the Hara princes in the third day's fight, when they covered the retreat of Pirthwiraj:—

"Then did the Hara Rao Hamir, with his brother Gumbir, mounted on Lakhi steeds, approach their lord, as thus they spoke: 'Think of thy safety, Jungul-es,‡ while we make offerings to the array of Jeychund. Our horses' hoofs shall plough the field of fight, like the ship of the ocean.'"

The brothers encountered the contingent of the prince of Kasi (Benares), one of the great feudatories of Canouj. As they joined, "the shout raised by Hamir reached Doorga on her rock-bound throne." Both brothers fell in these wars, though one of the few survivors of the last battle fought with Shabudin for Rajpoot independence, was a Hara:—

* 'The elephant wilds.' They assert that *Ghizni* is properly *Gujni*, founded by the Yadus: and in a curious specimen of Hindu geography (presented by me to the Royal Asiatic Society) all the tract about the glaciers of the Ganges is termed Gujlibun, or Gujlibu, the 'Elephant Forest.' There is a "*Gujingurh*" mentioned by Abulfazil in the region of Bijore, inhabited by the Sooltano, Jadoon, and Eusofyze tribes.

† See Ferishta, life of Mahmood.

‡ Jungul-es, 'lord of the forest lands,' another of Pirthwiraj's title

Hamir had Kalkurna, who had Maha Mugd: his son was Rao Bacha; his, Rao Chund.

Amongst the many independent princes of the Chohan race to whom Alla-o-din was the messenger of the fate, was Rao Chund of Aser. Its walls, though deemed impregnable, were not proof against the skill and valour of this energetic warrior; and Chund and all his family, with the exception of one son, were put to the sword. This son was prince Rainsi, a name fatal to Chohan heirs, for it was borne by the son of Pirthwiraj who fell in the defence of Delhi; but Rainsi of Aser was more fortunate. He was but an infant of two years and a half old, and being nephew of the Rana of Cheetore, was sent to him for protection. When he attained man's estate, he made a successful attempt upon the ruined castle of Bhynsror, from which he drove Doonga, a Bhil chief, who, with a band of his mountain brethren, had made it his retreat. This ancient fief of Mewar had been dismantled by All-o-din in his attack on Cheetore, from which the Ranas had not yet recovered when the young Chohan came amongst them for protection.

Rainsi had two sons, Kolun and Kankul. Kolun being afflicted with an incurable disease, commenced a pilgrimage to the sacred "Kedarnath," one of the towns on the Ganges. To obtain the full benefit of this meritorious act, he determined to measure his length on the ground the whole of this painful journey. In six months he had only reached the Binda Pass, where, having bathed in a fountain whence flows the rivulet Bangunga, he found his health greatly restored. Kedarnath* was pleased to manifest himself, to accept his devotions, and to declare him "King of the Pathar," or plateau of Central India.† The whole of this tract was under the princes of Cheetore, but the sack of this famed fortress by Alla, and the enormous slaughter of the Gehlotes, had so weakened their authority, that the aboriginal Meenas had once more possessed themselves of all their native hills, or leagued with the subordinate vassals of Cheetore.

In ancient times, Raja Hoon, said to be of the Pramara race, was lord of the Pathar, and held his court at Mynal. There are many memorials of this Hoon or Hun prince and even so far back as the first assault of Cheetore, in the eighth century, its prince was aided in his defence by "*Ungutsi, lord*

* "The lord of Kedar," the gigantic *pine* of the Himalaya, a title of Siva.

† He bestowed in appanage on his brother Kankalji a tenth of the lands in his possession. From Kankal are descended the class of Bhats, called "Kroria Bhat."

of the Hoons." The celebrated temples of Barolli are attributed to this Hoon Raja, who appears in so questionable a shape, that we can scarcely refuse to believe that a branch of this celebrated race must in the first centuries of Vicrama have been admitted, as their bards say, amongst the thirty-six royal races of Rajpoots. Be this as it may, Rao Bango, the grandson of Kolun, took possession of the ancient Mynal, and on an elevation commanding the western face of the Pathar erected the fortress of Bumaoda. With Bhynsror on the east, Bumaoda and Mynal on the west, the Haras now occupied the whole extent of the Pathar. Other conquests were made, and Mandelgurh, Bijolli, Beygoo, Rutnagurh and Choraitagurh, formed an extensive, if not a rich, chieftainship.

Rao Bango had twelve sons, who dispersed their progeny over the Pathar. He was succeeded by Dewa, who had three sons, *viz.* Hur-raj,* Hatiji, and Samarsi.

The Haras had now obtained such power as to attract the attention of the emperor, and Rae Dewa was summoned to attend the court when Secunder Lodi ruled. He, therfore, installed his son, Hur-raj, in Bumaoda, and with his youngest, Samarsi, repaired to Delhi. Here he remained, till the emperor coveting a horse of the 'king of the Pathar,' the latter determined to regain his native hills. This steed is famed both in the annals of the Haras and Kheechies, and, like that of the Mede, had no small share in the future fortunes of his master. Its birth is thus related. The king had a horse of such mettle, that "he could cross a stream without wetting his hoof." Dewa bribed the royal equerry, and from a mare of the *Pathar* had a colt, to obtain which the king broke that law which is alike binding on the Mooslem and the Christian. Dewa sent off his family by degrees, and as soon as they were out of danger, he saddled his charger, and lance in hand appeared under the balcony where the emperor was seated. "Farewell, king," said the Kangra; "there are three things your majesty must never ask of a Rajpoot; his horse, his mistress, and his sword." He gave his steed the rein, and in safety regained the Pathar. Having resigned Bumaoda to Hur-raj, he came to Bandoo-Nal, the spot where his ancestor Kolun was cured of disease. Here the Meenas of the Oosarra tribe dwelt, under the patriarchal government of Jaitah, their chief. There was then no regular

* Hur-raj had twelve sons, the eldest of whom was Aloo, who succeeded to Bumaoda. Aloo Hara's name will never die as long as one of his race inhabits the Pathar: and there are many Bhomias descended from him still holding lands, as the Kombhawut and Bhojawut Haras. The end of Aloo Hara, and the destruction of Bumaoda (which the author has visited), will be related in the Personal Narrative.

city; the extremities of the valley (*thal**) were closed with barriers of masonry and gates, and the huts of the Meenas were scattered wherever their fancy led them to build. At this time, the community, which had professed obedience to the Rana on the sack of Cheetore, was suffering from the raids of Rao Gango, the Kheechie, who from his castle of Ramgurh (Relawun) imposed "*birchi-dohae*" on all around. To save themselves from Gango, who used "to drive his lance at the barrier of Bandoo," the Meanas entered into terms, agreeing, on the full moon of every second month, to suspend the tribute of the *chouth* over the barrier. At the appointed time, the Rao came, but no bag of treasure appeared. "Who has been before me?" demanded Gango; when forth issued the "lord of the Pathar," on the steed coveted by the Lodi king. Gango of Relawun bestrode a charger not less famed than his antagonist's, "which owed his birth to the river-horse of the Par, and a mare of the Kheechie chieftain's, as she grazed on its margin.† Mounted on this steed, no obstacle could stop him, and even the Chumbul was no impediment to his seizing the tribute at all seasons from the Meenas."

The encounter was fierce, but the Hara was victorious, and Gango turned his back on the lord of the Pathar, who tried the mettle of this son of the Par, pursuing him to the banks of the Chumbul. What was his surprise, when Gango sprang from the cliff, and horse and rider disappeared in the flood, but soon to reappear on the opposite bank! Dewa, who stood amazed, no sooner beheld the Rao emerge, than he exclaimed "Bravo, Rajpoot! Let me know your name." "Gango Kheechie," was the answer. "And mine is Dewa Hara; we are brothers, and must no longer be enemies. Let the river be our boundary."

It was in S. 1398 (A.D. 1342) that Jaita and the Oosarras acknowledged Rae Dewa as their lord, who erected Boondi in the centre of the *Bandoo-ca-Nal*, which henceforth became the capital of the Haras. The Chumbul, which, for a short time after the adventure here related, continued to be the barrier to the eastward, was soon overpassed, and the bravery of the race bringing them into contact with the emperor's lieutenants, the Haras rose to favour and power, extending their acquisitions, either by conquest or grant, to the confines of Malwa. The territory thus acquired obtained the geographical designation of Haravati or Harouti.‡

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* *Thal* and *Nal* are both terms for a valley, though the latter is oftener applied to a defile.

† The Par, or Parbutty river, flows near Ramgurh Relawun.

‡ In Mahomedan authors, Hadouty.

CHAPTER II.

Recapitulation of the Hara princes from the founder Anuraj to Rae Dewa,—He erects Boondi.—Massacre of the Oosarras.—Dewa abdicates.—Ceremony of Yugaraj, *or abdication.—Succeeded by Samarsi.—Extends his sway east of the Chumbul.—Massacre of the Koteah Bhils.—Origin of Kotah.—Napooji succeeds.—Feud with the Solanki of Thoda.—Assassination of Napooji.—Singular Sati.—Hamoo succeeds.—The Rana asserts his right over the Puthar.—Hamoo demurs, defies, and attacks him.—Anecdote.—Birsing.—Biroo.—Rao Bando.—Famine.—Anecdote.—Bando expelled by his brothers; converts to Mahomedanism.—Narayndas puts his uncle to death, and recovered hispatrimony—Anecdotes of Narayandas.—Aids the Rana of Cheetore.—Gains a victory.—Espouses the niece of Rana Raemall.—His passion for opium.—Death.—Rao Soorajmul—Marries a princess of Cheetore.—Fatal result.—*Aihara, *or Spring-hunt.—Assassination of the Rao.—His revenge—Twofold Sati.—Rao Soortan.—His cruelty, deposal, and banishment.—Rao Arjoon elected.—Romantic death.—Rao Soorjun accedes.*

HAVING sketched the history of this race, from the regeneration of Anhul,* the first Chohan (at a period which it is impossible to fix), to the establishment of the first Hara prince in Boondi, we shall here recapitulate the most conspicuous princes, with their dates, as established by synchronical events in the annals of other states, or by inscriptions; and then proceed with the history of the Haras as members of the great commonwealth of India.

Anuraj obtained Asi or Hansi.

Ishtpal, son of Anuraj; he was expelled from Asi, S. 1081 (A. D. 1025), and obtained Aser. He was founder of the Haras; the chronicle says not how long after obtaining Asi, but evidently very soon.

Hamir, killed in the battle of the Caggar, on the invasion of Shahbudin, S 1249, or A. D. 1193.

Rao Chund, slain in Aser, by Alla-o-din, in S. 1351.

Rainsi, fled from Aser, and came to Mewar, and in S 1353 obtained Bhynsror.

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* *Anhul* and *Agni* have the same signification, *viz.* 'fire'

Rao Bango, obtained Bumaoda, Mynal, &c.

Rao Dewa, S. 1398 (A. D. 1342), took the Bandoo valley from the Meenas, founded the city of Boondi, and styled the country Haravati.

Rao Dewa, whose Meena subjects far outnumbered his Haras, had recourse in order to consolidate his authority, to one of those barbarous acts too common in Rajpoot conquests. The Rajpoot chronicler so far palliates the deed, that he assigns a reason for it, namely, the insolence of the Meena leader, who dared to ask a daughter of the "*Lord of the Pathar.*" Be this as it may, he called in the aid of the Haras of Bumaoda and the Solankis of Thoda, and almost annihilated the Oosarras.

How long it was after this act of barbarity, that Dewa abdicated in favour of his son, is not mentioned, though it is far from improbable that this crime influenced his determination. This was the second time of his abdication of power; first, when he gave Bumaoda to Hur-raj, and went to Secunder Lodi; and now to Samarsi, the branches of Boondi and the Pathar ramaining independent of each other. The act of abdication confers the title of *Jugraj*;* or when they conjoin the authority of the son with the father, the heir is styled *Jivaraj.* Four instances of this are on record in the annals of Boondi; namely, by Dewa, by Naryan-das, by Raj Chuttur Sal, and by Sriji Omed Sing. It is a rule for a prince never to enter the capital after abandoning the government; the king is virtually defunct; he cannot be a subject, and he is no longer a king. To render the act more impressive, they make an effigy of the abdicated king, and on the twelfth day following the act (being the usual period of mourning), they commit it to the flames. In accordance with this custom, Dewa never afterwards entered the walls either of Boondi or Bumaoda,† but resided at the village of Omurthoona, five coss from the former, till his death.

Samarsi had three sons: 1. Napooji, who succeeded; 2. Hurpal, who obtained Jujawur, and left numerous issue, called Hurpalpotas; and, 3. Jaetsi, who had the honour of first extending the Hara name beyond the Chumbul. On his return from a visit to the Tuar chief of Keytoon, he passed the residence of a community of Bhils, in an extensive ravine near the river. Taking them by surprise, he attacked them, and they

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* *Yuga-Raj,* "sacrifice of the government."

† Hur-raj (elder son of Dewa), lord of Bumaoda, had twelve sons, of whom Aloo Hara, the eldest, held twenty-four castles upon the Pathar. With all of these the author is familiar, having trod the Pathar in every direction: of this, anon.

fell victims to the fury of the Haras. At the entrance of this ravine, which was defended by an outwork, Jaetsi slew the leader of the Bhils, and erected there a *hati* (elephant) to the god of battle, Bhiroo. He stands on the spot called *charjhopra*, near the chief portal of the castle of Kotah, a name derived from a community of Bhils called Koteah.*

Napooji, a name of no small note in the chronicles of Haravati, succeeded Samarsi. Napooji had married a daughter of the Solanki chief of Thoda, the lineal descendant of the ancient kings of Anhulwarra.. While on a visit to Thoda, a slab of beautiful marble attracted the regard of the Hara Rao, who desired his bride to ask it of her father. His delicacy was offended, and he replied, "he supposed the Hara would next ask him for his wife;" and desired him to depart. Napooji was incensed, and visited his anger upon his wife, whom he treated with neglect and even banished from his bed. She complained to her father. On the '*kajuli tees*,' the joyous third of the month Sawun, when a Rajpoot must visit his wife, the vassals of Boondi were dismissed to their homes

* The descendants of Jaetsi retained the castle and the surrounding country for several generations; when Bhonungsi, the fifth in descent, was dispossessed of them by Rao Soorujmull of Boondi. Jaetsi had a son, Soorjan, who gave the name of Kotah to this abode of the Bhils, round which he built a wall. His son Dheerdeo excavated twelve lakes, and dammed up that east of the town, still known by his name, though better by its new appellation of "Kishore Sagur." His son was Kandul, who had Bhonungsi, who lost and regained Kotah in the following manner. Kotah was seized by two Pathans, Dhakur and Kesar Khan. Bhonung, who became mad from excessive use of wine and opium, was banished to Boondi, and his wife, at the head of his household vassals, retired to Keytoon, around which the Haras held three hundred and sixty villages. Bhonung, in exile, repented of his excesses; he announced his amendment and his wish to return to his wife and kin. The intrepid Rajpootni rejoiced at his restoration, and laid a plan for the recovery of Kotah, in which she destined him to take part. To attempt it by force would have been to court destruction, and she determined to combine stratagem and courage. When the jocund festival of spring approached, when even decorum is for a while cast aside in the Rajpoot Saturnalia, she invited herself, with all the youthful damsels of Keytoon, to play the Holi with the Pathans of Kotah. The libertine Pathans received the invitation with joy, happy to find the queen of Keytoon evince so much amity. Collecting three hundred of the finest Hara youths, she disguised them in female apparel, and Bhonung, attended by the old nurse, each with a vessel of the crimson '*abir*, headed the band. While the youths were throwing the crimson powder amongst the Pathans, the nurse led Bhonung to play with their chief. The disguised Hara broke his vessel on the head of Kesar Khan. This was the signal for action: the Rajpoots drew their swords from beneath their *ghagras* (petticoats), and the bodies of Kesar and his gang strewed the terrace. The *mesjid* of Kesar Khan, still exists within the walls. Bhonung was succeeded by his son Doongursi whom Rao Soorujmull dispossessed and added Kotah to Boondi.

to keep the festival sacred to "the mother of births." The Thoda Rao, taking advantage of the unguarded state of Boondi, obtained admittance by stealth, and drove his lance through the head of the Hara Rao. He retired without observation, and was relating to his attendants the success of his revenge, when, at this moment, they passed one of the Boondi vassals, who seated in a hollow taking his *uml-pani* (opium-water), was meditating on the folly of going home, where no endearing caresses awaited him from his wife, who was deranged, and had determined to return to Boondi. While thus absorbed in gloomy reflections, the trampling of horses met his ear, and soon was heard the indecent mirth of the Thoda Rao's party, at the Hara Rao dismissing his vassals and remaining unattended. The Chohan guessed the rest, and as the Thoda Rao passed close to him, he levelled a blow which severed his right arm from his body and brought him from his horse. The Solanki's attendants took to flight, and the Chohan put the severed limb, on which was the golden bracelet, in his scarf, and proceeded back to Boondi. Here all was confusion and sorrow. The Solanki queen, true to her faith, determined to mount the pyre with the murdered body of her lord ; yet equally true to the line whence she sprung, was praising the vigour of her brother's arm, "which had made so many mouths,* that she wanted hands to present a *pan* to each." At the moment she was apostrophising the dead body of her lord, his faithful vassal entered, and undoing the scarf presented to her the dissevered arm, saying, "perhaps this may aid you." She recognized the bracelet, and though, as a *sati*, she had done with this world, and should die in peace with all mankind, she could not forget, even at that dreadful moment, that "to revenge a feud" was the first of all duties. She called for pen and ink, and before mounting the pyre wrote to her brother, that if he did not wipe off that disgrace, his seed would be stigmatized as the issue of "the one-handed Solanki." When he persued the dying words of his *sati* sister, he was stung to the soul, and being incapable of revenge, immediately dashed out his brains against a pillar of the hall.

Napooji had three sons, Hamooji, Norung (whose descendants are Norungpotas), Thurud (whose descendants are Thurud-Haras), and Hamoo, who succeeded in S. 1440. We have already mentioned the separation of the branches when Hur-raj, retained Bumaoda, at the period when his father established himself at Boondi, Aloo Hara succeeded ; but the

* "Poor dumb mouths.'

lord of the Pathar had a feud with the Rana, and he was dispossessed of his birth-right. Bumaoda was levelled, and he left no heirs to his revenge.

The princes of Cheetore, who had recovered from the shock of Alla's invasion, now re-exerted their strength, the first act of which was the reduction of the power of the great vassals, who had taken advantage of their distresses to render themselves independent: among these they included the Haras. But the Haras deny their vassalage, and allege that though they always acknowledged the supremacy of the *gadi* of Mewar, they were indebted to their swords, not his *puttas*, for the lands they conquered on the Alpine Pathar. Both to a certain degree are right. There is no room to doubt that the fugitive Hara from Aser owed his preservation, as well as his establishment, to the Rana, who assuredly possessed the whole of the Plateau till Alla's invasion. But then the Seesodia power was weakened, the Bhomias and aboriginal tribes recovered their old retreats, and from these the Haras obtained them by conquest. The Rana, however, who would not admit that a temporary abeyance of his power sanctioned encroachment upon it, called upon Hamoo "to do service for Boondi." The Hara conceded personal homage in the grand festivals of the Duserah and Holi, to acknowledge his supremacy and receive the *tika* of installation, but he rejected at once the claim of unlimited attendance. Nothing less, however, would satisfy the king of Cheetore, who resolved to compel submission, or drive the stock of Dewa from the Pathar. Hamoo defied, and determined to brave, his resentment. The Rana of Mewar marched with all his vassals to Boondi, and encamped at Neemario, only a few miles from the city. Five hundred Haras, "the sons of one father," put on the saffron robe, and ralied round their chief, determined to die with him. Having no hope but from an effort of despair, they marched out at midnight, and fell upon the Rana's camp, which was completely surprised; and each Seesodia sought safety in flight. Hamoo made his way direct to the tent of *Hindupati*; but the sovereign of the Seesodias was glad to avail himself of the gloom and confusion to seek shelter in Cheetore, while his vassals fell under the swords of the Haras.

Humiliated, disgraced, and enraged at being thus foiled by a handful of men, the Rana reformed his troops under the walls of Cheetore, and swore he would not eat until he was master of Boondi. The rash vow went round; but Boondi was sixty miles distant, and defended by brave hearts. His chiefs expostulated with the Rana on the absolute impos-

sibility of redeeming his vow; but the words of kings are sacred: Boondi must fall, ere the king of the Gehlotes could dine. In this exigence, a childish expedient was proposed to release him from hunger and his oath; "to erect a mock Boondi, and take in by storm." Instantly the mimic town arose under the walls of Cheetore; and, that the deception might be complete, the local nomenclature was attended to, and each quarter had its appropriate appellation. A band of Haras of the Pathar were in the service of Cheetore, whose leader, Koombo-Bairsi, was returning with his kin from hunting the deer, when their attention was attracted by this strange bustle. The story was soon told, that Boondi must fall ere the Rana could dine. Koombo assembled his brethren of the Pathar, declaring, that even the mock Boondi must be defended. All felt the indignity to the clan, and each bosom burning with indignation, they prepared to protect the mud walls of the *pseudo* Boondi from insult. It was reported to the Rana that Boondi was finished. He advanced to the storm: but what was his surprise when, instead of the blank-cartridge he heard a volley of balls whiz amongst them! A messenger was despatched, and was received by Bairsi at the gate, who explained the cause of the unexpected salutation, desiring him to tell the Rana that "not even the mock capital of a Hara should be dishonoured." Spreading a sheet at the little gateway, Bairsi and the Kaawunts invited the assault, and at the threshold of "*Gar-ca-Boondio*" (the Boondi of clay) they gave up their lives for the honour of the race.* The Rana wisely remained satisfied with this salvo to his dignity, nor sought any further to wipe off the disgrace incurred, at the real capital of the Haras, perceiving the impolicy of driving such a daring clan to desperation whose services he could command on an emergency.

Hamoo, who ruled sixteen years, left two sons; 1st. Birsing, and 2nd. Lalla, who obtained Khutkur, and had two sons, Novarma and Jaita, each of whom left clans called after them Novarma-pota and Jaitawut. Birsing ruled fifteen years, and left three sons; Biroo, Jubdoo, who founded three tribes,†

* Somewhat akin to this incident is the history of that summer abode of the kings of France in the Bois de Boulogne at Paris, called "Madrid." When Francis I. was allowed to return to his capital, he pledged his *parole* that he would return to *Madrid*. But the delights of liberty and Paris were too much for honour: and while he wavered, a hint was thrown out similar to that suggested to the Rana when determined to capture Boondi. A mock Madrid arose in the Bois de Boulogne, to which Francis retired.

† Jubdoo had three sons; each founded clans. The eldest, Bacha,

and Nima, descendants Nimawuts. Biroo, who died S. 1526, ruled fifty years, and had seven sons; 1. Rao Bando; 2. Sando; 3. Ako; 4. Oodoh; 5. Chanda; 6. Samarsing; 7. Umursing: the first five founded clans named after them Akawut, Oodawut, Chondawut, but the last two abandoned their faith for that of Islam.

Bando has left a deathless name in Rajwarra for his boundless charities, more especially during the famine which desolated that country in S. 1542 (A. D. 1486). He was forewarned, says the bard, in a vision, of the visitation. *Kal* (Time or the famine personified) appeared riding on a lean black buffalo. Grasping his sword and shield, the intrepid Hara assaulted the apparition. "Bravo, Bando Hara," it exclaimed; "I am *Kal* (Time); on me your sword will fall in vain. Yet you are the only mortal who ever dared to oppose me. Now listen: I am *Bealees* (forty-two); the land will become a desert; fill your granaries, distribute liberally, they will be never empty." Thus saying, the spectre vanished. Rao Bando obeyed the injunction; he collected grain from every surrounding state. One year passed and another had almost followed, when the periodical rains ceased, and a famine ensued which ravaged all India. Princes far and near sent for aid to Boondi, while his own poor had daily portions served out *gratis*: which practice is still kept up in memory of Rao Bando, by the name of *Lungur-ca-googri*, or 'anchor of Bando.'

But the piety and charity of Rao Bando could not shield him from adversity. His two youngest brothers, urged by the temptation of power, abandoned their faith, and with the aid of the royal power expelled him from Boondi, where, under their new titles of Samarcandi and Umurcandi, they jointly ruled eleven years. Bando retired to Matoonda, in the hills, where he died after a reign of twenty-one years, and where his cenotaph still remains. He left two sons, 1st. Narayan-das, and 2nd. Nir-Boodh, who had Matoonda.

Narayan had grown up to manhood in this retreat; but no sooner was he at liberty to act for himself, than he assembled the Haras of the Pathar, and revealed this determination to obtain Boondi, or perish in the attempt. They swore to abide his fortunes. After the days of *matum* (mourning) were over, he sent to his islamite uncles a complimentary message, intimating his wish to pay his respects to them; and not suspecting danger from a youth brought up in obscurity, it was signified, that he might come.

had two sons, Sewaji and Seranji. The former had Meoji; the latter had Sawunt, whose descendants are styled Meoh and Sawunt Haras.

With a small but devoted band, he reached the *chowk* (square), where he left his adherents, and alone repaired to the palace. He ascended to where both the uncles were seated almost unattended. They liked not the resolute demeanour of the youth, and tried to gain a passage which led to a subterranean apartment; but no sooner was this intention perceived, than the *khanda*, or 'double-edged sword,' of Bando's son cut the elder to the ground, while his lance reached the other before he got to a place of security. In an instant, he severed both their heads, with which he graced the shrine of Bhavani, and giving a shout to his followers in the *chowk*, their swords were soon at work upon the Mooslems. Every true Hara supported the just cause, and the dead bodies of the apostates and their crew were hurled with ignominy over the walls. To commemorate this exploit and the recovery of Boondi from these traitors, the pillar on which the sword of the young Hara descended, when he struck down Samarcandi, and which bears testimony to the vigour of his arm, is annually worshipped by every Hara on the festival of the Dusera.*

Narayn-das became celebrated for his strength and prowess. He was one of those undaunted Rajpoots who are absolutely strangers to the impression of fear, and it might be said of danger and himself, "that they were brothers whelped the same day, and he the elder." Unfortunately, these qualities were rendered inert from the enormous quantity of opium he took, which would have killed most men; for it is recorded "he could at one time eat the weight of seven pice."† The consequence of this vice, as might be expected, was a constant stupefaction, of which many ancedotes are related. Being called to aid the Rana Raemull, then attacked by the Pathans of Mandoo, he set out at the head of five hundred select Haras. On the first day's march, he was taking his siesta, after his usual dose, under a tree, his mouth wide open, into which the flies had unmolested ingress, when a young *tailani*‡ came to draw water at the well, and on learning that this was Boondi's prince on his way to aid the Rana in his distress, she observed, "If he gets on other aid than this, alas for my prince!" "The *umuldar* (opium-eater) has quick years, though no eyes," is a common adage in Rajwarra. "What is

* Though called a pillar, it is a slab in the staircase of the old palace, which I have seen.

† The copper coin of Boondi, equal to a halfpenny. One pice weight is a common dose for an ordinary Rajpoot, but would send the uninitiated to eternal sleep.

‡ Wife or daughter of a *taili*, or oilman.

that you say, *rand* (widow)?" roared the Rao, advancing to her. Upon her endeavouring to excuse herself, he observed, "do not fear, but repeat it." In her hand she had an iron crow-bar, which the Rao, taking it from her, twisted until the ends met round her neck. "Wear this garland for me," said he, "until I return from aiding the Rana, unless in the interim you can find some one strong enough to unbind it."

Cheetore was closely invested; the Rao moved by the intricacies of the Pathar, took the royal camp by surprise, and made direct for the tent of the generalissimo, cutting down all in his way. Confusion and panic seized the Mooslems, who fled in all directions. The Boondi nakarras (drums) struck up; and as the morning broke, the besieged had the satisfaction to behold the invaders dispersed and their auxiliaries at hand. Rana Raemull came forth, and conducted his deliverer in triumph to Cheetore. All the chiefs assembled to do honour to Boondi's prince, and the ladies "behind the curtain" felt so little alarm at their opium-eating knight, that the Rana's niece determined to espouse him, and next day communicated her intentions to the Rana. "The slave of Narayn" was too courteous a cavalier to let any fair lady die for his love; the Rana was too sensible of his obligation not to hail with joy any mode of testifying his gratitude, and the nuptials of the Hara and *Ketu* were celebrated with pomp. With victory and his bride, he returned to the Bando valley; where, however, 'the flower of gloomy Dis' soon gained the ascendant even over Camdeo, and his doses augmented to such a degree, that "he scratched his lady instead of himself, and with such severity that he marred the beauty of the Mewari." In the morning, perceiving what had happened, yet being assailed with no reproach, he gained a reluctant victory over himself, and "consigned the opium-box to her keeping." Narayn-das ruled thirty-two years, and left his country in tranquillity, and much extended, to his only son.

Soorujmull ascended the gadi in S. 1590 (A. D. 1534) Like his father, he was athletic in form and dauntless in soul; and it is said, possessed in an eminent degree that unerring sign of a hero, long arms, his (like those of Rama and Pirthwiraj) "reaching far below his knees."

The alliance with Cheetore was again cemented by intermarriage. Sooja Bae, sister to Soorujmull, was espoused by Rana Rutna, who bestowed his own sister on the Rao. Rao Soojoo, like his father, was too partial to his *uml*. One day, at Cheetore, he had fallen asleep in the Presence, when a Poorbia chief felt an irresistible inclination to disturb him, and "tickled the Hara's ear with a straw." He might as well have jested

with a tiger: a back stroke with his *khanda* stretched the insulter on the carpet. The son of the Poorbia treasured up the feud, and waited for revenge, which he effected by making the Rana believe the Rao had other objects in view, besides visiting his sister Sooja Bae, at the Rawula. The train thus laid, the slightest incident inflamed it. The fair Sooja had prepared a repast, to which she invited both her brother and her husband: she had not only attended the culinary process herself, but waited on these objects of her love to drive the flies from the food. Though the wedded fair of Rajpootana clings to the husband, yet she is ever more solicitous for the honour of the house from whence she sprung, than that into which she had been admitted; which feeling has engendered numerous quarrels. Unhappily, Sooja remarked, on removing the dishes, that "her brother had devoured his share like a tiger, while her husband had played with him like a child (*balac*)." The expression, added to other insults which he fancied were put upon him, cost the Rao his life, and sent the fair Sooja an untimely victim to Indraloca. The dictates of hospitality prevented the Rana from noticing the remark at the moment, and in fact it was more accordant with the general tenor of his character to revenge the affront with greater security than even the isolated situation of the brave Hara afforded him. On the latter taking leave, the Rana invited himself to hunt on the next spring festival in the *rumnas* or preserves of Boondi. The merry month of Phalgoon arrived; the Rana and his court prepared their suits of *amowah* (green), and ascended the Pathar on the road to Boondi, in spite of the anathema of the prophetic *Sati*, who, as she ascended the pyre at Bumaoda, pronounced that whenever Rao and Rana met to hunt together at the *Aihara*, such meeting, which had blasted all her hopes, would always be fatal. But centuries had rolled between the denunciation of the daughter of Aloo Hara and Sooja Bae of Boondi; and the prophecy, though in every mouth, served merely to amuse the leisure hour; the moral being forgotten, it was only looked upon as a 'tale that was past.'

The scene chosen for the sport was on the heights of Nandta, not far from the western bank of the Chumbul, in whose glades every species of game, from the lordly lion to the timid hare, abounded. The troops were formed into lines, advancing through the jungles with the customary noise and clamour and driving before them a promiscuous herd of tenants of the forest,—lions, tigers, hyenas, bears, every species of deer, from the enormous *bara-singa* and Nilgae to the delicate antelope, with jackals, foxes, hares, and the little wild dog. In such

an animated scene as this, the Rajpoot forgets even his opium ; he requires no exhilaration beyond the stimulus before him ; a species of petty war, not altogether free from danger.

It was amidst the confusion of such a scene that the dastard Rana determined to gratify his malice. The princes had convenient stations assigned them, where they could securely assail the game as it passed, each having but one or two confidential attendants. With the Rana was the Iago of his revenge, the son of the Poorbia, whom the Hara prince had slain. "Now is the moment," said the Rana to his companion, "to slay the boar" and instantly an arrow from the bow of the Poorbia was sped at the Rao. "With an eagle's eye he saw it coming, and turned it off with his bow." This might have been chance, but another from the foster-brother of the Rana convinced him there was treachery. Scarcely had he warded off the second, when the Rana darted at him on horseback, and cut him down with his *khanda.* The Rao fell, but recovering, took his shawl and tightly bound up the wound, and as his foe was making off, he called aloud, "Escape you may, but you have sunk Mewar." The Poorbia, who follwed his prince, when he saw the Rao bind up his wound, said, "the work is but half done ;" and like a coward, Rutna once more charged the wounded Rao. As his arm was raised to finish the deed of shame, like a wounded tiger, the Hara made a dying effort, caught the assassin by the robe, and dragged him from his steed. Together they came to the ground, the Rana underneath. The Rao knelt upon his breast, while, with preternatural strength, with one hand he grasped his victim by the throat, with the other he searched for his dagger. What a moment for revenge! He plunged the weapon into his assassin's heart, and saw him expire at his feet. The Rao was satisfied ; there was no more life left him than sufficed for revenge, and he dropped a corpse upon the dead body of his foeman.

The tidings flew to Boondi, to the mother of the Rao, that her son was slain in the *Aihara.* "Slain!" exclaimed this noble dame, "but did he fall alone? Never could a son, who has drunk at this breast, depart unaccompanied ;" and as she spoke, maternal feeling caused the milk to issue from the fount with such force, that it rent the slab on which it fell.

The dread of dishonour, which quenched the common sympathies of nature for the death of her son, had scarcely been thus expressed, when a second messenger announced the magnitude of his revenge. The Rajpoot dame was satisfied, though fresh horrors were about to follow. The wives of the murdered princes could not survive, and the pyres were

prepared on the fatal field of sport. The fair Sooja expiated her jest, which cost her a husband and a brother, in the flames, while the sister of Rana Rutna, married to the Rao, in accordance with custom or affection, burned with the dead body of her lord. The cenotaphs of the princes were reared where they fell; while that of Sooja Bae was erected on a pinnacle of the Pass, and adds to the picturesque beauty of this romantic valley, which possesses a double charm for the traveller, who may have taste to admire the scene, and patience to listen to the story.*

Soortan succeeded in S. 1591 (A. D. 1535), and married the daughter of the celebrated Sukta, founder of the Suktawuts of Mewar. He became an ardent votary of the blood-stained divinity of war, *Kal-Bhiroo*, and like almost all those ferocious Rajpoots who resign themselves to his horrid rites, grew cruel and at length deranged. Human victims are the chief offerings to this brutalized personification of war, though Soortan was satisfied with the eyes of his subjects, which he placed upon the altar of "the mother of war." It was then time to question the divine right by which he ruled. The assembled nobles deposed and banished him from Boondi, assigning a small village on the Chumbul for his residence, to which he gave the name Soortanpoor, which survives to bear testimony to one of many instances of the deposition of their princes by the Rajpoots, when they offend custom or morality. Having no offspring, the noble elected the son of Nirboodh, son of Rao Bando, who had been brought up in his patrimonial village of Matoonda.

Rao Arjoon, the eldest of the eight sons † of Nirboodh, succeeded his banished cousin. Nothing can more effectually evince the total extinction of animosity between these valiant races, when once 'a feud is balanced,' than the fact of Rao Arjoon, soon after his accession, devoting himself and his valiant kinsmen to the service of the son of that Rana who had slain his predecessor. The memorable attack upon Cheetore by Bahadoor of Guzzerat, has already been related, and the death of the Hara prince his vassals at the post of honour, the breach. Rao Arjoon was this prince, who was blown up at the Cheetore *boorj* (bastion). The Boondi bard makes a striking picture of this catastrophe, in which the indomitable

* The Author has seen the cenotaphs of the princes at Nandta, a place which still affords good hunting.

† Four of these had appanages and founded clans, namely, Bheem, who had Takurda; Pooro, who had Hurdoe; Mapal and Puchaen, whose abodes are not recorded.

courage of their prince is finely imagined. The fact is also confirmed by the annals of Mewar:

"Seated on a fragment of the rock, disparted by the explosion of the mine, Arjoon drew his sword, and the world beheld his departure with amazement."*

Soorjun, the eldest of the four sons† of Arjoon, succeeded in S. 1589 (A. D. 1533).

* "*Sor na kea bohut jor*
"*Dhur purbut ori silla*
"*Tyn kari turwar*
"*Ad patia, Hara Uja.*" (1)

† Ram Sing, clan Rama Hara; Akhiraj, clan Akhirajpota; Kandil, clan Jessa Hara.

(1) Uja, the familiar contraction for Arjoona.

CHAPTER III.

Rao Soorjun obtains Rinthumbor.—Is besieged by Akber.—The Boondi prince surrenders the castle.—Becomes a vassal of the empire.—Magnanimous sacrifice of Sawunt Hara.—Akber bestows the title of Rao Raja on the Hara prince.—He is sent to reduce Gondwana.—His success and honours.—Rao Bhoj succeeds.—Akber reduces Guzzerat.—Gallant conduct of the Haras at Surat and Ahmednuggur.—Amazonian band.—Disgrace of Rao Bhoj.—Causes of Akber's death.—Rao Ruttun.—Rebellion against the emperor Jehangir.—The Hara prince defeats the rebels.—Partition of Harouti.—Madhu Sing obtains Kotah.—Rao Ruttun slain.—His heir Gopinath killed.—Partition of fiefs in Harouti.—Rao Chutter Sal succeeds.—Appointed governor of Agra.—Services in the Dekhan.—Escalades Doulutabad.—Callberga.—Damounee.—Civil war amongst the sons of Shah Jehan.—Character of Arungzeb by the Boondi prince.—Fidelity of the Hara princes.—Battles of Oojein and Dholpoor.—Heroic valour of Chutter Sal.—Is slain, with twelve princes of Hara blood.—Rao Bhao succeeds.—Boondi invaded.—Imperialists defeated.—Rao Bhao restored to favour.—Appointed to Arungabad.—Succeeded by Rao Anurad.—Appointed to Lahore.—His death.—Rao Boodh.—Battle of Jajow.—The Hara princes of Kotah and Boondi opposed to each other.—Kotah prince slain.—Gallantry of Rao Boodh.—Obtains the victory for Buhadoor Shah.—Fidelity of the Boondi prince.—Compelled to fly.—Feud with the princes of Amber.—Its cause.—Ambitious views of Amber.—Its political condition.—Treachery of Amber.—Desperate conflict.—Rao Boodh driven from Boondi.—Boondi territory curtailed.—Rao Boodh dies in exile.—His sons.

WITH Rao Soorjun commenced a new era for Boondi. Hitherto her princes had enjoyed independence, excepting the homage and occasional service on emergencies which are maintained as much from kinship as vassalage. But they were now about to move in a more extended orbit, and to occupy a conspicuous page in the future history of the empire of India.

Sawunt Sing, a junior branch of Boondi, upon the expulsion of the Shereshahi dynasty, entered into a correspondence with the Afghan governor of Rinthumbor, which terminated in the surrender of this celebrated fortress, which

he delivered up to his superior, the Rao Soorjun. For this important service, which obtained a castle and possession far superior to any under Boondi, lands were assigned near the city to Sawuntji, whose name became renowned, and was transmitted as the head of the clan, Sawunt-Hara.

The Chohan chief of Baidla, who was mainly instrumental to the surrender of this famed fortress, stipulated that it should be held by Rao Soorjun, as a fief of Mewar. Thus Rinthumbor, which for ages was an appanage of Ajmeer, and continued until the fourteenth century in a branch of the family descended from Beesildeo, when it was captured from the valiant Hamir* after a desperate resistance, once more reverted to the Chohan race.

Rinthumbor was an early object of Akber's attention, who besieged it in person. He had been sometime before its impregnable walls without the hope of its surrender, when Bhagwandas of Amber and his son, the more celebrated Raja Maun, who had not only tendered their allegiance to Akber, but allied themselves to him by marriage, determined to use their influence to make Soorjun Hara faithless to his pledge, "to hold the castle as a fief of Cheetore."† That courtesy, which is never laid aside amongst belligerent Rajpoots, obtained Raja Maun access to the castle, and the emperor accompanied him in the guise of a mace-bearer. While conversing, an uncle of the Rao recognized the emperor, and with that sudden impulse which arises from respect, took the mace from his hand and placed Akber on the 'cushion' of the governor of the castle. Akber's presence of mind did not forsake him, and he said, "Well, Rao Soorjun, what is to be done?" which was replied to by Raja Maun, "Leave the Rana, give up Rinthumbor, and become the servant of the king, with high honours and office." The proffered bribe was indeed magnificent; the government of fifty-two districts, whose revenues were to be appropriated without inquiry, on furnishing the customary contingent, and liberty to name any

* His fame is immortalized by a descendants of the Bard Chund, in the works already mentioned, as bearing his name, the *Hamir-rasa* and *Hamir-cavya.*

† The Raja Maun of Amber is styled, in the poetic chronicle of the Haras, "the shade of the *Kali Yuga*:" a powerful figure, to denote that his baneful influence and example, in allying himself by matrimonial ties with the imperialists, denationalized the Rajpoot character. In refusing to follow this example, we have presented a picture of patriotism in the life of Rana Pertap of Mewar. Rao Soorjun avoided by convention what the Cheetore prince did by arms.

other terms, which should be solemnly guaranteed by the king.*

A treaty was drawn up upon the spot, and mediated by the prince of Amber, which presents a good picture of Hindu feeling:

1st. That the chiefs of Boondi should be exempted from that custom, degrading to a Rajpoot, of sending a *dola*† to the royal harem.

2nd. Exemption from the *jezeya*, or poll-tax.

3rd. That the chiefs of Boondi should not be compelled to cross the Attoc.

4th. That the vassals of Boondi should be exempted from the obligation of sending their wives or female relatives "to hold a stall in the Meena Bazaar" at the palace, on the festival of Noroza.‡

5th. That they should have the privilege of entering the *Dewan-aum*, or 'hall of audience,' completely armed.

6th. That their sacred edifices should be respected.

7th. That they should never be placed under the command of a Hindu leader.

8th. That their horses should not be branded with the imperial *dagh*.§

9th. That they should be allowed to beat their *nakarras* on 'kettle-drums,' in the streets of the capital, as far as the *lal durwaza*, or 'red-gate;' and that they should not be cammanded to make the 'prostration,'‖ on entering the Presence.

10th. That Boondi should be to the Haras what Delhi was to the king, who should guarantee them from any change of capital.

* We may here remark, that the succeeding portion of the annals of Boondi is a free translation of an historical sketch drawn up for me by the Raja of Boondi from his own records, occasionally augmented from the bardic chronicle.

† Dola is the term for a princess affianced to the king.

‡ An ancient institution of the Timoorean kings, derived from their Tatar ancestry. For a description of this festival, see Vol. I, p. 359 and Gladwin's Ayeen Akberi.

§ This brand (*dagh*) was a flower on the forehead.

‖ Similar to the *ko-tow* of China. Had our ambassador possessed the wit of Rao Soortan who, when compelled to pay homage to the king determined at whatever hazard not to submit to this degradation, he might have succeeded in this mission to the "son of heaven." For the relation of this anecdote see *Annals of Marwar*.

In addition to these articles, which the king swore to maintain, he assigned the Rao a residence at the sacred city of Kasi, possessing that privilege so dear to the Rajpoot, the right of sanctuary, which is maintained to this day. With such a bribe, and the full acceptance of his terms, we cannot wonder the Rao Soorjun flung from him the remnant of allegiance he owed to Mewar, now humbled by the loss of her capital, or that he should agree to follow the victorious car of the Mogul. But this dereliction of duty was effaced by the rigid virtue of the brave Sawunt Hara, who, as already stated, had conjointly with the Kotario Chohan* obtained Rinthumbor. He put on the safforn robes, and with his small but virtuous clan determined, in spite of his sovereign's example, that Akber should only gain possession over their lifeless bodies.

Previous to this explosion of useless fidelity, he set up a pillar with a solemn anathema engraved thereon, on "whatever Hara of gentle blood should ascend the castle of Rinthumbor, or who should quit it alive." Sawunt and his kin made the sacrifice to honour; they gave up their life's blood to maintain their fidelity to the Rana, albeit himself without a capital; and from that day, no Hara ever passes Rinthumbor without averting his head from an object which caused disgrace to the tribe. With this transaction all intercourse ceased with Mewar, and from this period the Hara bore the title of "*Rao* Raja" of Boondi.

Rao Soorjun was soon called into action, and sent as commander to reduce Gondwana, so named from being the "region of the Goands." He took their capital, Bari, by assault, and to commemorate the achievement erected the gateway still called the Soorjunpol. The Goand leaders he carried captives to the emperor, and generously interceded for their restoration to liberty, and to a portion of their possessions. On effecting this service, the king added seven districts to his grant, including Benares and Chunar. This was in S. 1632, or A D. 1576, the year in which Rana Pertap of Mewar fought the battle of Huldighat against Sultan Selim.

Rao Soorjun resided at his government of Benares, and by his piety, wisdom, and generosity, benefited the empire and the Hindus at large, whose religion through him was respected. Owing to the prudence of his administration and the vigilance of his police, the most perfect security to person and property was established throughout the province. He beautified and

* This conjoint act of attaining the castle of Rinthumbor is confirmed in the annals of the chieftains of Kotario, of the same original stock as the Haras; though a *Poorbia* Chohan: I knew him very well, as also one of the same stock, of Baidla, another of the *sixteen puttaets* of Mewar.

ornamented the city, especially that quarter where he resided, and eighty-four edifices, for various public purposes, and twenty baths, were constructed under his auspices. He died there, and left three legitimate sons: 1. Rao Bhoj; 2. Dooda, nicknamed by Akber, Lukur Khan; 3. Raemull, who obtained the town and dependencies of Polaita, now one of the fiefs of Kotah and the residence of the *Raemulote Haras*.

About this period, Akber transferred the seat of government from Delhi to Agra, which he enlarged and called Akberabad. Having determined on the reduction of Guzzerat, he despatched thither an immense army, which he followed with a select force mounted on camels. Of these, adopting the custom of the desert princes of India, he had formed a corps of five hundred, each having two fighting men in a pair of panniers. To this select force, composed chiefly of Rajpoots, were attached Rao Bhoj and Dooda, his brother. Proceeding with the utmost celerity, Akber joined his army besieging Surat, before which many desperate encounters took place. In the final assault the Hara Rao slew the leader of the enemy; on which occasion the king commanded him to "name his reward." The Rao limited his request to leave to visit his estates annually during the periodical rains, which was granted.

The perpetual wars of Akber, for the conquest and consolidation of the universal empire of India, gave abundant opportunity to the Rajpoot leaders to exert their valour; and the Haras were ever at the post of danger and of honour. The siege and escalade of the famed castle of Ahmednuggur afforded the best occasion for the display of Hara intrepidity: again it shone forth, and again claimed distinction and reward. To mark his sense of the merits of the Boondi leader, the king commanded that a new bastion should be erected, where he led the assault, which he named the *Bhoj Boorj*; and further presented him his own favourite elephant. In this desperate assault, Chand Begum, the queen of Ahmednuggur, and an armed train of seven hundred females, were slain, gallantly fighting for their freedom.

Notwithstanding all these services, Rao Rhoj fell under the emperor's displeasure. On the death of the queen, Joda Bae, Akber commanded a court-mourning; and that all might testify a participation in their master's affliction, an ordinance issued that all the Rajpoot chiefs, as well as the Mooslem leaders, should shave the *moustache* and the beard. To secure compliance, the royal barbers had the execution of the mandate. But when they came to the quarters of the Haras, in order to remove these tokens of manhood, they were repulsed

with buffets and contumely. The enemies of Rao Bhoj aggravated the crime of this resistance, and insinuated to the royal ear that the outrage upon the barbers was accompanied with expressions insulting to the memory of the departed princess, who, it will be remembered, was a Rajpootni of Marwar. Akber, forgetting his vassal's gallant services, commanded that Rao Bhoj should be pinioned and forcibly deprived of his '*mouche.*' He might as well have commanded the operation on a tiger. The Haras flew to their arms ; the camp was thrown into tumult, and would soon have presented a wide scene of bloodshed, had not the emperor, seasonably repenting of his folly, repaired to the Boondi quarters in person. He expressed his admiration (he might have said his fear) of Hara valour, alighted from his elephant to expostulate with the Rao, who with considerable tact pleaded his father's privileges, and added "that an eater of pork like him was unworthy of the distinction of putting his lip into mourning of the queen." Akber, happy to obtain even so much acknowledgment, embraced the Rao, and carried him with him to his own quarters.

In this portion of the Boondi memoirs is related the mode of Akber's death. He had designed to take off the great Raja Maun by means of a poisoned confection formed into pills. To throw the Raja off his guard, he had prepared other pills which were innocuous ; but in his agitation he unwittingly gave these to the Raja, and swallowed those which were poisoned. On the emperor's death, Rao Bhoj retired to his hereditary dominions, and died in his palace of Boondi, leaving three sons, Rao Ruttun, Hurda Narayn,* and Kesoodas.†

Jehangir was now sovereign of India. He had nominated his son Purvez to the government of the Dekhan, and having invested him in the city of Boorhanpoor, returned to the north. But Prince Khoorm, jealous of his brother, conspired against and slew him. The murder was followed by an attempt to dethrone his father Jehangir, and as he was popular with the Rajpoot princes, being son of a princess of Amber, a formidable rebellion was raised ; or, as the chronicle says, " the twenty-two Rajas turned against the king, all but Rao Ruttun :"

"*Surwar p'foota, jul baha,*
"*Ab kea kurro juttun ?*
"*Jata gurh Jehangir ca,*
"*Rekha Rao Ruttun.*"

"The lake had burst, the waters were rushing out ;

* He held Kotah in separate grant from the king during fifteen years.
† He obtained the town of Dheepri (on the Chumbul), with twenty seven villages, in appanage.

'where now the remedy? The house of Jehangir was departing; it was sustained by Rao Ruttun."

With his two sons, Madhu Sing and Heri, Ruttun repaired to Boorhanpoor, where he gained a complete victory over the rebels. In this engagement, which took place on Tuesday, the full moon of Cartica, S. 1635 (A.D. 1579), both his sons were severely wounded. For these services, Rao Ruttun was rewarded with the government of Boorhanpoor; and Madhu, his second son received a grant of the city of Kotah and its dependencies, which he and his heirs were to hold direct of the crown. Form this period, therefore, dates the partition of Harouti, when the emperor, in his desire to reward Madhu Sing, overlooked the greater services of his father. But in this Jehangir did not act without design; on the contrary, he dreaded the union of so much power in the hands of this brave race as pregnant with danger, and well knew that by dividing, he could always rule both, the one through the other. Shah Jehan confirmed the grant to Madhu Sing, whose history will be resumed in its proper place, the Annals of Kotah.

Rao Ruttun, while he held government of Boorhanpoor, founded a township which still bears his name, Ruttunpoor. He performed another important service, which, while it gratified the emperor, contributed greatly to the tranquillity of his ancient lord-paramount, the Rana of Mewar. A refractory noble of the court, Deriou Khan, was leading a life of riot and rapine in that country, when the Hara attacked, defeated, and carried him captive to the king. For this distinguished exploit, the king gave him honorary *nobuts*, or kettle drums; the grand yellow banner to be borne in state processions before his own person, and a red flag for his camp; which ensigns are still retained by his successors. Rao Ruttun obtained the suffrages not only of his Rajpoot brethren, but of the whole Hindu race, whose religion he preserved from innovation. The Haras exultingly boast that no Mooslem dared polute the quarters where they might be stationed with the blood of the sacred kine. After all his services, Ruttun was killed in an action near Boorhanpoor, leaving a name endeared by his valour and his virtues to the whole Hara race.

Rao Ruttun left four sons, Gopinath, who had Boondi; Madhu Sing, who had Kotah; Heriji, who had Googore;* Jugernath, who had no issue; and Gopinath, the heir of Boondi, who died before his father. The manner of his death affords another trait of Rajpoot character, and merits a place

* There are about fifty families, his descendents, forming a community round Neemoda.

amongst those anecdotes which form the romance of history. Gopinath carried on a secret intrigue with the wife of a Brahmin of the Buldea class, and in the dead of night used to esclade the house to obtain admittance. At length the Brahmin caught him, bound the hands and feet of his treacherous prince, and proceeding direct to the palace, told the Rao he had caught a thief in the act of stealing his honour, and asked what punishment was due to such offence. "Death," was the reply. He waited for no other, returned home, with a hammer beat out the victim's brains, throwing the dead body into the public highway. The tidings flew to Rao Ruttun, that the heir of Boondi had been murdered, and his corpse ignominiously exposed; but when he learned the cause, and was reminded of the decree he had unwittingly passed, he submitted in silence.*

Gopinath left twelve sons, to whom Rao Ruttun assigned domains still forming the principal *kotris*, or fiefs, of Boondi:

1. Rao Chutter-Sal, who succeeded to Boondi.
2. Indur Sing, who founded Indurgurh.†
3. Beri Sal, who founded Bulwun and Filodi, and had Kurwar and Peepaldo.
4. Mokhim Sing, who had Anterdeh.
5. Maha Sing, who had Thanoh.‡

* This trait in the character of Rao Ruttun forcibly reminds us of a similar case which occurred at Ghizni, and is related by Ferishta in commemoration of the justice of Mahmoud.

† These, the three great fiefs of Boondi,—Indurgurh, Bulwun, and Anterdeh, are now all alienated from Boondi by the intrigues of Zalim Sing of Kotah. It was unfortunate for the Boondi Rao, when both these states were admitted to an allegiance, that all these historical points were hid in darkness. It would be yet abstract and absolute justice that we should negotiate the transfer of the allegiance of these chieftains to their proper head of Boondi. It would be a matter of little difficulty, and the honour would be immense to Boondi and no hardship to Kotah, but a slight sacrifice of a power of protection to those who no longer require it. All of these chiefs were the founders of clans, called after them, Indursalote, Berisalote, Mokhimsingote; the first can muster fifteen hundred Haras under arms. Jeipoor having imposed a tribute on these chieftains, Zalim Sing undertook, in the days of predatory warfare, to be responsible for it; for which he received that homage and service due to Boondi, then unable to protect them. The simplest mode of doing justice would be to make these chiefs redeem their freedom from tribute to Jeipoor, by the payment of so many years' purchase which would relieve them altogether from Zalim Sing, and at the same time be in accordance with our treaties, which prohibit such ties between the states.

‡ Thanoh, formerly called Jujawur, is the only fief of the twelve sons of Ruttun which now pays obedience to its proper head. The Maharaja Bikramajeet is the lineal descendant of Maha Sing, and if alive, the earth bears not a more honourable, brave, or simple-minded Rajpoot. He was the devoted servant of his young prince, and my very sincere and valued

It is useless to specify the names of the remainder, who left no issue.

Chutter-Sal, who succeeded his grandfather, Rao Ruttun, was not only installed by Shah Jehan in his hereditary dominions, but declared governor of the imperial capital, a post which he held nearly throughout this reign. When Shah Jehan partitioned the empire into four vice-royalties, under his sons, Dara, Arungzeb, Shuja, and Morad, Rao Chutter-Sal had a high command under Arungzeb, in the Dekhan. The Hara distinguished himself by his bravery and conduct in all the various sieges and actions, especially at the assaults of Doulatabad and Beedir; the last was led by Chutter-Sal in person, who carried the place, and put the garrison to the sword. In S. 1709 (A. D. 1653), Calberga fell after an obstinate defence, in which Chutter-Sal again led the escalade. The last resort was the strong fort of Damounee, which terminated all resistance, and the Dekhan was tranquillized.

"At this period of the transactions in the south, a rumour was propagated of the emperor's (Shah Jehan) death; and as during twenty days the prince (Arungzeb) held no court, and did not even give private audience, the report obtained general belief.* Dara Shekho was the only one of the emperor's sons then at court, and the absent brothers determined to assert their several pretensions to the throne. While Shuja marched from Bengal, Arungzeb prepared to quit the Dekhan, and cajoled Morad to join him with all his forces; assuring him that he, a *dervish* from principle, had no wordly desires, for his only wish was to dwell in retirement, practising the austerities of a rigid follower of the prophet; that Dara was an infidel, Shuja a free-thinker, himself an anchorite; and that he, Morad, alone of the sons of Shah Jehan was worthy, to exercise dominion, to aid in which purpose he proffered his best energies.†

"The emperor, learning the hostile intentions of Arungzeb, wrote privately to the Hara prince to repair to the Presence. On receiving the mandate, Chutter-Sal revolved its import, but considering 'that, as a servant of the *gadi* (throne),

friend; but we shall have occasion to mention the "lion-killer" in the Personal Narrative.

* The reader will observe, as to the phraseology of those important occurrences, that the language is that of the original; it is, in fact, almost a *verbatim* translation from the memoirs of these princes in the Boondi archives.

† The Rajpoot prince, who drew up this character, seems to have well studied Arungzeb, and it is gratifying to find such concurrence with every authority. But could such a character eventually mistaken.

'his only duty was obedience,' he instantly commenced his preparations to quit the Dekhan. This reaching the ear of Arungzeb, he enquired the cause of his hasty departure, observing, that in a very short time he might accompany him to court. The Boondi prince replied, 'his first duty was to the reigning sovereign,' and handed him the *firman* or summons to the Presence. Arungzeb commanded that he should not be permitted to depart, and directed his encampment to be surrounded. But Chutter-Sal, foreseeing this, had already sent on his baggage, and forming his vassals and those of other Rajpoot princes attached to the royal cause into one compact mass, they effected their retreat to the Nerbudda in the face of their pursuers, without their daring to attack them. By the aid of some Solanki chieftains inhabiting the banks of this river, the Boondi Rao was enabled to pass this dangerous stream, then swollen by the periodical rains. Already baffled by the skill and intrepidity of Chutter-Sal, Arungzeb was compelled to give up the pursuit, and the former reached Boondi in safety. Having made his domestic arrangements, he proceeded forthwith to the capital, to help the aged emperor, whose power, and even existence, were alike threatened by the ungrateful pretensions of his sons to snatch the sceptre from the hand which still held it.

If a reflection might be here interposed on the bloody wars which desolved India in consequence of the events of which the foregoing were the initial scenes, it would be to expose the moral retribution resulting from evil example. Were we to take but a partial view of the picture, we should depict the venerable Shah Jehan, arrived at the verge of the grave, into which the unnatural contest of his sons for empire wished to precipitate him, extending his arms for succour in vain to the nobles of his own faith and kin; while the Rajpoot, faithful to his principle, 'allegiance to the throne,' staked both life and land to help in his need. Such a picture would enlist all our sympathies on the side of the helpless king. But when we recall the past, and consider that Shah Jehan, as prince Khoorm, played the same part (setting aside the mask of hypocrisy), which Arungzeb now attempted; that to forward his guilty design, he murdered his brother Purvez, who stood between him and the throne of his parent, against whom he levied war, our sympathies are checked, and we conclude that unlimited monarchy is a curse to itself and all who are subjected to it.

The battle of Futtehabad followed not long after this event, which, gained by Arungzeb, left the road to the throne free from obstruction. We are not informed of the reason why the prince of Boondi did not add his contingent to the force

assembled to oppose Arungzeb under Jeswunt Sing of Marwar, unless it be found in that article of the treaty of Rao Soorjun, prohibiting his successors from serving under a leader of their own faith and nation. The younger branch of Kotah appears, on its separation from Boondi, to have felt itself exonerated from obedience to this decree; for four royal brothers of Kotah, with many of their clansmen, were stretched on this field in the cause of *swamdherma* and Shah Jehan. Before, however, Arungzeb could tear the sceptre from the enfeebled hands of his parent, he had to combat his elder brother Dara, who drew together at Dholpoor all those who yet regarded "the first duty of a Rajpoot." The Boondi prince, with his Haras clad in their saffron robes, the ensigns of death or victory, formed the vanguard of Dara on this day, the opening scene of his sorrows, which closed but with his life; for Dholpoor was as fatal to Dara, the Mogul, as Arbela was to the Persian Darius. Custom rendered it indispensable that the princely leaders should be conspicuous to the host, and in conformity thereto, Dara, mounted on his elephant, was in the brunt of the battle, in the heat of which, when valour and fidelity might have preserved the sceptre of Shah Jehan, Dara suddenly disappeared. A panic ensued, which was followed by confusion and flight. The noble Hara, on this disastrous event, turned to his vassals, and exclaimed, "*Accursed* be he who flies! Here, true to my salt, my feet are rooted to this field, nor will I quit it alive, but with victory." Cheering on his men, he mounted his elephant, but whilst encouraging them by his voice and example, a cannon-shot hitting his elephant, the animal turned and fled. Chutter-Sal leaped from his back and called for his steed, exclaiming, "my elephant may turn his back on the enemy, but never shall his master." Mounting his horse, and forming his men into a dense mass (*gole*), he held them to the charge against prince Morad, whom he singled out, and had his lance balanced for the issue, when a ball pierced his forehead. The contest was nobly maintained by his youngest son, Bharut Sing, who accompanied his father in death, and with him the choicest of his clan. Mokim Sing, brother of the Rao, with two of his sons, and Oudi Sing, another nephew, sealed their fidelity with their lives. Thus in the two battles of Oojein and Dholpoor no less than twelve princes of the blood, together with the heads of every Hara clan, maintained their fealty (*swamdherma*) even to death. Where are we to look for such examples?

"Rao Chutter-Sal had been personally engaged in fifty-two combats, and left a name renowned for courage and incorruptible fidelity." He enlarged the palace of Boondi by adding

that portion which bears his name,—the Chutter Mahl,—and the temple of Keshoorae, at Patun, was constructed under his direction. It was in S. 1715 he was killed; he left four sons, Rao Bhao Sing, Bheem Sing, who got Googore, Bugwunt Sing, who obtained Mow, and Bharut Sing, who was killed at Dholpoor.

Arungzeb, on the attainment of sovereign power, transferred all the resentment he harboured against Chutter-Sal to his son and successor, Rao Bhao. He gave a commission to Raja Atmaram, Gor, the prince of Sheopoor, to reduce "that turbulent and disaffected race, the Hara," and annex Boondi to the government of Rinthumbor, declaring that he should visit Boondi shortly in person, on his way to the Dekhan, and hoped to congratulate him on his success. Raja Atmaram, with an army of twelve thousand men, entered Haravati and ravaged it with fire and sword. Having laid siege to Khatolli, a town of Indurgurh, the chief fief of Boondi, the clans secretly assembled, engaged Atmaram at Goturda, defeated and put him to flight, capturing the imperial ensigns and all his baggage. Not satisfied with this, they retaliated by blockading Sheopoor, when the discomfited Raja continued his flight to court to relate this fresh instance of Hara audacity. The poor prince of the Gors was received with gibes and jests, and heartily repented of his inhuman inroads upon his neighbours in the day of their disgrace. The tyrant, affecting to be pleased with this instance of Hara courage, sent a firman to Rao Bhao of grace and free pardon, and commanding his presence at court. At first the Rao declined; but having repeated pledges of good intention, he complied and was honoured with the government of Arungabad under prince Moazzim. Here he evinced his independence by shielding Raja Kurrun of Bikaneer from a plot against his life. He performed many gallant deeds with his Rajpoot brethren in arms, the brave Boondelas of Orcha and Duttea. He erected many public edifices at Arungabad, where he acquired so much fame by his valour, his charities, and the sanctity * of his manners, that miraculous cures were (said to be) effected by him. He died at Arungabad in S. 1738 (A. D. 1682), and, being without issue, was succeeded by Anurad Sing, the grandson of his brother Bheem.†

* It is a fact worthy of notice, that the most intrepid of the Rajpoot princely cavaliers are of a very devout frame of mind.

† Bheem Sing, who had the fief of Googore bestowed on him, had a son, Kishen Sing, who succeeded him, and was put to death by Arungzeb. Anurad was the son of Kishen.

Anurad's accession was confirmed by the emperor, who, in order to testify the esteem in which he held his predecessor, sent his own elephant, *Guj-gowr*, with the *khelat* of investiture. Anurad accompanied Arungzeb in his wars in the Dekhan, and on one occasion performed the important service of rescuing the ladies of the harem out of the enemy's hands. The emperor in testimony of his gallantry, told him to name his reward; on which he requested he might be allowed to command the vanguard instead of the rear-guard of the army. Subsequently, he was distinguished in the siege and storm of Beejapoor.

An unfortunate quarrel with Doorjun Sing, the chief vassal of Boondi, involved the Rao in trouble. Making use of some improper expression, the Rao resentfully replied, "I know what to expect from you;" which determined Doorjun to throw his allegiance to the dogs. He quitted the army, and arriving at his estates, armed his kinsmen, and, by a *coup-de-main*, possessed himself of Boondi. On learning this, the emperor detached Anurad with a force which expelled the refractory Doorjun, whose estates were sequestrated. Previous to his expulsion, Doorjun drew the *teeka* of succession on the forehead of his brother Bulwun. Having settled the affairs of Boondi, the Rao was employed, in conjunction with Raja Bishen Sing of Amber, to settle the northern countries of the empire, governed by Shah Alum, as lieutenant of the king, and whose head-quarters were at Lahore, in the execution of which service he died.

Anurad left two sons, Boodh Sing and Jod Sing. Boodh Sing succeeded to the honours and employments of his father. Soon after, Arungzeb, who had fixed his residence at Arungabad, fell ill, and finding his end approach, the nobles and officers of state, in apprehension of the event, requested him to name a successor. The dying emperor replied, that the sucession was in the hands of God, with whose will and under whose decree he was desirous that his son Buhadoor Shah Alum should succeed; but that he was apprehensive that prince Azim would endeavour by force of arms to seat himself on the throne.* As the king said, so it happened; Azim Shah, being supported in his pretensions by the army of the Dekhan, prepared to dispute the empire with his elder brother, to whom he sent a formal defiance to decide their claims to empire on the plains of Dholpoor. Buhadoor Shah convened all the chieftains who favoured his cause, and explained his

* It is useless to repeat that this is a literal translation from the record and journals of the Hara princes, who served the emperors.

position. Amongst them was Rao Boodh, now entering on manhood, and he was at that moment in deep affliction for the untimely loss of his brother, Jod Sing.* When the king desired him to repair to Boondi to perform the offices of mourning, and console his relations and kindred, Bhoodh Sing replied, "It is not to Boondi my duty calls me, but to attend my sovereign in the field—to that of Dholpoor, renowned for many battles and consecrated by the memory of the heroes who have fallen in the performance of their duty:" adding "that there his heroic ancestor Chutter-Sal fell, whose fame he desired to emulate, and by the blessing of heaven, his arms should be crowned with victory to the empire."

Shah Alum advanced from Lahore, and Azim, with his son Bedar Bukt, from the Dekhan; and both arms met on the plains of Jajow, near Dholpoor. A more desperate conflict was never recorded in the many bloody pages of the history of India. Had it been a common contest for supremacy, to be decided by the Mooslem supporters of the rivals, it would have ended like similar ones,—a furious onset, terminated by a treacherous desertion. But here were assembled the brave bands of Rajpootana, house opposed to house, and clan against clan. The princes of Duttea and Kotah, who had long served with prince Azim, and were attached to him by favours, forgot the injunctions of Arungzeb, and supported that prince's pretensions against the lawful heir. A powerful friendship united the chiefs of Boondi and Duttea, whose lives exhibited one scene of glorious triumph in all the wars of the Dekhan. In opposing the cause of Shah Alum, Ram Sing of Kotah was actuated by his ambition to become the head of the Haras, and in anticipation of success had actually been invested with the honours of Boondi. With such stimulant on each side did the rival Haras meet face to face on the plains of Jajow, to decide at the same time the pretentions to empire, and what affected them more, those of their respective heads to superiority. Previous to the battle, Ram Sing sent a perfidious message to Rao Boodh, inviting him to desert the cause he espoused, and come over to Azim; to which he indignantly replied: "That the field which his ancestor had illustrated by his death, was not that whereon he would disgrace his memory by the desertion of his prince."

Boodh Sing was assigned a distinguished post, and by his conduct and courage mainly contributed to the victory which placed Buhadoor Shah without a rival on the throne. The Rajpoots on either side sustained the chief shock of the

* This catastrophe will be related in the Personal Narrative.

battle, and the Hara prince of Kotah, and the noble Boondela, Dulput of Duttea, were both killed by cannon-shot, sacrificed to the cause they espoused; while the pretensions of Azim and his son Bedar Bukt, were extinguished with their lives.

For the signal services rendered on this important day, Boodh Sing was honoured with the title of Rao Raja, and was admitted to the intimate friendship of the emperor, which he continued to enjoy until his death, when fresh contentions arose, in which the grandsons of Arungzeb all perished. Feroksere succeeded to the empire, under whom the Syeds of Barra held supreme power, and ruined the empire by their exactions and tyranny. When they determined to depose the king, the Hara prince, faithful to his pledge, determined to release him, and in the attempt a bloody conflict ensued in the (*chowk*) square, in which his uncle Jaet Sing, and many of his clansmen, were slain.

The rivalry which commenced between the houses of Kotah and Boondi, on the plains of Jajow, in which Ram Sing was slain, was maintained by his son and successor, Raja Bheem, who supported the party of the Syeds. In the prosecution of his views and revenge, Raja Bheem so far lost sight of the national character of the Rajpoot, as to compass his end by treachery, and beset his foe unawares while exercising his horse in the *Midan*, outside the walls of the capital. His few retainers formed a circle round their chief, and gallantly defended him, though with great loss, until they reached a place of safety. Unable to aid the king, and beset by treachery Rao Boodh was compelled to seek his own safety in flight.* Feroksere was shortly after murdered, and the empire fell into complete disorder; when the nobles and Rajas, feeling their insecurity under the bloody and rapacious domination of the Syeds, repaired to their several possessions.†

At this period, Raja Jey Sing of Amber thought of dispossessing Boodh Sing of Boondi. Rao Boodh Sing was at this time his guest, having accompanied him from court to Amber. The cause of the quarrel is thus related: The Hara prince was married to a sister of Jey Sing; she had been betrothed to the emperor Buhadoor Shah, who, as one of the

* *Vide* Vol. I, in which the Boondi Annals are corroborated by the Annals of Mewar, and by an autograph letter of Raja Jey Sing of Amber, dated the 19th Falgoon, S. 1775 (A.D. 1719).

† These subjects being already discussed in Vol. I. would have had no place here, were it not necessary to show how accurately the Boondi princes recorded events, and to rescue them from the charge of having no historical documents.

marks of his favour for the victory of Dholpoor, resigned his pretensions to the fair in favour of Rao Boodh. Unfortunately, she bore him no issue, and viewed with jealousy his two infant sons by another Rani, the daughter of Kala Megh of Beygoo, one of the sixteen chiefs of Mewar. During her lord's absence, she feigned pregnancy, and having procured an infant, presented it as his lawful child. Rao Boodh was made acquainted with the equivocal conduct of his queen, to the danger of his proper offspring, and took an opportunity to reveal her conduct to her brother. The lady, who was present, was instantly interrogated by her brother; but exasperated either at the suspicion of her honour, or the discovery of her fraud, she snatched her brother's dagger from his girdle, and rating him as "the son of a tailor," * would have slain him on the spot, had he not fled from her fury.

To revenge the insult thus put upon him, the Raja of Amber determined to expel Rao Boodh from Boondi, and offered the *gadi* to the chief of its feudatories, the lord of Indurgurh; but Deo Sing had the virtue to refuse the offer. He then had recourse to the chieftain of Kurwur, who could not resist the temptation. This chief, Salim Sing, was guilty of a double breach of trust; for the held the confidential office of governor of Tarragurh, the citadel commanding both the city and palace.

This family dispute was, however, merely the underplot of deeply-cherished political scheme of the prince of Amber, for the maintenance of his supremacy over the minor Rajas, to which his office of viceroy of Malwa, Ajmeer, and Agra, gave full scope, and he skilfully availed himself of the results of the civil wars of the Moguls. In the issue of Ferokser's dethronement he saw the fruition of his schemes, and after a show of defending him, retired to his dominions to prosecute his views.

Amber was yet circumscribed in territory, and the consequence of its princes arose out of their position as satraps of the empire. He therefore determined to seize upon all the districts on his frontiers within his grasp, and moreover to compel the services of the chieftains who served under his banner as lieutenants of the king.

* This lady was sister to Chumunji, elder brother to Jey Sing, and heir-apparent to the *gadi* of Amber, who was put to death by Jey Sing. To this murder the Rahtore bard alludes in the couplet given in their annals. "*Chumunji*" is the title of heir-apparent of Amber. I know not whether Chumunji, which is merely a term of endearment, may not be Beejy Sing, whose captivity we have related.

At this period, there were many allodial chieftains within the bounds of Amber; as the Puchwana Chohans about Lalsont, Goorah, Neemrana, who owed neither service nor tribute to Jeipoor, but led their quotas as distinct dignitaries of the empire under the flag of Amber. Even their own stock, the confederated Shekhawuts, deemed themselves under no such obligation. The Birgoojurs of Rajore, the Jadoons of Biana, and many others, the vassalage of older days, were in the same predicament. These, being in the decline of the empire unable to protect themselves, the more readily agreed to hold their ancient allodial estates as fiefs of Amber, and to serve with the stipulated quota. But when Jey Sing's views led him to hope he could in like manner bring the Haras to acknowledge his supremacy, he evinced both ignorance and presumption. He therefore determined to dethrone Boodh Sing, and to make a Raja of his own choice, hold of him in chief.

The Hara, who was then reposing on the rites of hospitality and family ties at Amber, gave Jey Sing a good opportunity to develope his views, which were first manifested to the Boondi prince by an obscure offer that he would make Amber his abode, and accept five hundred rupees daily for his train. His uncle, the brother of Jaet, who devoted himself to save his master at Agra, penetrated the infamous intentions of Jey Sing. He wrote to Boondi, and commanded that the Beygoo Rani should depart with her children to her father's; and having given time for this, he by stealth formed his clansmen outside the walls of Amber, and having warned his prince of his danger, they quitted the treacherous abode. Raja Boodh, at the head of three hundred Haras, feared nothing. He made direct for his capital, but they were overtaken at Pancholas, on the mutual frontier, by the select army under the five principal chieftains of Amber. The little band was enclosed, when a desperate encounter ensued, Rajpoot to Rajpoot. Every one of the five leaders of Amber was slain, with a multitude of their vassals; and the cenotaphs of the lords of Eesurda, Sirwar, and Bhowar, still afford evidence of Hara revenge. The uncle of Boondi was slain, and the valiant band was so thinned, that it was deemed unwise to go to Boondi, and by the intricacies of the Plateau they reached Beygoo in safety. This dear-bought success enabled Jey Sing to execute his plan, and Duleel Sing of Kurwur, espoused the daughter of Amber, and was invested with the title of Rao Raja of Boondi.

Taking advantage of the distress of the elder branch of his house, Raja Bheem of Kotah, now strictly allied with

Ajit of Marwar and the Syeds, prosecuted the old feud for superiority, making the Chumbul the boundary, and seizing upon all the fiscal lands of Boondi east of this stream (excepting the Kotris), which he attached to Kotah.

Thus beset by enemies on all sides, Boodh Sing, after many fruitless attempts to recover his patrimony, in which much Hara blood was uselessly shed, died in exile at Beygoo, leaving two sons, Omeda Sing and Deep Sing.

The sons of Rao Boodh were soon driven even from the shelter of the maternal abode ; for at the instigation of their enemy of Amber, the Rana sequestrated Beygoo. Pursued by this unmanly vengeance, the brave youths collected a small band, and took refuge in the wilds of Puchail, whence they addressed Doorjun Sal, who had succeeded Raja Bheem at Kotah. This prince had a heart to commiserate their misfortunes, and the magnanimity not only to relieve them, but to aid them, in the recovery of their patrimony.

CHAPTER IV.

Rao Omeda defeats the troops of Amber.—Conflict at Dublana.—Omeda defeated and obliged to fly.—Death of Hunja, his steed.—Takes refuge amidst the ruins of the Chumbul.—Redeems his capital.—Is again expelled from it.—Interview with the widow of his father ; she solicits aid from Holcar to reinstate Omeda.—The Amber Prince forced to acknowledge the claims of Omeda.—He recovers Boondi.—Suicide of the Amber prince.—First alienation of land to the Mahrattas.— Madhu Sing of Amber asserts supremacy over tributary demands thereon.—Zalim Sing.—Mahratta encroachments.—Omeda's revenge on the chief of Indurgurh ; its cause and consequence.—Omeda abdicates.—Ceremony of Yugraj, *or abdication.—Installation of Ajit.—Omeda becomes a pilgrim ; his wanderings ; cause of their interruption.—Ajit assassinates Rana of Mewar.—Memorable Sati imprecation.—Awful death of Ajit.—Fulfilment of ancient prophecy.—Rao Bishen Sing succeeds.—Omeda's distrust of his grandsons ; their reconciliation.—Omeda's death.—British army retreats through Harouti, aided by Boondi.—Alliance*

with the English.—Benefits conferred on Boondi.—Bishen Sing dies of the Cholera Morbus; forbids the rite of Sati.—*His character; constitutes the Author guardian of his son, the Rao Raja Ram Sing.*

OMEDA was but thirteen years of age on the death of his house's foe, the Raja of Amber, in S. 1800 (A. D. 1744). As soon as the event was known to him, putting himself at the head of his clansmen, he attacked and carried Patun and Gainolli. "When it was heard that the son of Boodh Sing was awake, the ancient Haras flocked to his standard," and Doorjun Sal of Kotah, rejoicing to see the real Hara blood thus displayed, nobly sent his aid.

Esuri Sing, who was now lord of Amber, pursuing his father's policy, determined that Kotah should bend to his supremacy as well as the elder branch of Boondi. The defiance of his power avowed in the support of young Omeda brought his views into action, and Kotah was invested. But the result does not belong to this part of our history. On the retreat from Kotah, Esuri sent a body of Nanukpuntis to attack Omeda in his retreat at Bood (old) Lohari, amongst the Meenas, the aboriginal lords of these mountain-wilds, who had often served the cause of the Haras, notwithstanding they had deprived them of their birthright. The youthful valour and distress of young Omeda so gained their hearts, that five thousand bowmen assembled and desired to be led against his enemies. With these auxiliaries, he anticipated his foes at Beechorie, and while the nimble mountaineers plundered the camp, Omeda charged the Jeipoor army sword in hand, and slaughtered them without mercy, taking their kettle-drums and standards. On the news of this defeat, another army of eighteen thousand men, under Narayn-das Khetri, was sent against Omeda. But the affair of Beechorie confirmed the dispositions of the Haras: from all quarters they flocked to the standard of the young prince, who determined to risk everything in general engagement. The foe had reached Dublana. On the eve of attack, young Omeda went to propitiate "the lady of Sitoon," the tutelary divinity of his race; and as he knelt before the altar of *Asapurna* (the fulfiller of hope), his eyes falling upon the turrets of Boondi, then held by a traitor, he swore to conquer or die.

Inspired with like sentiments, his brave clansmen formed around the orange flag, the gift of Jehangir to Rao Ruttun; and as they cleared the pass leading to Dublana, the foe was discovered marshalled to receive them. In one of those compact masses, termed *gole*, with serried lances advanced, Omeda led

his Haras to the charge. Its physical and moral impression was irresistible; and a vista was cut through the dense host opposed to them. Again they formed; and again, in spite of the showers of cannon-shot, the sword renewed its blows; but every charge was fatal to the bravest Omeda's men. In the first onset fell his maternal uncle, Pirthwi Sing, Solanki, with the Mahraja Murjad* Sing of Motra, a valiant Hara, who fell just as he launched his *chakra* (discus) at the head of the Khetri commander of Amber. Prag Sing, chief of Sorun, a branch of the Thana fief, was also slain, with many of inferior note. The steed of Omeda was struck by a cannon-ball, and the intestines protruded from the wound. The intrepidity of the youthful hero, nobly seconded by his kin and clan, was unavailing; and the chieftains, fearing he would throw away a life the preservation of which they all desired, entreated he would abandon the contest; observing, "that if he survived, Boondi, must be theirs; but if he was slain, there was an end of their hopes."

With grief he submitted; and as they gained the Sowalli Pass, which leads to Indurgurh, he dismounted to breathe his faithful steed; and as he loosened the girths, it expired. Omeda sat down and wept. Hunja was worthy of such a mark of his esteem: he was a steed of Irak, the gift of the king to his father, whom he had borne in many an encounter. Nor was this natural ebullition of the young Hara a transient feeling: Hunja's memory was held in veneration, and the first act of Omeda, when he recovered his throne, was to erect a statue to the steed who bore him so nobly on the day of Dublana. It stands in the square (*chowk*) of the city, and receives the reverence of each Hara, who links his history with one of the brightest of their achievements, though obscured by momentary defeat.*

Omeda gained Indurgurh, which was close at hand, on foot; but this traitor to the name of Hara, who had acknowledged the supremacy of Amber, not only refused his prince a horse in his adversity, but warned him off the domain, asking "if he meant to be the ruin of Indurgurh as well as Boondi?" Disdaining to drink water within its bounds, the young prince, stung by this perfidious mark of inhospitality, took the direction of Kurwain. Its chief made amends for the other's churlishness: he advanced to meet him, offered such aid as he had to give, and presented him with a horse. Dismissing his faithful kinsmen to their homes, and begging their swords

* I have made my salaam to the representative of Hunja, and should have graced his neck with a chaplet on every military festival, had I dwelt among the Haras.

when fortune might be kinder, he regained his old retreat, the ruined palace of Rampoora, amongst the ravines of the Chumbul.

Doorjun-Sal of Kotah, who had so bravely defended his capital against the pretensions to supremacy of Esuri Sing and his auxiliary, Appa Sindia, felt more interest than ever in the cause of Omeda. The Kotah prince's councils were governed and his armies led by a *Bhat* (bard), who, it may be inferred, was professionally inspired by the heroism of the young Hara to lend his sword as well as his muse towards reinstating him in the halls of his fathers. Accordingly, all the strength of Kotah, led by the Bhat, was added to the kinsmen and friends of Omeda; and an attempt on Boondi was resolved. The city, whose walls were in a state of dilapidation from this continual warfare, was taken without difficulty; and the assault of the citadel of Tarragurh had commenced, when the heroic Bhat received a fatal shot from a treacherous hand in his own party. His death was concealed, and a cloth thrown over his body. The assailants pressed on; the usurper, alarmed, took to flight; the 'lion's hope'* was fulfilled, and Omeda was seated on the throne of his father.

Duleel fled to his suzerain at Amber, whose disposable forces, under the famous Khetri Kesoodas, were immediately put in motion to re-expel the Hara. Boondi was invested, and having had no time given to prepare for defence, Omeda was compelled to abandon the walls so nobly won, and "the flag of Dhoondar waved over the *khangras* (battlements) of Dewa Bango." And let the redeeming virtue of the usurper be recorded; who, when his suzerain of Amber desired to reinstate him on the *gadi*, refused "to bring a second time the stain of treason on his head, by which he had been disgraced in the opinion of mankind."

Omeda, once more a wanderer, alternately courting the aid of Mewar and Marwar, never suspended his hostility to the usurper of his rights, but carried his incursions, without intermission, into his paternal domains. One of these led him to the village of Bindia: hither the Cuchwaha Rani, the widowed queen of his father, and the cause of all their miseries, had retired, disgusted with herself and the world, and lamenting when too late, the ruin she had brought upon her husband, herself, and the family she had entered. Omeda paid her a visit, and the interview added fresh pangs to her self-reproach. His sufferings, his heroism, brightened by adversity, originating with her nefarious desire to stifle his claims of primogeniture by a spurious adoption, awakened sentiments of remorse, of

* *Omeda*, 'hope;' *Singh*, 'a lion.'

sympathy, and sorrow. Determined to make some amends, she adopted the resolution of going to the Dekhan, to solicit aid for the son of Boodh Sing. When she arrived on the banks of the Nerbudda a pillar was pointed out to her on which was inscribed a prohibition to any of her race to cross this stream, which like the Indus was also styled *atoc*, or 'forbidden.' Like a true Rajpootni, she broke the tablet in pieces, and threw it into the stream, observing with a jesuitical casuistry, that there was no longer any impediment, when no ordinance existed. Having passed the Rubicon, she proceeded forthwith to the camp of Mulhar Rao Holcar. The sister of Jey Sing, the most potent Hindu prince of India, became a suppliant to this *goatherd* leader of a horde of plunderers, nay, adopted him as her brother to effect the redemption of Boondi for the exiled Omeda.

Mulhar, without the accident of noble birth, possessed the sentiments which belong to it, and he promised all she asked. How far his compliance might be promoted by another call for his lance from the Rana of Mewar, in virtue of the marriage-settlement which promised the succession of Amber to a princess of his house, the Boondi records do not tell: they refer only to the prospects of its own prince. But we may, without any reflection on the gallantry of Holcar, express a doubt how far he would have lent the aid of his horde to this sole object, had he not had in view the splendid bribe of sixty-four lakhs from the Rana, to be paid when Esuri Sing should be removed, for his nephew Madhu Sing.*

Be this as it may, the Boondi chronicle states that the lady, instead of the temporary expedient of delivering Boondi, conducted the march of the Mahrattas direct on Jeipoor. Circumstances favoured her designs. The character of Esuri Sing had raised up enemies about his person, who seized the occasion to forward at once the views of Boondi and Mewar, whose princes had secretly gained them over to their views.

The Amber prince no sooner heard of the approach of the Mahrattas to his capital than he quitted it to offer them battle. But their strength had been misrepresented, nor was it till he reached the castle of Bhagroo that he was undeceived and surrounded. When too late, he saw that "treason had done its worst," and that the confidence he had placed in the successor of a minister whom he had murdered, met its natural reward. The bard has transmitted into a *sloca* the cause of his overthrow:

"*Jub-i, churi Eswara*
"*Raj carna ca as*
"*Muntri moota maria*
"*Khetri Kesoo-das.*'

* See Annals of Mewar.

"Esuri forfeited all hopes of regality, when he slew that great minister Kesoodas."

The sons of this minister, named Hursae and Gursae, betrayed their prince to the "Southron," by a false return of their numbers, and led him to the attack with means totally inadequate. Resistance to a vast numerical superiority would have been madness: he retreated to the castle of this fief of Amber, where, after a siege of ten days, he was forced not only to sign a deed for the surrender of Boondi, and the renunciation of all claims to it for himself and his descendants, but to put, in full acknowledgment of his rights, the *tika* on the forehead of Omeda. With this deed, and accompanied by the contingent of Kotah, they proceeded to Boondi; the traitor was expelled; and while rejoicings were making to celebrate the installation of Omeda, the funeral pyre was lighted at Amber, to consume the mortal remains of his foe. Raja Esuri could not survive his disgrace, and terminated his existence and hostility by poison, thereby facilitating the designs both of Boondi and Mewar.

Thus in S. 1805 (A. D. 1749) Omeda regained his patrimony, after fourteen years of exile, during which a traitor had pressed the royal "cushion" of Boondi. But this contest deprived it of many of its ornaments, and, combined with other causes, at length reduced it almost to its intrinsic worth, "a heap of cotton." Mulhar Rao, the founder of the Holcar state, in virtue of his adoption as the brother of the widow queen of Boodh Sing, had the title of *mamoo*, or uncle, to young Omeda. But true to the maxims of his race, he did not take his buckler to protect the oppressed, at the impulse of those chivalrous notions so familiar to the Rajpoot, but deemed a portion of the Boondi territory a better incentive, and a more unequivocal proof of gratitude, than the titles of brother and uncle. Accordingly, he demanded, and obtained by regular deed of surrender, the town and district of Patun on the left bank of the Chumbul.*

The sole equivalent (if such it could be termed) for these fourteen years of usurpation, were the fortifications covering

* As in those days when Mahratta spoliation commenced, a joint-stock purse was made for all such acquisitions, so Patun was divided into shares, of which the Peshwa had one, and Sindia another; but the Peshwa's share remained nominal, and the revenue was carried to account by Holcar for the services of the Poona state. In the general pacification of A. D. 1817, this long lost and much cherished district was once more incorporated with Boondi, to the unspeakable gratitude and joy of its prince and people. In effecting this for the grandson of Omeda, the author secured for himself a gratification scarcely less than his.

the palace and town, now called *Tarragurh* (the 'Star-fort'), built by Duleel Sing. Madhu Sing, who succeeded to the *gadi* of Jeipoor, followed up the designs commenced by Jey Sing, and which had cost his successor his life, to render the smaller states of Central India dependent on Amber. For this Kotah had been besieged, and Omeda explled, and as such policy could not be effected by their unassisted means, it only tended to the benefit of the auxiliaries, who soon became principals, to the prejudice and detriment of all. Madhu Sing, having obtained the castle of Rinthumbor, a pretext was afforded for these pretensions to supremacy. From the time of its surrender by Rao Soorjun to Akber, the importance of this castle was established by its becoming the first *sircar*, or 'department,' in the province of Ajmeer, consisting of no less than "eighty-three mohals," or extensive fiefs, in which were comprehended not only Boondi and Kotah, and all their dependencies, but the entire state of Seopoor, and all the petty fiefs south of the Bangunga, the aggregate of which now constitutes the state of Amber. In fact, with the exception of Mahmoodabad in Bengal, Rinthumbor was the most exensive *sircar* of the empire. In the decrepitude of the empire, this castle was maintained by a veteran commander as long as funds and provisions lasted; but these failing, in order to secure it from falling into the hands of the Mahrattas, and thus being lost for ever to the throne, he sought out a Rajpoot prince, to whom he might entrust it. He applied to Boondi; but the Hara, dreading to compromise his fealty if unable to maintain it refused the boon; and having no alternative, he resigned it to the prince of Amber as a trust which he could no longer defend.

Out of this circumstance alone originated the claims of Jeipoor to tribute from the Kotris, or fiefs in Harouti; claims without a shadow of justice; but the maintenance of which, for the sake of the display of supremacy and paltry annual relief, has nourished half a century of irritation, which it is high time should cease.*

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* The universal arbitrator, Zalim Sing of Kotah, having undertaken to satisfy them, and save them from the annual visitations of the Jeipoor troops, withdrew the proper allegiance of Indurgurh, Bulwun, and Anterdeh to himself. The British government, in ignorance of these historical facts, and not desirous to disturb the existing state of things, were averse to the Boondi claims for the restoration of her proper authority over these her chief vassals. With all his gratitude for the restoration of his political existence, the brave and good Bishen Sing could not suppress a sigh when the author said, that Lord Hastings refused to go into the question of the *Kotris*, who had thus transferred their allegiance to Zalim Sing of Kotah. In their usual metaphorical style,

It was the assertion of this supremacy over Kotah as well as Boondi, which first brought into notice the most celebrated Rapoot of modern times, Zalim Sing of Kotah. Rao Doorjun Sal, who then ruled that state, had too much of the Hara blood to endure such pretensions as the casual possession of Rinthumbor conferred upon his brother, prince of Amber, who considered that, as the late lieutenant of the king, he had a right to transfer his powers to himself. The battle of Butwarro, in S 1817 (A.D. 1761), for ever extinguished these pretensions, on which occasion Zalim Sing, then scarcely of age, mainly contributed to secure the independence of the state he was ultimately destined to govern. But this exploit belongs to the annals of Koath, and would not have been here alluded to, except to remark, that had the Boondi army joined Koath in this common cause, they would have redeemed its fiefs from the tribute they are still compelled to pay to Jeipoor.

Omeda's active mind was engrossed with the restoration of the prosperity which the unexampled vicissitudes of the last fifteen years had undermined ; but he felt his spirit cramped and his energies contracted by the dominant influence and avarice of the insatiable Mahrattas, through whose means he recovered his capital ; still there was as yet no fixed principal of government recognized, and the Rajpoots, who witnessed their periodical visitations like flights of locusts over their plains, hoped that this scourge would be equally transitory. Under this great and pernicious error, all the Rajpoot states continued to mix these interlopers in their national disputes, which none had more cause to repent than the Haras of Boondi. But the hold which the Mahrattas retained upon the lands of "Dewa Bango" would never have acquired such tenacity, had the bold arm and sage mind of Omeda continued to guide the vessel of the state throughout the lengthened period of his natural existence : his premature political decease adds another example to the truth, that patriarchal, and indeed all governments, are imperfect where the laws are not supreme.

An act of revenge stained the reputation of Omeda, naturally virtuous, and but for which deed we should have to paint him as one of the bravest, wisest, and most faultless characters which Rajpoot history has recorded. Eight years had elapsed since the recovery of his dominions, and we have a right to infer that his wrongs and their authors had been

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he said, with great emphasis and sorrow, "My wings remain broken." It would be a matter of no difficulty to negotiate the claims of Jeipoor, and cause the regent of Kotah to forego his interposition, which would be attended with no loss of any kind to him, but would afford unspeakable benefit and pride to Boondi, which has well deserved the boon at our hands.

forgotten, or rather forgiven, for human nature can scarcely forget so treacherous an act as that of his vassal of Indurgurh, on the defeat of Dublana. As so long a time had passed since the restoration without the penalty of his treason being exacted, it might have been concluded that the natural generosity of this high-minded prince had co-operated with a wise policy, in passing over the wrong without foregoing his right to avenge it. The degenerate Rajpoot, who could at such a moment witness the necessities of his prince and refuse to relieve them, could never reflect on that hour without self-abhorrence; but his spirit was too base to offer reparation by a future life of duty; he cursed the magnanimity of the man he had injured; hated him for his very forbearance, and aggravated the part he had acted by fresh injuries, and on a point too delicate to admit of being overlooked. Omeda had "sent the coco-nut," the symbol of matrimonial alliance, to Madhu Sing, in the name of his sister. It was received in a full assembly of all the nobles of the court, and with the respect due to one of the most illustrious races of Rajpootana. Deo Sing of Indurgurh was at that time on a visit at Jeipoor, and the compliment was paid him by the Raja of asking "what fame said of the daughter of Boodh Sing?" It is not impossible that he might have sought this opportunity of further betraying his prince; for his reply was an insulting inuendo, leading to doubts as to the purity of her blood. That it was grossly false, was soon proved by the solicitation of her hand by Raja Beejy Sing of Marwar. "The coco-nut was returned to Boondi," an insult never to be forgiven by a Rajpoot.

In S. 1813 (A. D. 1757), Omeda went to pay his devotions at the shrine of Beejaseni Mata ('the mother of victory'), near Kurwur. Being in the vicinity of Indurgurh, he invited its chief to join the assembled vassals with their families; and though dissuaded, Deo Sing obeyed, accompanied by his son and grandson. All were cut off at one fell swoop, and the line of the traitor was extinct: as if the air of heaven should not be contaminated by the smoke of their ashes, Omeda commanded that the body of the calumnious traitor and his issue should be thrown into the lake. His fief, Indurgurh was given to his brother, between whom and the present incumbent four generations have passed away.

Fifteen years elapsed, during which the continual scenes of disorder around him furnished ample occupation for his thoughts. Yet, in the midst of all, would intrude the remembrance of his single act, in which he had usurped the powers of Him, to whom alone it belongs to execute vengeance.

Though no voice was lifted up against the deed, though he had a moral conviction that a traitor's death was the due of Deo Sing, his soul, generous as it was brave, revolted at the crime, however sanctified by custom,* which confounds the innocent with the guilty. To appease his conscience, he determined to abdicate the throne, and pass the rest of his days in penitential rites, and traversing, in the pilgrim's garb, the vast regions of India, to visit the sacred shrines of his faith.

In S. 1827 (A. D. 1771), the imposing ceremony of "Joograj," which terminated the political existence of Omeda, was performed. An image of the prince was made, and a pyre was erected, on which it was consumed. The hair and whiskers of Ajit, his successor, were taken off, and offered to the *manes*; lamentation and wailing were heard in the *rinwas*,† and the twelve days of *matum*, or 'mourning,' were passed as if Omeda had really deceased; on the expiration of which, the installation of his successor took place, when Ajit Sing was proclaimed prince of the Haras of Boondi.

The abdicated Omeda, with the title of *Sriji* (by which alone he was henceforth known), retired to that holy spot in the valley sanctified by the miraculous cure of the first "lord of the Pathar,"‡ and which was named after one of the fountains of the Ganges, Kedarnath. To this spot, hallowed by a multitude of associations, the warlike pilgrim brought

"The fruit and flowers of many a province,"

and had the gratification to find these exotics, whether the hardy offspring of the snow-clad Himalaya, or the verge of ocean in the tropic, fructify and flourish amidst the rocks of his native abode. It is curious even to him who is ignorant of the moral vicissitudes which produced it, to see the pine of Thibet, the cane of Malacca, and other exotics, planted by the hand of the princely ascetic, flourishing around his hermitage, in spite of the intense heats of this rock-bound abode.

When Omeda resigned the sceptre of the Haras, it was from the conviction that a life of meditation alone could yield the consolation, and obtain the forgiveness which he found necessary to his repose. But in assuming the pilgrim's staff, he did not lay aside any feeling becoming his rank or his birth. There was no pusillanimous prostration of intellect;

* The laws of revenge are dreadfully absolute; had the son of Deo Sing survived, the feud upon their liege lord would have been entailed with their estate. It is a nice point for a subject to balance between fidelity to his prince, and a father's feud, *baup ca ber.*

† The queens' apartments.

‡ See page 1315.

no puling weakness of bigotted sentiment, but the same lofty mind which redeemed his birthright, accompanied him wherever he bent his steps to seek knowledge in the society of devout and holy men. He had read in the annals of his own and of other states, that "the trappings of royalty, were snares to perdition, and that happy was the man who in time threw them aside and made his peace with heaven." But in obeying, at once, the dictates of conscience and of custom, he felt his mind too much alive to the wonders of creation, to bury himself in the fane of Kanya, or the sacred baths on the Ganges; and he determined to see all those holy places commemorated in the ancient epics of his nation, and the never-ending theme of the wandering devotee. In this determination he was, perhaps, somewhat influenced by that love of adventure in which he had been nurtured, and it was a balm to his mind when he found that arms and religion were not noly compatible, but that his pious resolution to force a way through the difficulties which beset the pilgrim's path, enhanced the merit of his devotion. Accordingly, the royal ascetic went forth on his pilgrimage, not habited in the hermit's garb, but armed at all points. Even in this there was penance, not ostentation, and he carried or buckled on his person one of every species of offensive or defensive weapons then in use: a load which would oppress any two Rajpoots in these degenerate times. He wore a quilted tunic, which would resist a sabre-cut; besides a matchlock, a lance, a sword, a dagger, and their appurtenances of knives, pouches, and priming-horn, he had a battle-axe, a javelin, a tomahawk, a discus, bow and quiver of arrows; and it is affirmed that such was his muscular power, even when threescore and ten years had blanched his beard in wandering to and fro thus accoutred, that he could place the whole of this panoply within his shield, and with one arm not only raise it, but hold it for some seconds extended.

With a small escort of his gallant clansmen, during a long series of years he traversed every region, from the glacial fountains of the Ganges to the southern promontory of Ramaiser; and from the hot-wells of Seeta in Arracan, and the Moloch of Orissa, to the shrine of the Hindu Apollo at "the world's end." Within these limits of Hinduism, Omeda saw every place of holy resort, of curiosity, or of learning; and whenever he revisited his paternal domains, his return was greeted not only by his own tribe, but by every prince and Rajpoot of Rajwarra, who deemed his abode hallowed if the princely pilgrim halted there on his route. He was regarded as an oracle, while the treasures of knowledge which his

observation had accumulated, caused his conversation to be courted and every word to be recorded. The admiration paid to him while living cannot be better ascertained than by the reverence manifested by every Hara to his memory. To them his word was a law, and every relic of him continues to be held in veneration. Almost his last journey was to the extremity of his nation, the temples at the Detla of the Indus, and the shrine of the Hindu Cybele, the terrific Agni-devi of Hinglaz, on the shores of Mekran, even beyond the Rubicon of the Hindus. As he returned by Dwarica, he was beset by a band of Kabas, a plundering race infesting these regions. But the veteran, uniting the arm of flesh to that of faith, valiantly defended himself, and gained a complete victory making prisoner their leader, who, as the price of his ransom, took an oath never again to molest the pilgrims to Dwarica.

The warlike pilgrimage of Omeda had been interrupted by a tragical occurrence, which occasioned the death of his son, and compelled him to abide for a time at the seat of government to superintend the education of his grandchild. This eventful catastrophe, interwoven in the border history of Mewar and Harouti, is well worthy of narration, as illustrative of manners and belief, and fulfilled a prophecy pronounced centuries before by the dying *Sati* of Bumooda, that ' the Rao and the Rana should never meet at the *Ahaira* (or spring hunt) without death ensuing." What we are about to relate was the fourth repetition of this sport with the like fatal result.

The hamlet of Bilaita, which produced but a few good mangoes, and for its population a few Meenas, was the ostensible cause of dispute. The chief of Boondi, either deeming it within his territory, or desiring to consider it so, threw up a fortification, in which he placed a garrison to overawe the freebooters, who were instigated by the discontented chiefs of Mewar to represent this as an infringement of their prince's rights. Accordingly, the Rana marched with all his chieftains, and a mercenary band of Sindies, to the disputed point, whence he invited the Boondi prince, Ajit, to his camp. He came, and the Rana was so pleased with his manners and conduct, that Bilaita and its mango grove were totally forgotten. Spring was at hand; the joyous month of Phalgun, when it was necessary to open the year with a sacrifice of the boar to Gouri. The young Hara, in return for the courtesies of the Rana, invited him to open the *Ahaira*, within the *rumnas* or preserves of Boondi. The invitation was accepted; the prince of the Seesodias, according to usage, distributed the green turbans and scarfs, and on the appointed day, with a brilliant cavalcade, repaired to the heights of Nandta.

The abdicated Rao, who had lately returned from Budrinath, no sooner heard of the projected hunt, than he despatched a special messenger to remind his son of the anathema of the *Sati*. The impetuous Ajit replied that it was impossible to recall his invitation on such pusillanimous grounds. The morning came, and the Rana, filled with sentiments of friendship for the young Rao, rode with him to the field. But the preceding evening, the minister of Mewar had waited on the Rao, and in language the most insulting told him to surrender Bilatta, or he would send a body of Sindies to place him in restraint, and he was vile enough to insinuate that he was merely the organ of his prince's commands. This rankled in the mind of the Rao throughout the day; and when the sport was over, and he had the Rana's leave to depart, a sudden idea passed across his mind of the intended degradation, and an incipient resolution to anticipate this disgrace induced him to return. The Rana, unconscious of any office, received his young friend with a smile, repeated his permission to retire, and observed that they should soon meet again. Irresolute, and overcome by this affable behaviour, his half-formed intent was abandoned, and again he bowed and withdrew. But scarcely had he gone a few paces, when, as if ashamed of himself, he summoned up the powers of revenge, and rushed, spear in hand, upon his victim. With such unerring force did he play it, that the head of the lance, after passing through the Rana, was transfixed in the neck of his steed. The wounded prince had merely time to exclaim, as he regarded the assassin on whom he had lavished his friendship, "Oh, Hara! what have you done?" when the Indurgurh chief finished the treachery with his sword. The Hara Rao, as if glorying in the act, carried off the *chuthur-changi*, 'the golden sun in the sable disk,' the regal insignia of Mewar, which he lodged in the palace of Boondi. The abdicated Omeda, whose gratified revenge had led to a life of repentance, was horror-struck at this fresh atrocity in his house: he cried "shame on the deed!" nor would he henceforth look on the face of his son.

A highly dramatic effect is thrown around the last worldly honours paid to the murdered king of Mewar; and although his fate has been elsewhere described, it may be proper to record it from the chronicle of his foeman.

The Rana and the Boondi prince had married two sisters, daughters of the prince of Kishengurh, so that there were ties of connexion to induce the Rana to reject all suspicion of danger, though he had been warned by his wife to beware of his brother-in-law. The ancient feud had been balanced in the mutual death of the last two princes, and no motive for

enmity existed. On the day previous to this disastrous event, the Mewar minister had given a feast, of which the princes and their nobles had partaken, when all was harmony and friendship; but the sequel to the deed strongly corroborates the opinion that it was instigated by the nobles of Mewar, in hatred of their tyrannical prince; and other hints were not wanting in addition to the indignant threats of the minister to kindle the feeling of revenge. At the moment the blow was struck, a simple mace-bearer alone had the fidelity to defend his master; not a chief was at hand either to intercept the stroke or pursue the assassin; on the contrary, no sooner was the deed consummated, than the whole chivalry of Mewar, as if panic-struck and attacked by a host, took to flight, abandoning their camp and the dead body of their master.

A single concubine remained to perform the last rites to her lord. She commanded a costly pyre to be raised, and prepared to become his companion to a world unknown. With the murdered corpse in her arms, she reared her from the pile, and as the torch was applied, she pronounced a curse on his murderer, invoking the tree under whose shade it was raised to attest the prophecy, "that, if a selfish treachery alone prompted the deed, within two months the assassin might be an example to mankind; but if it sprung from a noble revenge of any ancient feud, she absolved him from the curse: a branch of the tree fell in token of assent, and the ashes of the Rana and the *Sati* whitened the plain of Bilaita."

Within the two months, the prophetic anathema was fulfilled; the Rao of the Haras was a corpse, exhibiting an awful example of divine vengeance: "the flesh dropped from his bones, and he expired, an object of loathing and of misery." Hitherto these feuds had been balanced by the *lex talionis*, or its substitutes, but this last remains unappeased, strengthening the belief that it was prompted from Mewar.

Bishen Sing, the sole offspring of Ajit, and who succeeded to the *gadi*, was then an infant, and it became a matter of necessity that Sri-ji should watch his interests. Having arranged the affairs of the infant Rao, and placed an intelligent *Dhabhae* (foster-brother) at the head of the government, he recommenced his peregrinations, being often absent four years at a time, until within a few years of his death, when the feebleness of age confined him to his hermitage of Kedarnath

It affords an additional instance of Rajpoot instability of character, or rather of the imperfection of their government, that, in his old age, when a life of austerity had confirmed a renunciation which reflection had prompted, the venerable

warrior became an object of distrust to his grandchild. Miscreants, who dreaded to see wisdom near the throne, had the audacity to add insult to a prohibition of Sri-ji's return to Boondi, commanding him "to eat sweetmeats and tell his beads at Benares." The messenger, who found him advanced as far as Nya-sheher, delivered the mandate, adding that his ashes should not mingle with his father's. But such was the estimation in which he was held, and the sanctity he had acquired from these pilgrimages, that the sentence was no sooner known than the neighbouring princes became suitors for his society. The heroism of his youth, the dignified piety of his age, inspired the kindred mind of Pertap Sing of Amber with very different feelings from those of his own tribe. He addressed Sir-ji as a son and a servant, requesting permission to *'dursun-kar'* (worship him), and convey him to his capital. Such was the courtesy of the flower of the Cuchwahas ! Sri-ji declined this mark of homage, but accepted the invitation. He was received with honour, and so strongly did the gallant and virtuous Pertap feel the indignity put upon the abdicated prince, that he told him, if "any remnant of worldly association yet lurked within him," he would in person, at the head of all the troops of Amber, place him on the throne Both of Boondi and Kotah. Sri-ji's reply was consistent with his magnanimity : " They are both mine already, —on the one is my nephew, on the other my grandchild." On this occasion, Zalim Sing of Kotah appeared on the scene as mediator ; he repaired to Boondi, and exposed the futility of Bishen Sing's apprehensions ; and armed with full powers of reconciliation, sent Lalaji Pundit to escort the old Rao to his capital. The meeting was such as might have been expected, between a precipitate youth tutored by artful knaves, and the venerable chief who had renounced every mundane feeling but affection for his offspring. It drew tears from all eyes ; "My child," said the pilgrim-warrior, presenting his sword, "take this ; apply it yourself if you think I can have any bad intentions towards you ; but let not the base defame me." The young Rao wept aloud as he entreated forgiveness ; and the Pundit Zalim Sing had the satisfaction of seeing the intentions of the sycophants, who surrounded the minor prince, defeated. Sri-ji refused, however, to enter the halls of Boondi during the remainder of his life, which ended about eight years after this event, when his grandchild entreated "he would close his eyes within the walls of his fathers." A remnant of that feeling inseparable from humanity made the dying Omeda offer no objection, and he was removed in a *sookhpal* (litter) to the palace, where he that night breathed his last. Thus, in S. 1860 (A.D.1804) Omeda Sing closed a varied and chequered life : the sun of his morning rose amidst

clouds of adversity, soon to burst forth in a radiant prosperity: but scarcely had it attained its meridian glory ere crime dimmed its splendour, and it descended in solitude and sorrow.

Sixty years had passed over his head, since Omeda, when only thirteen years of age, put himself at the head of his Haras, and carried Patun and Gainolli. His memory is venerated in Harouti, and but for the stain which the gratification of his revenge has left upon his fame, he would have been the model of a Rajpoot prince. But let us not apply the European standard of abstract virtue to these princes, who have so few checks and so many incentives to crime, and whose good acts deserve the more applause from an appalling *honhar* (predestination) counteracting moral responsibility.

The period of Sri-ji's death was an important era in the history of the Haras. It was at this time that a British army, under the unfortunate Monson, for the first time appeared in these regions, avowedly for the purpose of putting down Holcar, the great foe of the Rajpoots, but especially of Boondi. Whether the aged chief was yet alive and counselled this policy, which has since been gratefully repaid by Britain, we are not aware; but whatever has been done for Boondi, has fallen short of the chivalrous deserts of its prince. It was not on the advance of our army, when its ensigns were waving in anticipation of success, but on its humiliating flight, that a safe passage was not only cheerfully granted, but aided to the utmost of the Raja's means, and with an almost culpable disregard of his own welfare and interests. It was, indeed, visited with retribution, which we little knew, or, in the pusillanimous policy of that day, little heeded. Suffice it to say, that, in 1817, when we called upon the Rajpoots to arm and coalesce with us in the putting down of rapine, Boondi was one of the foremost to join the alliance. Well she might be; for the Mahratta flag waved in unison with her own within the walls of the capital, while the revenues collected scarcely afforded the means of personal protection to its prince. Much of this was owing to our abandonment of the Rao in 1804. Throughout the contest of 1817, Boondi had no will but ours; its prince and dependents were in arms ready to execute our behest; and when victory crowned our efforts in every quarter, on the subsequent pacification, the Rao Raja Bishen Sing was not forgotten. The districts held by Holcar, some of which had been alienated for half a century, and which had become ours by right of conquest, were restored to Boondi without a qualification; while, at the same time, we negotiated the surrender to him of the districts held by Sindia, on his paying, through us, an annual sum calculated on the average of the last ten years'

depreciated revenue. The intense gratitude felt by the Raja was expressed in a few forcible words: "I am not a man of protestation; but my head is yours whenever you require it." This was not an unmeaning phrase of compliment; he would have sacrificed his life, and that of every Hara who "ate his salt," had we made experiment of his fidelity. Still, immense as were the benefits showered upon Boondi, and with which her prince was deeply penetrated, there was a drawback. The old Machiavel of Kotah had been before him in signing himself "*fidoe Sirkar Ingrez*" (the slave of the English government), and had contrived to get Indurgurh, Bulwun, Anterdeh, and Khatolli, the chief feudatories of Boondi, under his protection.

The frank and brave Rao Raja could not help deeply regretting an arrangement, which, as he emphatically said, was, "clipping his wings." The disposition is a bad one, and both justice and political expediency enjoin a revison of it, and the bringing about a compromise which would restore the integrity of the most interesting and deserving little state of india.* Well has it repaid the anxious care we manifested for its interests; for while every other principality has, by some means or other, caused uneasiness or trouble to the protecting power, Boondi has silently advanced to comparative prosperity, happy in her independence, and interfering with no one. The Rao Raja survived the restoration of his independence, only four short years, when he was carried off by that scourge the *cholera morbus*. In his extremity, writhing under a disease which unmans the strongest frame and mind, he was cool and composed. He interdicted his wives from following him to the pyre, and bequeathing his son and successor to the guardianship of the representative of the British government, breathed his last in the prime of life.

The character of Bishen Sing may be summed up in a few words. He was an honest man, and every inch a Rajpoot. Under an unpolished exterior, he concealed an excellent heart and an energetic soul; he was by no means deficient in understanding, and possessed a thorough knowledge of his own

* The author had the distinguished happiness of concluding the treaty with Boondi in February 1818. His previous knowledge of her deserts was not disadvantageous to her interests, and he assumed the responsibility of concluding it upon the *general principles* which were to regulate our future policy as determined in the commencement of the war; and setting aside the views which trenched upon these in our subsequent negotiations. These general principles laid it down as a *sine qua non* that the Mahrattas should not have a foot of land in Rajpootana west of the Chumbul; and he closed the door to recantation by sealing the re-union in perpetuity to Boondi, of Patun and all land so situated.

interests. When the Mahrattas gradually curtailed his revenues, and circumscribed his power and comforts, he seemed to delight in shewing how easily he could dispense with unessential enjoyments ; and found in the pleasures of the chase, the only stimulus befitting a Rajpoot. He would *bivouac* for days in the lion's lair, nor quit the scene until he had circumvented the forest's king, the only prey he deemed worthy of his skill. He had slain upwards of one hundred lions with his own hand, besides many tigers, and boars innumerable had been victims to his lance. In this noble pastime, nor exempt from danger, and pleasurable in proportion to the toil, he had a limb broken, which crippled him for life, and shortened his stature. previously below the common standard. But when he mounted his steed and waved his lance over his head, there was a masculine vigour and dignity which at once evinced that Bishen Sing, had we called upon him, would have wielded his weapon as worthily in our cause as did his glorious ancestors for Jehangir or Shah Allum. He was somewhat despotic in his own little empire, knowing that fear is a necessary incentive to respect in the governed, more especially amongst the civil servants of his government ; and if the *Court Journal* of Boondi may be credited, his audiences with his chancellor of the exchequer, who was his premier, must have been amusing to those in the ante-chamber. The Raja had a reserved fund, to which the minister was required to add a hundred rupees daily ; and whatever plea he might advance for the neglect of other duties, on this point none would be listened to, or the appeal to *Indrajeet* was threatened. "The conqueror of Indra" was no superior divinity, but a shoe of superhuman size suspended from a peg, where a more classic prince would have exhibited his rod of empire. But he reserved this for his Barons, and the shoe, thus misnamed, was the humiliating corrective for an offending minister.

At Boondi, as at all these patriarchal principalities, the chief agents of power are few. They are four in number, namely :—1. The Dewan, or Moosaheb ; 2. The Foujdar, or Killedar ; 3. The Buckshee ; 4. The Rassala, or Comptroller of Accounts.

This little state became so connected with the imperial court, that, like Jeipoor, the princes adopted several of its customs. The Purdhan, or premier, was entitled *Dewan* and *Moosaheb* ; and he had the entire management of the territory and finances. The *Foujdar* or *Killedar* is the governor of the castle, the *Maire de Palais*, who at Boondi is never a Rajpoot, but some *Dhabhae* or foster-brother, identified with the family, who likewise heads the feudal quotas or the mercenaries, and

has lands assigned for their support. The *Buckshee* controls generally all accounts; the *Rassala* those of the household expenditure. The late prince's management of his revenue was extraordinary. Instead of the surplus being lodged in the treasury, it centered in a mercantile concern conducted by the Prime Minister, in the profits of which the Raja shared. But while he exhibited but fifteen per cent. gain in the balance-sheet, it was stated at thirty. From this profit the troops and dependents of the court were paid, chiefly in goods and grain, and at such a rate as he chose to fix.* Their necessities, and their prince being joint partner in the firm, made complaint useless; but the system entailed upon the premier universal execration.

Bishen Sing left two legitimate sons; the Rao Raja Ram Sing, then eleven years of age, who was installed in August 1821; and the Maharaja Gopal Sing, a few months younger. Both were most promising youths, especially the Raja. He inherited his father's passion for the chase, and even at this tender age received from the nobles† their nuzzurs and congratulations on the first wild game he slew. Hitherto his pigmy sword had been proved only on kids or lambs. His mother, the queen-regent, is a princess of Kishengurh, amiable, able, and devoted to her son. It is ardently hoped that this most interesting state and family will rise to their ancient prosperity, under the generous auspices of the government which rescued it from ruin. In return, we may reckon on a devotion to which our power is yet a stranger—strong hands and grateful hearts, which will court death in our behalf with the same indomitable spirit that has been exemplified in days gone by. Our wishes are for the prosperity of the Haras!

* The truck system, called *purna*, is well known in Rajpootana.

† And from the author with the rest, whose nephew he was by courtesy and adoption.

CHAPTER VI.

KOTAH.

Separation of Kotah from Boondi.—The Koteah Bhils.—Madhu Sing, first Prince of Kotah.—Its division into fiefs.—The Madhani.—Raja Mokund.—Instance of devotion.—He is slain with four brothers.—Juggut Sing.—Paim Sing.—Is deposed.—Kishore Sing.—Is slain at Arcat.—Law of primogeniture set aside.—Ram Sing.—Is slain at Jajow.—Bheem Sing.—Chuker-Sen, king of the Bhils.—His power is annihilated by Raja Bheem.—Omut tribe.—Origin of the claims of Kotah thereon.—Raja Bheem attacks the Nizam-ool-Moolk, and is slain.—Character of Raja Bheem.—His enmity to Boondi.—Anecdote.—Title of Maha Rao bestowed on Raja Bheem.—Rao Arjoon.—Civil contest for succession.—Siam Sing slain.—Maharao Doorjun Sal.—First irruption of the Mahrattas.—League against Kotah, which is besieged.—Defended by Himmut Sing Jhala.—Zalim Sing born.—Siege raised.—Kotah becomes tributary to the Mahrattas.—Death of Doorjun Sal.—His character.—His hunting expeditions.—His queens.—Bravery of the Jhala chief.—Order of succession restored.—Maharao Ajit.—Rao Chuttersal.—Madhu Sing of Amber claims supremacy over the Hara princes, and invades Harouti.—Battle of Butwarro.—Zalim Sing Jhala.—The Haras gain a victory.—Flight of the Amber army, and capture of the "five-coloured banner."—Tributary claims on Kotah renounced.—Death of Chuttersal.

THE early history of the Haras of Kotah belongs to Boondi, of which they were a junior branch. The separation took place when Sah Jehan was emperor of India, who bestowed Kotah and its dependencies on Madhu Sing, the second son of Rao Ruttun, for his distinguished gallantry in the battle of Boorhanpoor.

Madhu Sing was born in S. 1621 (A.D. 1565). At the early age of fourteen, he displayed that daring intrepidity which gave him the title of Raja, and Kotah with its three hundred and sixty townships (then the chief fief of Boondi, and yielding two lakhs of rent), independent of his father.

It has already been related, that the conquest of this tract was made from the Koteah Bhils of the *Oojla*, the 'unmixed,' or aboriginal race. From these the Rajpoot will eat, and classes will 'drink water' at their hands. Kotah was at that time but a series of hamlets, the abode of the Bhil chief, styled Raja, being the ancient fortress of Ekailgurh, five coss south of Kotah. But when Madhu Sing was enfeoffed by the king, Kotah had already attained extensive limits. To the south it was bounded by Gagrown and Ghatolli, then held by the Kheechies; on the east, by Mangrole and Nahrgurh, the first belonging to the Gor, the last to a Rahtore Rajpoot, who had apostatized to save his land, and was now a Nawab; to the north, it extended as far as Sooltanpoor, on the Chumbul, across which was the small domain of Nandta. In this space were contained three hundred and sixty townships, and a rich soil fertilized by numerous large streams.

The favour and power Madhu Sing enjoyed, enabled him to increase the domain he held direct of the crown, and his authority at his death extended to the barrier between Malwa and Harouti. Madhu Sing died in S. 1687, leaving five sons, whose appanages became the chief fiefs of Kotah. To the holders and their descendants, in order to mark the separation between them and the elder Haras of Boondi, the patronymic of the founder was applied, and the epithet *Madhani* is sufficiently distinctive whenever two Haras, bearing the same name, appear together. These were,

1. Mokund Sing, who had Kotah.
2. Mohun Sing, who had Polaito.
3. Joojarh Sing, who had Kotra, and subsequently Ramgurh-Relawun.
4. Kuniram, who had Koelah.*
5. Keshore Sing, who obtained Sangode.

Raja Mokund Sing succeeded. To this prince the chief pass in the barrier dividing Malwa from Harouti owes its name of *Mokundurra*, which gained an unfortunate celebrity on the defeat and flight of the British troops under Brigadier Monson, A. D. 1804. Mokund erected many places of strength and utility; and the palace and *petta* of Antah are both attributable to him.

Raja Mokund gave one of those brilliant instances of Rajpoot devotion to the principle of legitimate rule, so many of which illustrate his national history. When Arungzeb formed his parricidal design to dethrone his father Shah Jehan,

* He held also the districts of Deh and Goorah in grant direct of the empire.

nearly every Rajpoot rallied round the throne of the aged monarch ; and the Rahtores and the Haras were most conspicuous. The sons of Madhu Sing, besides the usual ties of fidelity, forgot not that to Shah Jehan they owed their independence, and they determined to defend him to the death. In S. 1714, in the field near Oojein, afterwards named by the victor *Futtehabad*, the five brothers led their vassals, clad in the saffron-stained garment, with the bridal *mor* (coronet) on their head, denoting death or victory. The imprudent intrepidity of the Rahtore commander denied them the latter, but a glorious death no power could prevent, and all the five brothers fell in one field. The youngest, Kishore Sing, was afterwards dragged from amidst the slain, and, though pierced with wounds, recovered. He was afterwards one of the most conspicuous of the intrepid Rajpoots serving in the Dekhan and often attracted notice, especially in the capture of Beejapoor. But the imperial princes knew not how to appreciate or to manage such men, who, when united under one who could control them, were irresistible.

Juggut Sing, the son of Mokund, succeeded to the family estates, and to the *munsub* or dignity of a commander of two thousand, in the imperial army. He continued serving in the Dekhan until his death in S. 1726, leaving no issue.

Paim Sing, son of Kuniram of Koelah, succeeded ; but was so invincibly stupid that the *panch* (council of chiefs) set him aside after six months' rule, and sent him back to Koelahi, which is still held by his descendants.*

Kishore Sing, who so miraculously recovered from his wounds, was placed upon the *gadi*. When throne was at length obtained by Arungzeb, Kishore was again serving in the south, and shedding his own blood, with that of his kinsmen, in its subjugation. He greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Beejapoor, and was finally slain at the escalade of Arcatgurh (Arcot), in S. 1742. He was a noble specimen of a Hara ; and, it is said, counted fifty wounds on his person. He left three sons, Bishen Sing, Ram Sing, and Hurnat Sing. The eldest, Bishen Sing, was deprived of his birthright for refusing to accompany his father to the south ; but had the appanage and royal palace of Antah conferred upon him. His

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* A descendant of his covered Monson's retreat even before this general reached the Mokundurra Pass, and fell defending the ford of the Amjar, disdaining to retreat. His simple cenotaph marks the spot where in the gallant old style this chief "spread his carpet" to meet the Dekhany host, while a British commander, at the head of a force capable of sweeping one end of India to the other, fled ! The author will say more of this in his Personnl Narrative, having visited the spot.

issue was as follows: Pirthwi Sing, chief of Antah, whose son, Ajit Sing, had three sons, Chuttersal, Goman Sing, and Raj Sing.

Ram Sing, who was with his father when he was killed, succeeded to all his dignities, and was inferior to none in the contests which fill the page of imperial history, and in opposing the rise of the Mahrattas In the war of succession, he embraced the cause of Prince Azim, the viceroy in the Dekhan, against the elder, Mooazim, and was slain in the battle of Jajow, in S. 1764. In this memorable conflict, which decided the succession to the throne, the Kotah prince espoused the opposite cause to the head of his house of Boondi, and Hara met Hara in that desperate encounter, when a cannon-shot terminated the life of Ram Sing in the very zenith of his career.

Bheem Sing succeeded; and with him Kotah no longer remained a *raj* of the third order. On the death of Buhadoor Shah, and the accession of Ferokser, Raja Bheem espoused the cause of the Syeds, when his *munsub* was increased to 'five thousand,' a rank heretofore confined to princes of the blood and rajas of the first class. The elder branch of the Haras maintained its fealty to the throne against these usurping ministers, and thus the breach made at the battle of Jajow was widened by their taking opposite sides. The disgraceful attempt of Raja Bheem on the life of Rao Raja Boodh of Boondi has already been recorded. Having completely identified himself with the desings of the Syeds and Jey Sing of Amber, he aided all the schemes of the latter to annihilate Boondi, an object the more easy of accomplishment since the unmerited and sudden misfortunes of Rao Boodh had deprived him of his reason. Raja Bheem obtained the royal *sunnud* or grant for all the lands on the Pathar, from Kotah west, to the descent into Aheerwarra east; which comprehended much land of the Kheechies as well as of Boondi. He thus obtained the celebrated castle of Gagrown, now the strongest in Harouti, and rendered memorable by its defence against Alla-o-din; likewise Mow Mydana, Shirgurh, Barah, Mangrole, and Barode, all to the eastward of the Chumbul, which was formally constituted the western boundary of the state. The aboriginal Bhils of *Oojla*, or 'pure' descent, had recovered much of their ancient inheritance in the intricate tracts on the southern frontier of Harouti. Of these, Munohur Thana, now the most southern garrison of Kotah, became their chief place, and here dwelt 'the king of the Bhils,' Raja Chukersen, whose person was attended by five hundred horse and eight hundred bowmen, and to whom all the various tribes of Bhils, from Mewar to the extremity of the plateau, owed obedience.

This indigenous race, whose simple life secured their preservation amidst all the vicissitudes of fortune, from Raja Bhoj of Dhar to Raja Bheem of Kotah, were dispossessed and hunted down without mercy, and their possessions added to Kotah. On the occasion of the subjugation of Bhilwarra, the latter assigned tracts of land to the Omut chiefs of Nursingurh and Rajgurh Patun, with townships in *thali*,* in Kotah proper, and hence arose the claim of Kotah on these independent states for the tribute termed *tunka*.* At the same time, all the chieftains acknowledged the supremacy of Kotah, under articles of precisely the same nature as those which guaranteed the safety and independence of Rajwarra by Britain ; with this difference, that the Omuts could not be installed without the *khelat* of recognition of the princes of Kotah. Had Raja Bheem lived, he would further have extended the borders of Harouti which were already carried beyond the mountains. Onarsi, Dig, Perawa, and the lands of the Chunderawuts, were brought under subjection, but were lost with his death, which, like that of his predecessors, was an untimely sacrifice to duty towards the throne.

When the celebrated Khilij Khan, afterwards better known to history as Nizam-ool-Moolk, fled from the court to maintain himself by force of arms in his government of the Dekhan, Raja Jey Sing of Amber, as the lieutenant of the king, commanded Bheem Sing of Kotah and Guj Sing of Nurwar to intercept him in his passage. The Nizam was the *Pugri buddul Bhae*, or 'turban-exchanged brother,' of the Hara prince, and he sent him a friendly epistle, entreating him "not to credit the reports to his disadvantage, telling him that he had abstracted no treasures of the empire, and that Jey Sing was a meddling knave, who desired the destruction of both ; and urging him to heed him not, nor offer any molestation to his passage to the south." The brave Hara replied, that "he knew the line between friendship and duty ; he was commanded to intercept him, and had advanced for that purpose ; it was the king's order ; fight him he must, and next morning would attack him." The courtesy of the Rajpoot, who mingled no resentment with his hostility, but, like a true cavalier, gave due warning of his intention, was not thrown away upon the wily Mooslem. The Nizam took post amidst the broken ground of the Sinde, near the town of Koorwye Bhorasso. There was

* This is one more of the numerous inexplicable claims which the British Government has had to decide upon, since it became the universal arbitrator. Neither party understanding their origin, the difficulty of a just decision must be obvious. This sets it at rest.

but one approach to his position without a circuitous march, which suited not the impatient Rajpoot; and there his antagonist planted a battery, masked by some brushwood. At the *peela badul* (morning dawn), Raja Bheem, having taken his *uml-pani*, or opium-water, mounted his elephant, and uniting his vassals to those of the Cuchwaha, the combined clans moved on to the attack, in one of those dense masses, with couched lances, whose shock is irresistible. They were within musket shot of the Nizam: had they reached him, Hydrabad would never have arisen on the ruins of Gowalcound, the ancient Hara abode: but the battery opened, and in an instant the elephants with their riders, Raja Bheem and Raja Guj, were destroyed. Horse and foot became commingled, happy to emerge from the toils into which the blind confidence of their leaders had carried them; and Khilij Khan pursued the career that destiny had marked out for him.

On this occasion the Haras sustained a double loss: their leader, and their titular divinity, *Brij-nath*, the god of Brij. This *palladium* of the Haras is a small golden image, which is borne on the saddle-bow of their princely leader in every conflict. When the *gole* is formed and the lances are couched, the signal of onset is the shout of "*Jy Brij-Nathji !*" "Victory to Brij-nath!" and many a glorious victory and many a glorious death has he witnessed. After being long missing, the representative of the god was recovered and sent to Kotah, to the great joy of every Hara. It was in S. 1776 (A. D. 1720) that Bheem Sing perished, having ruled fifteen years, during which short period he established the affairs of his little dominion on a basis which has never been shaken.

The rivalry that commenced between the houses, when Hara encountered Hara on the plains of Dholpoor, and each princely leader sealed his fidelity to the cause he espoused with his blood, was brought to issue by Raja Bheem, whose attack upon Rao Boodh of Boondi, while defending the forlorn Ferochser, has already been related, though without its consequences. These were fatal to the supremacy of the elder branch; for, taking advantage of his position and the expulsion of Rao Boodh, in which he aided, Raja Bheem made an attempt upon Boondi, and despoiled that capital of all the insignia of sovereign rule, its *nakarras*, or kettle-drums, with the celebrated *rin-sankh*, or war-shell, an heir-loom descended from the heroes of antiquity. Even the military band, whose various discordant instruments are still in use, may be heard in *pseudo* concert from the guard-room over the chief gate of the citadel, at Kotah; while the "orange flag," the gift of Jehangir to Rao Ruttun, around which many a brave Hara has breathed his

last, is now used by the junior house in all processions or battles.

To recover these ensigns of fallen dignity, many stratagem has been tried. False keys of the city gates of Kotah and its citadel had been procured, and its guards won over by bribery to favour admission ; but an unceasing vigilance defeated the plan when on the brink of execution : since which, the gates of Kotah are always closed at sunset, and never opened even to the prince. This custom has been attended with great inconvenience ; of which the following anecdote affords an instance. When Raja Doorjun after his defeat reached Kotah at midnight, with a few attendants, he called aloud to the sentinel for admittance ; but the orders of the latter were peremptory, and allowed of no discretion. The soldier desired the Raja to be gone ; upon which, expostulation being vain, he revealed himself as the prince. At this the soldier laughed ; but, tired of importunity, bade his sovereign "go to hell," levelled his matchlock, and refused to call the officer on guard. The prince retired, and passed the night in a temple close at hand. At daybreak the gates were opened, and the soldiers were laughing at their comrade's story of the night, when the Raja appeared. All were surprised, but most of all the sentinel, who, taking his sword and shield, placed them at his sovereign's feet, and in a manly but respectful attitude awaited his dicision. The prince raised him, and praising his fidelity, bestowed the dress he then wore upon him, besides a gift of money.

The Hara chronicler states, that Raja Bheem's person was seamed with scars, and so fastidious was he, through the fear of incurring the imputation of vanity, that he never undressed in presence of his attendants. Nor was it till his death-wound at Koorwye that this singularity was explained, on one of his confidential servants expressing his surprise at the numerous scars ; which brought this characteristic reply : "He who is born to govern Haras, and desires to preserve his land, must expect to get these : the proper post for a Rajpoot prince is ever at the head of his vassals."

Raja Bheem was the first prince of Kotah who had the dignity of *Punj-hazari*, or 'leader of five thousand,' conferred upon him. He was likewise the first of his dynasty who bore the title of *Maha-Rao*, or 'Great Prince ;' a title confirmed though not conferred by the paramount sovereign, but by the head of their own princely tribes, the Rana of Mewar. Previous to Gopinath of Boondi, whose issue are the great feudal chiefs of Harouti, their titular appellation was *Apji*, which has the same import as *herself* (or rather himself), applied to highland chiefs

of Scotland; but when Indur Sal went to Oodipoor, he procured the title of *Maharaja* for himself and his brothers, since which *Apji* has been applied to the holders of the secondary fiefs, the Madhani of Kotah. Raja Bheem left three sons. Arjoon Sing, Siam Sing, and Doorjun Sal.

Maha-Rao Arjoon married the sister of Madhu Sing, ancestor of Zalim Sing Jhala; but died without issue, after four years' rule. On his death, there arose a civil war respecting the succession, in which the vassals were divided. Clan encountered clan in the field of Oodipoor, when the fate of Siam Sing was sealed in his blood. It is said, survivor would willingly have given up dominion to have restored his brother to life; that he cursed his ambitious, rashness, and wept bitterly over the dead body. By these contentions, the rich districts of Rampoora, Bhanpoora, and Kalapete, which the king had taken from the ancient family and bestowed on Raja Bheem, were lost to the Haras, and regained by their ancient possessors.

Doorjun Sal assumed 'the rod' in S. 1780 (A. D. 1724). His accession was acknowledged by Mahomed Shah, the last of the Timoorean kings who deserved the appellation, and at whose court the prince of Kotah received the *khelat* and obtained the boon of preventing the slaughter of kine in every part of the Jumna frequented by his nation. Doorjun Sal succeeded on the eve of an eventful period in the annals of his country. It was in his reign that the Mahrattas under Bajirao first invaded Hisdustan. On this memorable occasion, they passed by the Taruj Pass, and skirting Harouti on its eastern frontier, performed a service to Durjun Sal, by attacking and presenting to him the castle of Nahrgurh, then held by a Mussulman chief. It was in S. 1795* (A. D. 1739), that the first connexion between the Haras and the 'Southrons' took place; and this service of the Peshwa leader was a return for stores and ammunition necessary for his enterprize, But a few years only elapsed before his friendly act and the good understanding it induced were forgotten.

We have recorded, in the annals of Boondi, the attempts of the princes of Amber, who were armed with the power of the monarchy, to reduce the chiefs of Horouti, to the condition of vassals. This policy, originating with Jey Sing, was pursued by his successor, who drove the gallant Boodh Sing into exile, to madness and death, though the means by which he effected it ultimately recoiled upon him, to his humiliation and destruction.

* In this year, when Bajirao invaded Hindustan, passing through Harouti Himmut Sing Jhala was *foujdar* of Kotah. In that year Seo Sing, and in the succeeding, the celebrated Zalim Sing was born.

Having, however, driven Boodh Sing from Boondi, and imposed the condition of homage and tribute upon the creature of his installation, he desired to inflict his supermacy on Kotah. In this cause, in S. 1800, he invited the three great Mahratta leaders, with the Jats under Sooruj Mall, when, after a severe conflict Kotree, the city was invested. During three months, every effort was made, but in vain; and after cutting down the trees and destroying the gardens in the environs, they were compelled to decamp, the leader, Jey Appa Sindia, leaving one of his hands, which was carried off by a cannon-shot.

Doorjun Sal was nobly seconded by the courage and counsel of the *Foujadar*, or 'commandant of the garrison,' Himmut Sing, a Rajpoot of the Jhala tribe. It was through Himmut Sing that the negotiations were carried on, which added Nahrgurh to Kotah: and to him were confided those in which Kotah was compelled to follow the general denationalization, and become subservient to the Mahrattas. Between these two events, S. 1795 and 1800, Zalim Sing was born, a name of such celebrity, that his biography would embrace all that remains to be told of the history of the Haras.

When Esuri Sing was foiled, the brave Doorjun Sal lent his assistance to replace the exiled Omeda on the throne which his father had lost, But without Holcar's aid, this whould have been vain; and, in S. 1805 (A. D. 1749), the year of Omeda's restoration, Kotah was compelled to become tributary to the Mahrattas.

Doorjun Sal added several places to his dominions. He took Phool-Burrode from the Kheechies, and attempted the fortress of Googore, which was bravely defended by Balbudur in person, who created a league against the Hara composed of the chiefs of Rampoora, Sheopoor, and Boondi. The standard of Kotah was preserved from falling into the hands of the Kheechies by the gallantry of Omeda Sing of Boondi. The battle between the rival clans, both of Chohan blood, was in S. 1810; and three years more, Doorjun Sal departed this life. He was a valiant prince, and possessed all the qualities of which the Rajpoot is enamoured; affability, generosity, and bravery. He was devoted to field-ports, especially the royal one of tiger-hunting; and had *rumnas* or preserves in every corner of his dominions (some of immense extent, with ditches and palisadpes, and sometimes circumvallation), in all of which he erected hunting-seats.

In these expeditions, which resembled preparations for war, he invariably carried the queens. These Amazonian ladies were taught the use of the matchlock and being placed upon the teraced roofs of the hunting-seats, sent their shots at the

forest-lord, when driven past their stand by the hunters. On one of these occasions, the Jhala *Foujdar* was at the foot of the scaffolding; the tiger, infuriated with the uproar, approached him open-mouthed; but the prince had not yet, given the word, and none dared to fire without this signal. The animal eyed his victim, and was on the point of springing, when the Jhala advanced his shield, sprung upon him, and with one blow of his sword laid him dead at his feet. The act was applauded by the prince and his court, and contributed not a little to the character he had already attained.

Doorjun Sal left no issue. He was married to a daughter of the Rana of Mewar. Being often disappointed, and at length despairing of an heir, about three years before his death, he told the Rani it was time to think of adopting an heir to fill the *gadi*, "for it was evident that the Almighty disapproved of the usurpation which changed the order of succession." It will be remembered that Bishen Sing son, of Ram Sing, was set aside for refusing, in compliance with maternal fears, to accompany his father in the wars of the Dekhan. When dispossessed of his birthright, he was established in the fief of Antah on the Chumbul. At the death of Doorjun Sal, Ajit Sing, grandson of the disinherited prince, was lord of Antah, but he was in extreme old age. He had three sons, and the eldest, whose name of Chutter Sal revived ancient associations, was formally "placed in the lap of the Rani Mewari; the *asées* (blessing) was given; he was taught the names of his ancestors (being no longer regarded as the son of Ajit of Antah), Chutter Sing, son of Doorjun Sal, Bheem singot, Ram Sing, Kishore Sing, &c.," and so on, to the fountain-head, Dewa Bango, and thence to Manik Rae, of Ajmeer. Though the adoption was proclaimed, and all looked to Chutter Sal as the future lord of the Haras of Kotah, yet on the death of Doorjun, the Jhala Foujdar took upon him to make an alteration in this important act, and he had power enough to effect it. The old chief of Antah was yet alive, and the Foujdar said, "it was contrary to nature that the son should rule and the father obey;" but doubtless other motives mingled with his piety, in which, besides self-interest, may have been a consciousness of the dangers inseparable from a minority. The only difficulty was to obtain the consent of the chief himself, then "fourscore years and upwards," to abandon his peaceful castle on the Cali Sinde for the cares of government. But the Foujdar prevailed; old Ajit was crowned, and survived his exaltation two years and a half. Ajit left three sons, Chutter Sal, Goman Sing, and Raj Sing.

Chutter Sal was proclaimed the Maha Rao of the Haras.

The celebrated Himmut Sing Jhala died before his accession, and his office of *Foujdar* was conferred upon his nephew, Zalim Sing.

At this epoch, Madhu Sing, who had acceded to the throne of Amber on the suicide of his predecessor, Esuri, instead of taking warning by example, prepared to put forth all his strength for the revival of these tributary claims upon the Haras, which had cost his brother his life. The contest was between Rajpoot and Rajpoot; the question at issue was supremacy on the one hand, and subserviency on the other, the sole plea for which was that the Kotah contingent had acted under the princes of Amber, when lieutenants of the empire. But the Haras held in utter scorn the attempt to compel this service in their individual capacity, in which they only recognized them as equals.

It was in S. 1817 (A. D, 1761), that the prince of Amber assembled all his clans to force the Haras to acknowledge themselves tributaries. The invasion of the Abdalli, which humbled the Mahrattas and put a stop to their pretensions to universal sovereignty, left the Rajpoots to themselves. Madhu Sing, in his march to Harouti, assaulted Ooniara, and added it to his territory. Thence he proceeded to Lakhairi, which he took, driving out the crest fallen Southrons. Emboldened by this success, he crossed at the Pally Ghat, the point of confluence of the Par and the Chumbul. The Hara chieftain of Sooltanpoor, whose duty was the defence of the ford, was taken by surprise; but, like a true Hara, he gathered his kinsmen outside his castle, and gave battle to the host. He made amends for his supineness, and bartered his life for his honour. It was remarked by the invaders, that, as he fell, his clenched hand grasped the earth, which afforded merriment to some, but serious reflection to those who knew the tribe, and who converted it into an omen "that even in death the Hara would cling to his land." The victors, flushed with this fresh success, proceeded through the heart of Kotah, until they reached Butwarro, where they found five thousand Haras, *ek baup ca beta*, all 'children of one father,' drawn up to oppose them. The numerical odds were fearful against Kotah; but the letter were defending their alters and their honour. The battle commenced with a desperate charge of the whole cuchwaha horse, far more numerous than the brave legion of Kotah; but too confident of success, they had tired their horses ere they joined. It was met by a dense mass, with perfect coolness, and the Haras remained unbroken by the shock. Fresh numbers came up; the infantry joined the cavalry, and the battle became desperate and bloody. It was at this moment that Zalim Sing made his

debut. He was then twenty-one years of age, and had already, as the adopted son of Himut Sing, "tied his turban on his head," and succeeded to his post of Foujdar. While the battle was raging, Zalim, dismounted, and at the head of his quota, fought on foot, and at the most critical moment obtained the merit of the victory, by the first display of that sagacity for which he has been so remarkble through out his life.

Mulhar Rao Holcar was encamped in their vicinity, with the remnant of his horde, but so crest-fallen since the fatal day of Panniput,* that he feared to side with either. At this moment, young Zalim, mounting his steed, galloped to the Mahratta, and implored him if he would not fight, to move round and plunder the Jeipoor camp: a hint which needed no respetition.

The little impression yet made on the Kotah band only required the report that "the camp was assaulted," to convert the lukewarm courage of their antagonists into panic and flight: "the host of Jeipoor fled, while the sword of the Hara performed *teerut* (pilgrimage) in rivers of blood."

The chiefs of Macherri, of Esurdeh, Watko, Barrole Atchrole, with all the *otes* and *awuts* of Amber, turned their backs on five thousand Haras of Kotah: for the Boondi troops, though assembled, did not join, and lost the golden opportunity to free its *kotrees*, or fiefs, from the tribute. Many prisoners were taken, and the *five coloured banner* of Amber fell into the hands of the Haras, whose bard was not slow to turn the incident to account in the stanza, still repeated whenever he celebrates the victory of Butwarro, and in which the star (*tarra*) of Zalim prevailed:

"*Jung Butwarro jeet*
"*Tarra Zalim Jhala*
"*Ring ck rung churra*
"*Rung Panch-rung ca.*"

"In the battle of Butwarro, the star of Zalim was triumphant. In that field of strife (*ringa*,) but one colour (*rung*) covered that of the five coloured (*Panchrunga*) banner:" meaning that the Amber standard was dyed in blood.

The battle of Butwarro decided the question of tributes, nor has the Cuchwaha since this day dared to advance the question of supremacy, which, as lieutenant of the empire, he desired to himself. In derision of this claim, ever since the day of Butwarro, when the Haras assemble at their *Champ de Mars* to celebrate the annual military festival, they make a mock castle of Amber, which is demolished amidst shouts of applause.

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* It is singular enough, that Zalim Sing was born in the year of Nadir Shah's invasion, and made his political *entree* in that of the Abdalli.

Chutter Sal survived his elevation and this success but a few years; and as he died without offspring, he was succeeded by his brother.

CHAPTER VI.

Maha Rao Goman Sing.—Zalim Sing.—His birth ancestry, and progress to power.—Office of Foujdar *becomes hereditary in his family.—His office and estate resumed by Goman Sing.—He abandons Kotah.—Proceeds to Mewar.—Performs services to the Rana, and receives the title of* Raj Rinna, *and estates.—Serves against the Mahrattas.—Is wounded and made prisoner.—Returns to Kotah.—Mahratta invasion—Storm of Bukaenie.—Its glorious defence.—Sacrifice of a clan.—Garrison of Sukeit destroyed.—Zalim Sing employed.—His successful negotiation.—Restoration to power.—Rao Goman constitutes Zalim guardian of his son Omed Sing, who is proclaimed.—The* Tika-dour, *or 'raid of accession.'—Capture of Kailwarra.—Difficulties of the protector's situation.—Cabal against his power.—Destruction of the conspirators.—Exile of the nobles.—Sequestration of estates—Conspiracy of Athoon.—Predatory bands.—Athoon surrenders.—Exile of the Hara nobles.—Curtailment of the feudal interests.—Conspiracy of Mosain. Plain for the destruction of the regent and family.—Mosain chief takes sanctuary in the temple.—Is dragged forth and slain.—Maharao's brothers implicated in the plot.—Their incarceration and death.—Numerous projects against the life of the regent.—Female conspiracy.—How defeated.—The regent's precautions.*

Goman Sing, in S, 1822 (A. D. 1766), ascended the *gadi* of his ancestors. He was in the prime of manhood, full of vigour and intellect, and well calculated to contend with the tempests collecting from the south, ready to pour on the devoted lands of Rajpootana. But one short *lustrum* of rule was all that fate had ordained for him, when he was compelled to resign his rod of power into the hands of an infant. But ere we reach this period, we must retrace our steps, and introduce more prominently the individual whose biography is the future history of this state; for Zalim Sing in Kotah, his name being not only indissolubly linked with her's in very

page of her existence, but incorporated with that of every state of Rajpootana for more than half a century. He was the *primum mobile* of the region he inhabited, a sphere far too confined for his genius, which required a wider field for its display, and might have controlled the destinies of nations.

Zalim Sing is a Rajpoot of the Jhala tribe. He was born in S. 1796 (A. D. 1740), an ever memorable epoch (as already observed) in the history of India, when the victorious Nadir Shah led his hordes into her fertile soil, and gave the finishing blow to the dynasty of Timour. But for this event its existence might have been protracted, though its recovery was hopeless: the principle of decay had been generated by the policy of Arungzeb. Mahomed Shah was at this time emperor of India, and the valiant Doorjun Sal sat on the throne of Kotah. From this period (A. D, 1740), five princes have passed away and a sixth has been enthroned; and, albiet one of these reigns endured for half a century, Zalim Sing has outlived them all,* and though blind, his moral perceptions are as acute as on the day of Butwarro. What a chain of events does not this protracted life embrace! An empire then dazzling in glory, and now mouldering in the dust. At its opening, the highest noble of Britain would have stood at a reverential distance from the throne of Timour, in the attitude of a suppliant, an now,

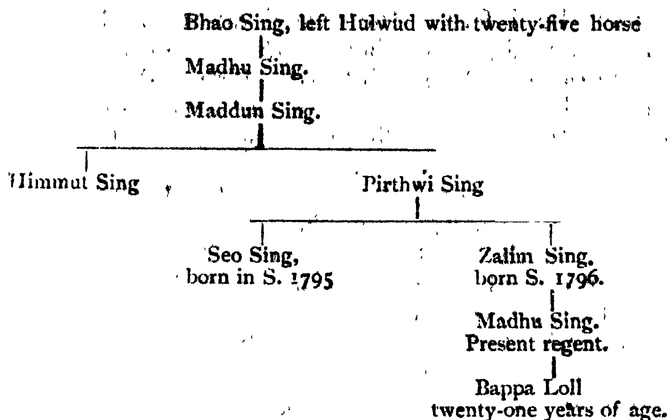
"None so poor
"As do him reverence."

To do any think like justice to the biography of one who for so long a period was a prominent actor in the scene, is utterly impossible; this consideration, however, need not prevent our attempting a sketch of this consummate politician, who can scarcely find a parallel in the varied pages of history.

The ancestors of Zalim Sing were petty chieftains of Hulwud, in the district of Jhalawar, a subdivision of the Saurashtra peninsula, Bhao Sing was a younger son of this family, who, with a few adherents, left the paternal roof to seek fortune amongst the nomerous conflicting armies that ranged India during the contests for supremacy amongst the sons of Arungzeb. His son, Madhu Sing came to Kotah when Raja Bheem was in the zenith of his power. Although he had only twenty five horse in his train, it is a proof of the respectability of the Jhala, that the prince disdained not his alliance, and even married his son, Urjun, to the young adventurer's sister. Not long after, the estate of Nandta was

* This was written in A. D. 1821, when Maha Rao Kishore Sing succeeded.

entailed upon him, with the confidential post of *Foujdar* which includes not only the command of the troops, but that, of the castle. the residence of the sovereign. This family connexion gave an interest to his authority, and produced him the the respectful title of *Mamah*,* from the younger branches of the prince's family, and epithet which habit has continued to his successors, who are always addressed *Mamah Saheb*, 'Sir, Uncle!, Maddun Sing succeeded his father in the office of Foujdar. He had two sons, Himmut Sing, and Pirthwi Sing.



The office of *Foujdar* which, like all those of the east, had become hereditary, was advantageously filled by Himmut Sing, whose bravery and skill were conspicuous on many trying emergencies. He directed, or at least seconded, the defence of Kotah, when first assailed by the combined Mahratta and Jeipoor troops, and conducted the treaty which made her tributary to the former, till at length so identified was his influence with that of the Haras, that with their concurrence he restored the ancient line of succession. Though neither the prince, Doorjun Sal, nor his *Major Domo*, had much merit in this act, it was made available by Zalim in support of his pretensions to power, and in proof of the ingratitude of his sovereign, "whose ancestors recovered their rights at the instigation of his own." But Zalim Sing had no occasion to go back to the virtues of his ancestors for an argument on which to base his own claims to authority. He could point to the field of Butwarro, where his bravery and skill mainly aided to vanquish the enemies of Kotah, and to crush for ever those

* *Mamah* is 'maternal uncle;' *Kaka*, 'paternal uncle.'

arrogant pretensions to supremacy which the Jeipoor state strained every nerve to establish.

It was not long after the accession of Goman Sing to the sceptre of the Haras, that the brave and handsome *Major Domo*, having dared to cross his master's path in love, lost his favour, and the office of Foujdar, which he had attained in his twenty-first year. It is probable he evinced little contrition for his offence, for the confiscation of Nandta soon followed. This estate, on the west bank of the Chumbul, still enjoyed as a fief in perpetuity by the Jhala family, was the original appanage of the Kotah state when a younger branch of Boondi. From hence may be inferred the consideration in which the Jhala ancestor of our subject was held, which conferred upon him the heir-loom of the house. Both the office and the estate thereto attached, thus resumed, where bestowed upon the maternal uncle of the prince, Bhoput Sing, of the Bankrote tribe. By this step, the door of reconciliation being closed against the young Jhala, he determined to abandon the scene of his disgrace, and court fortune elsewhere. He was not long in determining the path he should pursue: Amber was shut against him, and Marwar held out no field for his ambition. Mewar was at hand, and a chief of his own tribe and nation then ruled the councils of Rana Ursi, who had lately succeeded to power, but a power paralyzed by faction and by a pretender to the throne. The Jhala chieftain of Dailwarra, one of the sixteen great barons of Mewar, had headed the party which placed his sovereign on the throne; and he left no desire to part with the influence which this service gave him. He entertained foreign guards about the person of his prince, and distributed estate at pleasure among those who supported his measures; while from the crown domain, or from the estate of those who were hostile to his influence, he seized upon lands, which doubled his possession. Such was the court of Rana Ursi, when the *ex Major Domo* of Kotah came to seek a new master. His reputation at once secured him a reception, and his talents for *finesse*, already developed, made the Rana confide to him the subjection in which he was held by his own vassals-subject. It was then that Zalim, a youth and a stranger, shewed that rare union of intrepidity and caution, which has made him the wonder of the age. By a most daring plan, which cost the Dailwarra chief his life, in open day and surrounded by attendants, the Rana was released from this odious tutelage. For this service, the title of *Raj Rinna*,* and the estate of Cheeturkhaira on the southern

* Not *Rana*, which he puts upon his seal.

frontier were coferred upon Zalim, who was now a noble of the second rank in Mewar. The rebellion still continued, however and the pretender and his faction sought the aid of the Mahrattas; but under the vigorous councils of Zalim, seconded by the spirit of the Rana, an army was collected which gave battle to the combined rebels and Mahrattas. The result of this day has already been related.† The Rana was discomfited and lost the flower of his nobles when victory was almost assured to them, and Zalim was left wounded and a prisoner in the field. He fell into the hands of Trimbuck Rao, the father of the celebrated Umbaji Inglia, and the friendship then formed materially governed the future action of his life.

The loss of this battle left the Rana and Mewer at the mercy of the conqueror. Oodipur was invested, and capitulated, after a noble defence, upon terms which perpetuated her thraldom, Zalim, too wise to cling to the fortunes of a falling house, instead of returning to Oodipoor, bent his step to Kotah, in company with the Pundit, Lallaji Bellal, the faithful pertaker of his future fortunes. Zalim foresaw the storm about to spread over Rajwarra, and deemed himself equal to guide and avert it from Kotah while the political levity of Mewar gave him little hopes of success at that court.

Raja Goman, however, had neither forgotten nor forgiven his competitor, and refused to receive him: but in no wise daunted, he trusted to his address, and thrust himself unbidden on the prince. The moment he chose proved favourable; and he was not only pardoned, but employed.

The Mahrattas had now reached the southern frontier, and invested the castle of Bukaenie, which was defended by four hundred Haras of the Sawunt clan* under its chief, Madhu Sing. The enemy had been foiled in repeated attempts to escalade, and it furnishes a good idea of the inadequate means of the 'Southrons' for the operation of a siege, when their besieging apparatus was confined to an elephant, whose head was the substitute for a *petard*, to burst open the gate. Repeated instances, however, prove that this noble animal is fully equal to the task, and would have succeeded on this occasion, had not the intrepidity of the Hara chieftain prompted one of those desperate exploits which fill the pages of their annals. Armed with his dagger, Madhu Singh leaped from the walls upon the back of the elephant, stabbed the rider, and with repeated blows felled the animal to the earth.

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* See Vol. I, page 446.

† The reader is requested to refer to page 1334, for evidence of the loyalty and heroism Sawunt Hara, the founder of this clan.

That he should escape could not be expected; but his death and the noble dead kindled such enthusiams, that his clan threw wide the gate, and rushing sword in hand amidst the multitude, perished to a man. But they died not unavenged: thirteen hundred of the bravest Mahrattas accompanied to *suraloca*, the warriors' heaven. The invadors continued their inroad, and invested Sukeit: but the prince sent his commands to the garrison to preserve their lives for Kotah, and not again sacrifice them, as the point of honour had been nobly maintained. Accordingly, at midnight, they evacuated the place; but whether from accident or treachery, the grass jungle which covered their retreat was set fire to, and cast so resplendent a light, that the brave garrison had to fight their way against desperate odds, and many were slain. Mulhar. Holcar, who had been greatly disheartened at the loss sustained at Bukaenie, was revived at this success, and prepared to follow it up. Raja Goman deemed it advisable to try negotiation, and the Bankrote Foujdar was sent with full powers to treat with the Mahratta commander; but he failed and returned.

Such was the moment chosen by young Zalim to force himself into the presence of his offended prince. In all probability he mentioned the day at Butwarro, where by his courage, and still more by his tact, he released Kotah from the degradation of being subordinated to Amber; and that it was by his influence with the same Mulhar Holcar, who now threatened Kotah, he was enabled to succeed. He was invested with full powers; the negotiation was renewed, and terminated succesfully: for the sum of six lakhs of rupees, the Mahratta leader withdrew his hoard from the territory of Kotah. His prince's favour was regained, his estate restored, and the unsuccesful negotiator lost the office of Foujdar, into which young Zalim was re-induced. But scarcely had he recovered his rights before Goman Sing was taken grievously ill, and all hopes of his life were relinquished. To whom could the dying prince look at such a moment, as guardian of his infant son, but the person whose skill had twice saved the state from peril? He accordingly proclaimed his will to his chiefs, and with all due solemnity placed Omed Sing, then ten years of age, "in the lap" of Zalim Sing.

Omed Sing was proclaimed in S. 1827 (A.D. 1771). On the day of inauguration, the ancient Rajpoot custom of the (*tika-dour*) revived, and the conquest of Kailwarra from Maha-Rao of the the house of Nurwar marked with *eclat* the accession of the Haras of Kotah, and gave early indication that the genius of the regent would not sleep in his office of protector. More

than half a century of rule, amidst the most appalling vicissitudes, has amply confirmed the prognostication.

The retention of a power thus acquired, it may be concluded, could never be effected without severity, nor the vigorous authority wielded throughout a period beyond the ordinary limits of mortality, be sustained without something more potent than persuasion. Still when we consider Zalim's perilous predicament, and the motives to perpetual reaction, his acts of severity are fewer than might have been expected, or than occur in the course usurpation under similar circumstances. Mature reflection initiated all his measures, and the sagacity of their conception was only equalled by the rapidity of their execution. Whether the end in view was good or evil, nothing was ever half-done; no spark was left to excite future conflagration. Even this excess of severity was an advantage; it restrained the repetition of what, whether morally right or wrong, he was determined not to tolerate. To pass a correct judgment on these acts is most difficult. What in one case was a measure of barbarous severity, appears in another to have been one indispensable to the welfare of the state. But this is not the place to discuss the character or principles of the Regent; let us endeavour to unfold both in the exhibition of those acts which have carried him through the most tempestuous sea of political convulsion in the whole history of India. When nought but revolution and rapine stalked through the land, when state after state was crumbling into dust, or sinking into abyss of ruin, he guided the vessel entrusted to his care safely through all dangers, adding yearly to her riches, until he placed her in security under the protection of Britain.

Scarcely had Zalim assumed the protectorate, when he was compelled to make trial of those Machiavelian powers which have never deserted him, in order to baffle the schemes devised to oppose him. The duties of *Foujdar*, to which he had hitherto been restricted, were entirely of a military nature; though, as it involved the charge of the castle, in which the sovereign resided, it brought him in contact with councils. This, however, afforded no plea for interference in the *dewani*, or civil duties of the government, in which, ever since his own accession to power, he had a co-adjutor in Rae Akiram, a man of splendid talents, and who had been Dewan or prime minister throughout the reign of Chutter Sal and the greater part of that of his successor. To his counsel is mainly ascribed the advantages gained by Kotah throughout these reigns; yet did he fall a sacrifice to zealousies a short time before the death of his prince; Goman Sing. It is not affirmed that they were the suggestions of young Zalim; but

Akiram's death left him fewer competitors to dispute the junction in his own person of the civil as well as military authority of the state. Still he had no slight opposition to overcome in the very opening of his career. The party which opposed the pretensions of Zalim Sing to act as regent of the state, asserting that no such power had been bequeathed by the dying prince, consisted of his cousin, the Maharaja Suroop Sing, and the Bankrote chief, whose disgrace brought Zalim into power. There was, besides, the *Dhabhae* Juskurn, foster-brother to the prince, a man of talent and credit, whose post, being immediately about his person, afforded opportunities for carrying their schemes into effect. Such was the powerful opposition arrayed against the protector in the very commencement of his career. The conspiracy was hardly formed, however, before it was extinguished by the murder of the Maharaja by the hands of the Dhabhae, the banishment of the assassin, and the flight of the Bankrote. The rapidity with which this drama was enacted struck terror into all. The gaining over the foster-brother, the making him the instrument of punishment, and banishing him for the crime, acted like a spell, and appeared such a masterpiece of daring and subtlity combined, that no one thought himself secure. There had been no cause of discontent between the Mahraja and the Dhabhae, to prompt revenge ; yet did the latter, in the glare of open day, rush upon him in the garden of Vrij-Vulas, and with a blow of his scimitar end his days. The regent was the loudest in execrating the author of the crime whom he instantly seized and confined, and soon after expelled from Harouti. But however well acted, this dissimulation passed not with world ; and, whether innocent or guilty, they lay to Zalim's charge the plot for the murder of the Maharaja. The Dhabhae died in exil and contempt at Jeipoor ; and in abandoning him to his fate without provision, Zalim, if guilty of the deed, shewed at once his knowledge and contempt of mankind. Had he added another murder to the first, and in the fury of an affected indignation become the sole depository of his secret, he would only have increased the suspicion of the world ; but in turning the culprit loose on society to proclaim his participation in the crime, he neutralized the reproach by destroying the credibility of one who was a self-convicted assassin when he had it in his power to check its circulation. In order to unravel this tortuous policy, it is necessary to state that the Dhabhae was seduced from the league by the persuation of the regent, who insinuated that the Mahraja formed plans inimical to the safety of the young prince, and that his own elevation was the true object of his

hostility to the person entrusted with the charge of the minor sovereign. Whatever truth there might be in this, which might be pleaded in justification of the foul crime, it was attended with the consequences he expected. Immediately after, the remaining member of the adverse *junta* withdrew and at the same time many of the nobles abandoned their estates and their country. Zalim evinced his contempt of their means of resistance by granting them free egress from the kingdom, and determined to turn their retreat to account. They went to Jeipoor and to Jodpoor; but troubles prevailed everywhere; the princes could with difficulty keep the prowling Mahratta from their own doors, and possessed neither funds nor inclination to enter into foreign quarrels for objects which would only increase their already superabundant difficulties. The event turned out as Zalim anticipated; and the princes, to whom the refugees were suitors, had a legitimate excuse in the representations of the regent, who described them as rebels to their sovereign and parties to designs hostile to his rule. Some died abroad, and some, sick of wandering in a foreign land dependent on its bounty, solicited as a boon that "their ashes might be burned with their fathers'." In granting this request, Zalim evinced that reliance on himself, which is the leading feature of his character. He permitted their return, but received them as traitors who had abandoned their prince and their country, and it was announced to them, as an act of clemency, that they were permitted to live upon a part of their estates; which, as they had been voluntarily abandoned, were sequestrated and belonged to the crown.

Such was Zalim Sing's triumph over the first faction formed against his assumption of the full powers of regent of Kotah. Not only did the aristocracy feel humiliated, but were subjugated by the rod of iron held over them, and no opportunity was ever thrown away of crushing this formidable body, which in these states too often exerts its pernicious influence to the ruin of society. The thoughtlessness of character so peculiar to Rajpoots furnished abundant opportunities for the march of an exterminating policy, and, at the same time, afforded reasons which justified it.

The next combination was more formidable; it was headed by Deo Sing of Athoon, who enjoyed an estate of sixty thousand rupees rent. He strongly fortified his castle and was joined by all the discontented nobles, determined to get rid of the authority which crushed them. The regent well knew the spirits he had to cope with, and that the power of the state was insufficient. By means of "the help of Moses" (such is the interpretation of *Moosa Mudut*, his auxiliary on this

occasion), this struggle against his authority also only served to confirm it; and their measures recoiled on the heads of the feudality. The condition of society since the desolution of the imperial power was most adverse to the institutions of Rajwarra, the unsupported valour of whose nobles was no match for the mercenary force which their rulers could now always command from those bands, belonging to no government, but roaming whither they listed over this vast region, in search of pay or plunder. The "help of Moses" was the leader of one of these associations,—a name well known in the history of that agitated period; and he not only led a well-appointed infantry brigade, but had an efficient park attached to it, which was brought to play against Athoon. It held out several months, the garrison meanwhile making many sallies, which it required the constant vigilance of Moses to repress. At length, reduced to extremity, they demanded and obtained an honourable capitulation, being allowed to retire uumolested whither they pleased. Such was the termination of this ill-organized insurrection, which involved almost all the feudal chiefs of Kotah in exile and ruin, and strengthened the regent, or as he would say, the state, by the escheat of the sequestrated property. Deo Sing of Athoon, the head of this league, died in exile. After several years of lamentation in a foreign soil for the *junum bhom*, 'the land of their birth,' the son pleaded for pardon, though his heart denied all crime, and was fortunate enough to obtain his recall, and the estate of Bamolia of fifteen thousand rupees rent. The inferior members of the opposition were treated with the same contemptuous clemency; they were admitted into Kotah but deprived of the power of doing mischief. What stronger proof of the political courage of the Regent can be adduced, than his shutting up such combustible materials within the social edifice, and even living amongst with them, as if he deserved their friendship rather than their hatred.

In combating such association, and thus cementing his power, time passed away. His marriage with one of the distant branches of the royal house of Mewar, by whom he had his son and successor Madhu Sing, gave Zalim an additional interest in the affairs of that disturbed state, of which he never lost sight amidst the troubles which more immediately concerned him. The motives which, in S, 1847 (A. D. 1791) made him consider for a time the interests of Kotah as secondary to those of Mewar, are related at length in the annals of that state;* and the effect of this policy on the prosperity of Kotah, drained of its

* Vol. I. P. 448.

wealth in the prosecution of his views, will appear on considering the details of his system. Referring the reader, therefore to the Annals of Mewar, we shall pass from S. 1847 to S. 1856 (A. D. 1800) when another attempt was made by the chieftains to throw off the iron yoke of the protector.

Many attempts at assassination had been tried, but his vigilance baffled them all: though no bold enterprize was hazarded since the failure of that (in S. 1833) which ended in the death and exile of its contriver, the chieftain of Athoon, until the conspiracy of Mohsain, in S. 1856, just twenty years ago,* Bahadoor Sing, of Mohsain, a chieftain of ten thousand rupees' annual rent, was the head of this plot, which included every chief and family whose fortunes had been annihilated by the exterminating policy of the regent, It was conducted with admirable secrecy; if known at all, it was to Zalim alone and not till on the eve of accomplishment. The proscription-list was long; the regent, his family, his friend and counsellor the Pundit Lallaji, were amongst the victims marked for sacrifice. The moment for execution was that of his proceeding to hold his court, in open day, and the mode was by a *coup de main* whose very audacity would guarantee success. It is said that he was actually in progress to *durbar*, when the danger was revealed. The *paega*, or 'select troop of horse' belonging to his friend and always at hand, was immediately called in and added to the guards about his person; thus the conspirators were assailed when they deemed the prey rushing into the snare they had laid. The surprise was complete; many were slain, some were taken, others fled. Amongst the latter was the hand of the conspiracy, Bahadoor Sing who gained the Chumbul and took refuge in the temple of the tutelary deity of the Hara at Patun. But he mistook the character of the regent when he supposed that either the sanctuary (*sirna*) *keshore*, or the respect due to the prince, in whose dominions (Boondi) it lay, could shield him from his fate. He was dragged forth and expiated his crime or folly with his life.

According, to the apologists of the regent, this act was one of just retribution, since it was less to defend himself and his immediate interests than those of the prince whose power and existence were threatened by the insurrection which had for its object his deposal and the elevation of one of his brothers. The members of the Maha Rao's family at his period were his uncle Raj Sing, and his two brothers, Gordhun and Gopal Sing. Since the rebellion of Athoon these princes have been under *surveillance*; but after this instance of re-action,

* This was written at Kotah, in S. 1876 (A. D. 1820).

in which their names were implicated as having aspired to supplant their brother, a more rigorous seclusion was adopted; and the rest of their days was passed in solitary confinement. Gordhun, the elder, died about ten years after his incarceration; the younger Gopal, lived many years longer; but neither from that day quitted the walls of their prison, until death released them from this dreadful bondage. Kaka Raj Sing lived to extreme old age; but as he took no part in these turmoils, he remained unmolested, having the range of the temples in the city, beyond whose limits he had no wish to stray.

We may in his place introduce a slip from the genealogical tree of the forfeited branch of Bishen Sing, but which, in the person of his grandson Ajeet, regained its rights and the *gadi*. The fate of this family will serve as a specimen of the policy pursued by the regent towards the feudal interests of Kotah. It is appalling, when thus marshalled, to view the sacrifices which the maintenance of power will demand in these feudal states, where individual will is law.

The plots against the existence and authority of the Protector were of every description, and no less than eighteen are enumerated, which his never-slumbering vigilance detected and baffled. The means were force, open and concealed, poison, the dagger,—until at length he became sick of precaution. "I could not always be on my guard," he would say. But the most dangerous of all was a female conspiracy, got up in the place, and which discovers an amusing mixture of tragedy and farce, although his habitual wariness would not have saved him from being its victim, had he not been aided by the boldness of a female champion, from a regard for the personal attractions of the handsome regent. He was suddenly sent for by the queen-mother of one of the younger princes, and while waiting in an antichamber, expecting every instant "*the voice behind the curtain*," he found himself encircled by a band of Amazonian Rajpootnis, armed with sword and dagger, from whom, acquainted as he was with the nerve, physical and moral, of his country-women, he saw no hope of salvation. Fortunately, they were determined not to be satisfied merely with his death; they put him upon his trial; and the train of interrogation into all the acts of this life was going on, when his preserving angel, in the shape of the chief attendant of the dowager queen, a woman of masculine strength and courage, rushed in, and with strong dissembled anger, drove him forth amidst a torrent of abuse for presuming to be found in such a predicament.

While bathing, and during the heat of the chase his favourite pursuit, similar attempts have been made but they always re-

coiled on the heads of his enemies. Yet notwithstanding the multitude of these plots, which would have unsettled the reason of many, he never allowed a blind suspicion to add to the victims of his policy; and although, for his personal security, he was compelled to sleep in an iron cage, he never harboured unnecessary alarm, that parent of crime and blood in all usurpations. His lynx-like eye saw at once who was likely to invade his authority, and these knew their peril from the vigilance of a system which never relaxed. Entire self-reliance, a police such as perhaps no country in the world could equal, establishments well paid, services liberally rewarded, character and talent in each department of the state, himself keeping a strict watch over all, and trusting implicitly to none, with a daily personal supervision of all this complicated state-machinery—such was the system which surmounted every peril, and not only maintained, but increased the power and political reputation of Zalim Sing, amidst the storms of war, rapine, treason, and political convulsions of more than half a century's duration.

CHAPTER VII.

Zalim regarded as a legislator.—His political views on Mewar.—Kotah sacrificed thereto.—His tyranny.—His superstition.—Makes a tour of his dominions.—Establishes a permanent camp.—Trains an army.—Adopts European arms and discipline.—Rivises the revenue system of Harouti.—The Patel *system described.—Council of Four. Extent of jurisdiction.—The* Bohoras *described.—Their utility in the old farming system of India.—Patels usrup their influance.—Dipression of the peasantry circumvented, imprisoned, and fined.—Patel system destroyed.—Return to the old system.—Moral estimation of the peasant of Rajpootana.—Modes of realizing the land-revenue described.—Advantages and disadvantages.*

We are now to examine the Protector in another point of view, as the legislator and manager of the state whose concerns he was thus determined to rule. For a series of years Kotah was but the wet-nurse to the child of his ambition, a design upon Mewar, which engulphed as in a vortex all that oppersion could extort from the industry of the people confided to his charge. From his first acquaintance with the

court of the Rana, in S. 1827, to the year 1856, he never relinquished the hope of extending the same measure of authority over that state which he exerted in his own. To the prosecution of this policy Harouti was sacrificed and the cultivator lowered to the condition of a serf. In the year 1840 oppression was at its height, the impoverished ryat, no longer able to pay the extra calls upon his industry, his cattle and the implements of his labour distrained, was reduced to despair. Many died from distress; some fled, but where could they find refuge in the chaos around them? The greater part were compelled to plough for hire, with the cattle and implements once their own, the very fields their freehold, which had been torn from them. From this system of universal impoverishment, displayed at length in unthatched villages and untilled lands, the Regent was compelled to become farmar-general of Kotah.

Fortunately for his subjects, and for his own reputation, his sense of gratitude and friendship for the family of Inglia,—whose head, Balla Rao, was then a prisoner in Mewar,—involved him, in the attempt to obtain his release, in personal conflict with the Rana, and he was compelled to abandon for ever that long cherished object of his ambition. It was then he perceived he had sacrified the welfare of all classes to a phantom, and his vigorous understanding suggested a remedy, which was instantly adopted.

Until the conspiracy of Mohsain in 1856, the Regent had resided in the castle, acting the part of the *maire du palais* of the old French monarchy but on his return from the release of Balla Rao, in S. 1860 (A, D. 1803-4), when the successes of the British arms disturbed the combination of the Mahrattas, and obliged them to send forth their disunited bands to seek by rapine what they had lost by our conquests, the Regent perceived the impolicy of such permanent residence, and determined to come nearer to the pont of danger. He had a double motive, each of itself sufficiently powerful to justsfy the change; the first was a revision of the revenue system; the other to seek a more central position for a disposable camp, which he might move any point threatened by these predatory bodies, Though these were doubtless the real incentives to the project according to those who ought to have known the secret impulse of his mind, the change from the castle on the Chumbul to the tented field proceeded from no more potent cause than an ominous owl, telling his tale to the moon from the pinnacle of his mansion. A meeting of the astrologers, and those versed in prodigies was convened, and it was decided that it would be tempting *honhar* (fate) to abide longer in that dwelling. If this were the true motive, Zalim Sing's mind only shared

the grovelling superstition of the most illustrious and most courageous of his nation, to whom there was no presage more appalling than a *googo* on the house-top. But, in all likelihood, this was a political owl conjured up for the occasion; one seen only in the mind's eye of the Regent, and serving to cloak his plans.

The soothsayers having in due form desecrated the dwelling of the Protector, he commenced a perambulation and survey of the long-neglected territory, within which he determined henceforth to limit his ambition. He then saw, and perhaps felt for, the miseries his mistaken policy had occasioned; but the moral evil was consummated; he had ruined the fortunes of one-third of the agriculturists, and the rest were depressed and heart-broken. The deficiency in his revenues spoke a truth no longer to be misinterpreted; for his credit was so low in the mercantile world at this period, that his word and his bond were in equal disesteem. Hitherto he had shut his ears against complaint; but funds were necessary to forward his views, and all pleas of inability were met by confiscation. It was evident that this evil, if not checked, must ultimately denude the state of the means of defence, and the fertility of his genius presented various modes of remedy. He began by fixing upon a spot near the strong fortress of Gagrown, for a permanent camp, where he continued to reside, with merely a shed over his tent: and although the officers and men of rank had also thrown up sheds, he would admit of nothing more. All the despatches and newspapers were dated 'from the *Chaoni*,' or camp.

The situation selected was most judicious, being nearly equi-distant from the principal entrances to Harouti from the south, and touching the most insubordinate part of the Bhil population; while he was close to the strong castles of Shirgurh and Gagrown, which he strengthened with the utmost care, making the latter the depot of his treasures and his arsenal. He formed an army; adopted the European arms and discipline; appointed officers with the title of captain to his battalions, which had a regular nomenclature, and his 'royals' (*Raj Pultun*) have done as gallant service as any that ever bore the name. These were ready at a moment's warning to move to any point, against any foe. Moreover, by this change he was extricated from many perplexities and delays which a residence in a capital necessarily engenders.

Up to this period of his life, having been immersed in the troubled sea of political intrigue, the Protector had no better knowledge of the systems of revenue and landed economy than other *Rangra* chieftains: and he followed the immemorial

usage termed *latho* and *buttaie*, or rent in kind by weight or measure, in proportion to the value of the soil or of the product. The regent soon found the disadvantages of this system, which afforded opportunity for oppression on the part of the collectors, and fraud on that of the tenant, both detrimental to the government, and serving only to enrich that vulture, the *Patel*. When this rapacious, yet indispensable medium between the peasant and ruler, leagued with the collector—and there was no control to exaction beyond the conscience of this constituted attorney of each township, either for the assessment or collection—and when, as we have so often stated, the regent cared not for the means so that the supplies were abundant, nothing but ruin could ensue to the ryat.

Having made himself master of the complicated details of the *buttaie*, and sifted every act of chicanery by the most inquisitorial process, he convoked all the Patels of the country, and took their depositions as to the extent of each *pateli*, their modes of collection, their credit, character, and individual means; and being thus enabled to form a rough computation of the size and revenues of each, he recommenced his tour, made a *chakbundi*, or measurement of the lands of each township, and classified them, according to soil and fertility, as *peewal*, or irrigated; *gorma*, of good soil, but dependent on the heavens; and *morni*, including pasturage and mountain-tracts. He then, having formed an average from the accounts of many years, instituted a fixed money-rent, and declared that the *buttaie* system, or that of payment in kind, was at an end. But even in this he shewed severity; for he reduced the *jureeb*, or standard measure, by a third, and added a fourth to his averages. Doubtless he argued that the profit which the Patels looked forward to would admit of this increase, and determined that his vigilance should be more than a match for their ingenuity.

Having thus adjusted the rents of the fisc, the dues of the Patel were fixed at one and a half annas per beega on all the lands constituting a *pateli*; and as his personal lands were on a favoured footing and paid a much smaller rate than the ryat's, he was led to understand that any exaction beyond what was authorized would subject him to confiscation. Thus the dues on collection would realize to the Patel from five to fifteen thousand rupees annually. The anxiety of these men to be reinstated in their trusts was evinced by the immense offers they made, of ten, twenty, and even fifty thousand rupees. At one stroke he put ten lakhs, or £100,000 sterling, into his exhausted treasury, by the amount of *muzzeranas*, or fines of relief on their re-induction into office. The ryat hoped

for better days; for notwithstanding the assessment was heavy he saw the limit of exaction, and that the door was closed to all subordinate oppression. Besides the spur of hope, he had that of fear, to quicken his exertion; for with the promulgation of the edict substituting money-rent for *buttaie*, the ryat was given to understand that 'no account of the seasons' would alter or lessen the established dues of the state, and that uncultivated lands would be made over by the Patel to those who would cultivate them; or if none would take them, they would be incorporated with the *khas* or personal farms of the regent. In all cases, the Patels were declared responsible for deficiencies of revenue.

Hitherto this body of men had an incentive, if not a license, to plunder, being subject to an annual or triennial tax termed *patel-burrar*. This was annulled; and it was added, that if they fulfilled their contract with the state without oppressing the subject, they should be protected and honoured. Thus these Patels, the elected representatives of the village and the shields of the ryat, became the direct officers of the crown. It was the regent's interest to conciliate a body of men, on whose exertions the prosperity of the state mainly depended; and they gladly and unanimously entered into his views. Golden bracelets and turbans, the signs of inauguration, were given, with a "grant of office," to each Patel, and they departed to their several trusts.

A few reflections obtrude themselves on the contemplation of such a picture. It will hardly fail to strike the reader, how perfect are the elements for the formation of a representative government in these regions; for every state of Rajwarra is similarly constituted; *ex uno disce omnes*. The Patels would only require to be joined by the representatives of the commercial body, and these are already formed, of Rajpoot blood, deficient neither in nerve nor political sagacity, compared with any class on earth; often composing the ministry or heading the armies in battle. It is needless to push the parallel farther; but if it is the desire of Britain to promote this system in the east, to enthrone liberty on the ruins of bondage, and call forth the energies of a grand national *punchaet*, the materials are ample without the risk of innovation beyond the mere extent of members. We should have the aristocratic *Thakoors* (the Rajpoot barons), the men of wealth, and the representatives of agriculture, to settle the limits and maintain the principles of their ancient patriarchal system. A code of criminal and civil law, perfectly adequate, could be complied from their sacred books, their records on stone, or traditional customs, and sufficient might be deducted from the

revenues of the state to maintain municipal forces, which could unite if public safety were endangered, while the equestrian order would furnish all state parade, and act as a moveable army.

But to return to our subject. Out of these numerous body of Patels, Zalim selected four of the most intelligent and experienced, of whom he formed a council attached to the Presence. At first their duties were confined to matters of revenue; soon those of police were superadded, and at length to matter of internal regulation was transacted without their advice. In all cases of doubtful decision, they were the court of appeal from provincial punchaets, and even from those of the cities and the capital itself. Thus they performed the three-fold duties of a board of revenue, of justice, and of police, and perhaps throughout the world, there never was a police like that of Zalim Sing: there was not one *Fouche*, but four; and a net of *espionnage* was spread over the country, out of whose meshes nothing could escape.

Such was the Patel system of Kotah. A system so rigid had its alloy of evil; the veil of secrecy, so essential to commercial pursuits, was rudely drawn aside: every transaction was exposed to the regent, and no man felt safe from the inquisitorial visits of the spies of this council. A lucky speculation was immediately reported, and the regent hastened to share in the success of the speculator. Alarm and disgust were the consequence; the spirit of trade was damped; none were assured of the just returns of their industry; but there was no security elsewhere, and at Kotah only the protector dared to injure them.

The council of Venice was not more arbitrary than the Patel board of Kotah; even the ministers saw the sword suspended over their heads, while they were hated as much as feared by all but the individual who recognized their utility.

It would be imagined that with a council so vigilant the regent would feel perfectly secure. Not so: he had spies over them. In short, to use the phrase of one of his ministers,—a man of acute perception and powerful understanding, when talking of the vigour of his mental vision,—when his physical organs had failed, *pani pia, aur moot tolna,* which we will not translate.

The Patel, now the virtual master of the peasantry, was aware that fine and confiscation would follow the discovery of direct oppression of the ryats; but there were many indirect modes by which he could attain his object, and he took the most secure,—the medium of their necessities. Hitherto, the impoverished husbandman had his wants supplied by the

Bohora, the sanctioned usurer of each village; now, the privileged Patel usurped his functions, and bound him by a double chain to his purposes. But we must explain the functions of the *Bohora*, in order to show the extent of subordination in which the ryat was placed.

The *Bohora* of Rajpootana is the *Metayer* of the ancient system of France. He furnishes the cultivator with whatever he requires for his pursuits, whether cattle, implements, or seed; and supports him and his family throughout the season until the crop is ready for the sickle, when a settlement of accounts takes place. This is done in two ways; either by a cash payment, with stipulated interest according to the risk previously agreed upon; or, more commonly, by a specified share of the crop, in which the *Bohora* takes the risk of bad seasons with the husbandman. The utility of such a person under an oppressive government, where the ryat can store up nothing for the future, may readily be conceived; he is, in fact, indispensable. Mutual honesty is required; for extortion on the part of the *Bohora* would lose him his clients, and dishonesty on that of the peasant would deprive him of his only resource against the sequestration of his patrimony. Accordingly, this monied middleman enjoyed great consideration, being regarded as the patron of the husbandman. Every peasant had his particular *Bohora*, and not unfrequently from the adjacent village in preference to his own.

Such was the state of things when the old system of *latha bhuttaie* was commuted for *beegoti*, a specific money-rent apportioned to the area of the land. The Patel, now tied down to the simple duties of collection, could touch nothing but his dues, unless he leagued with or overturned the *Bohora*; and in either case there was risk from the lynx-eyed scrutiny of the Regent. They, accordingly, adopted the middle course of alarming his cupidity, which the following expedient effected. When the crop was ripe, the peasant would demand permission to cut it. "Pay your rent first," was the reply. The *Bohora* was applied to: but his fears had been awakened by a caution not to lend money to one on whom the government had claims. There was no alternative but to mortgage to the harpy Patel a portion of the produce of his fields. This was the precise point at which he aimed; he took the crop at his own valuation, and gave his receipt that the dues of government were satisfied; demanding a certificate to the effect "that having no funds forthcoming when the rent was required, and being unable to raise it, the mortgager voluntarily assigned, a a fair valuation, a share of the produce." In this manner did the Patels hoard immense quantities of grain, and as Kotah

became the granary of Rajpootana, they accumulated great wealth, while the peasant, never able to reckon on the fruits of his industry, was depressed and impoverished. The Regent could not long be kept in ignorance of these extortions; but the treasury overflowed, and he did not sufficiently heed the miseries occasioned by a system which added fresh lands by sequestration to the home farms, now the object of his special solicitude.

Matters proceeded thus until the year 1867 (A. D. 1811), when, like a clap of thunder, mandates of arrest were issued, and every Patel in Kotah was placed in fetters, and his property under the seal of the state; the ill-gotten wealth, as usual, flowing into the exchequer of the Protector. Few escaped heavy fines; one only was enabled altogether to evade the vigilance of the police, and he had wisely remitted his wealth, to the amount of seven lakhs, or £70,000, to a foreign country; and from this individual case, a judgment may be formed of the prey these cormorants were compelled to disgorge.

It is to be inferred that the Regent must have well weighed the present good against the evil he incurred, in destroying in one moment the credit and efficacy of such an engine of power as the *pateli* system he had established. The Council of Four maintained their post, notwithstanding the humiliated condition of their compeers; though their influence could not fail to be weakened by the discredit attached to the body. The system Zalim had so artfully introduced being thus entirely disorganized, he was induced to push still further the resources of his energetic mind, by the extension of his personal farms. In describing the formation and management of these, we shall better pourtray the character of the Regent than by the most laboured summary: the acts will paint the man.

Before, however, we enter upon this singular part of his history, it is necessary to develop the ancient agricultural system of Harouti, to which he returned when the *pateli* was broken up. In the execution of this design, we must speak both of the soil and the occupants, whose moral estimation in the minds of their rulers must materially influence their legislative conduct.

The ryat of India, like the progenitor of all tillers of the earth, bears the brand of vengeance on his forehead; for as Cain was cursed by the Almighty, so were the cultivators of India by Ramachund, as a class whom no lenity could render honest or contented. When the hero of Ayodia left his kingdom for Lanka, he enjoined his minister, to foster the ryats, that he might hear no complaints on his return. Aware of the fruitlessness of the attempt, yet determined to guard against all

just cause of complaint, the minister reversed the *mauna*, or grain measure taking the share of the crown from the smaller end, exactly one half of what was sanctioned by immemorial usage. When Rama returned, the cultivators assembled in bodies at each stage of his journey, and complained of the innovations of the minister. "What had he done?" "Reversed the *mauna*." The monarch dismissed them with his curse, as "a race whom no favour could conciliate, and who belonged to no one;" a phrase which to this hour is proverbial, '*ryat kessi ča nuhyn hyn*;' and the sentence is confirmed by the historians of Alexander, who tells us that they lived unmolested amidst all intestine wars; that "they only till the ground and pay tribute to the king," enjoying an amnesty from danger when the commonwealth suffered, which must tend to engender a love of soil more than patriotism. It would appear as if the Regent of Kotah had availed himself of the anathema of Rama in his estimation of the moral virtues of his subjects, who were Helots is condition if not in name.

We proceed to the modes of realizing the dues of the state in which the character and condition of the peasant will be further developed. There are four modes of levying the land-tax, three of which are common throughout Rajwarra; the fourth is more peculiar to Harouti and Mewar. The first and most ancient is that of *buttaie*, or 'payment in kind,' practised before metallic currency was invented. The system of *buttaie* extends, however, only to corn; for sugar-cane, cotton, hemp, poppy, al, kosoomba, gingers, turmeric, and other dyes and drugs, and all garden stuffs, pay a rent in money. This rent was arbitrary and variable, according to the necessities or justice of the ruler. In both countries five or ten rupees per beega are demanded for sugar-cane; three to five for cotton, poppy, hemp, and oil-plant; and two to four for the rest. But when heaven was bounteous, avarice and oppression rose in their demands, and seventy rupees per beega were exacted for the sugar-cane, thus paralyzing the industry of the cultivator, and rendering abortive the beneficence of the Almighty.

Buttaie or 'division in kind,' varies with the seasons and their products:

1st. The *unalu*, or 'summer harvest', when wheat, barley, and a variety of pulses, as gram, moth, moong, til, are raised. The share of the state in these varies with the fertility of the soil, from one-fourth, one-third, and two-fifths, to one-half—the extreme fractions being the maximum and minimum; those of one-third and two-fifths are the most universally admitted as the share of the crown. But besides this, there are dues to the artificers and mechanics, whose labour to the village is compen-

sated by a share of the harvest from each cultivator; which allowances reduce the portion of the latter to one-half of the gross produce of his industry, which if he realize, he is contented and thrives.

The second harvest is the *sialoo*, or 'autumnal,' and consists of *mukhi* or *boota*, (Indian corn,) of joar, bajri, the two chief kinds of maize. and *til* or sesamum, with other small seeds, such as *kangni*,* with many of the pulses. Of all these, one-half is exacted by the state.

Such is the system of *buttaie*; let us describe that of *koont*.† Koont is the conjectural estimate of the quantity of the standing crop on a measured surface, by the officers of the government in conjunction with the proprietors, when the share of the state is converted into cash at the average rate of the day, and the peasant is debited the amount. So exactly can those habitually exercised in this method estimate the quantity of grain produced on a given surface, that they seldom err beyond one-twentieth part of the crop. Should, however, the cultivator deem his crop over-estimated, he has the power to cut and weigh it; and this is termed *latha*.

The third is a tax in money, according to admeasurement of the field, assessed previously to cultivation.

The fourth is a mixed tax, of both money and produe.

Neither of these modes is free from objection. That of *koont*, or conjectural estimate of the standing crop, is however, liable to much greater abuse than *latha*, or measurement of the grain. In the first case, it is well known that by a bribe to the officer, he will *koont* a field at ten maunds, which may realize twice the quantity; for the chief guarantees to honesty are fear of detection, and instinctive morality; feeble safeguards, even in more civilized states than Rajwarra. If he be so closely watched that he must make a fair *koont*, or estimate, he will still find means to extort money from the ryat, one of which is, by procrastinating the estimate when the ear is ripe, and when every day's delay is a certain loss. In short, a celebrated superintendent of a district, of great credit both for zeal and honesty, confessed, "we are like tailors; we can cheat you to your face, and you cannot perceive it." The ryat prefers the *koont*; the process is soon over, and he has done with the government; but in *latha*,

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* *Panicum Italicum* produced abundantly ni the valley of 'the Rhine,' as well as *mukhi*, there called *Velsh corn*; doubtless the maizes would alike grow in perfection.

† It would be more correct to say that *buttaie*, or 'payment in kind,' divided into two branches, *viz.* *koont* and *latha*; the first being a portion of the standing crop by conjectural estimate; the other by actual measure, after reaping and thrashing.

the means are varied to perplex and cheat it; beginning with the reaping, when, with a liberal hand, they leave something for the gleaner; then, a "tithe for the *koorpi*, or 'sickle;'" then, the thrashing; and though they muzzle the ox who treads out on the corn, they do not their own mouths, or those of their family. Again, if not convertible into coin, they are debited and allowed to store it up, and "the rats are sure to get into the pits." In both cases, the *shanahs*, or village-watchmen, are appointed to watch the crops, as soon as the ear begins to fill; yet all is insufficient to check the system of pillage; for the ryat and his family begin to feed upon the heads of Indian corn and maize the moment they afford the least nourishment. The *shanah*, receiving his emoluments from the husbandman as well as from the crown, inclines more to his fellow-citizen; and it is asserted that *one-fourth of the crop*, and even *a third*, is frequently made away with before the share of the government can be fixed.

Yet the system of *latha* was pursued by the Regent before he commenced that of *pateli*, which has no slight analogy to the permanent system of Bengal,* and was attended with similar results,—distress, confiscation, and sale, to the utter exclusion of the hereditary principle, the very corner-stone of Hindu society.

CHAPTER VIII.

Farming system of Zalim Sing.—Extent to which it has been carried.—Its prosperity fallacious and transitory.—Details of the system.—Soil of Kotah.—The regent introduces foreign ploughs.—Area cultivated.—Net produce.—Value.—Grain pits.—Prices in plenty and famine.—Zalim sells in one year grain to the amount of a million sterling.—Monopoly.—The tithe, *or new tax on exported grain.—The* jugati, *or tax-gatherer.—Impolicy of this tax.—Gross revenue of Kotah.—Opium monopoly.—Tax on widows.—On the mendicant.—Guard-tax.—Broom-tax.—The regent detested by the bards.—Province of Kotah at this period, and at assumption of the government, contrasted.—Question as to the moral result of his improvements.*

LET us proceed with the most prominent feature of the Regent's internal administration—his farming monopoly—to which

* The patel of Harouti, like the Zemindar of Bengal, was answerable for the revenues, the one, however, was hereditary only during pleasure the other perpetually so. The extent of their authorities was equal.

he is mainly indebted for the reputation he enjoys throughout Rajpootana. The superficial observer, who can with difficulty find a path through the corn-fields which cover the face of Harouti, will dwell with rapture upon the effects of a system in which he discovers nothing but energy and efficiency: he cannot trace the remote causes of this deceptive prosperity, which originated in moral and political injustice. It was because his own tyranny had produced unploughed fields and deserted villages, starving husbandmen and a diminishing population; it was with the distrained implements and cattle of his subjects, and in order to prevent the injurious effects of so much waste land upon the revenue, that, Zalim commenced a system which had made him *farmer-general* of Harouti; and he has carried it to an astonishing extent. There is not a nook or a patch in Harouti, where grain can be produced, which his ploughs do not visit. Forests have disappeared; even the barren rocks have been covered with exotic soil, and the mountain's side, inaccessible to the plough, is turned up with a spud, and compelled to yield a crop.

In S. 1840 (A. D. 1784), Zalim possessed only two or three hundred ploughs, which in a few years increased to eight hundred. At the commencement of what they term the new era (*nya samvat*) in the history of landed property of Kotah, the introduction of the *pateli* system, the number was doubled; and at the present time* no less than *four thousand ploughs*, of double yoke, employing *sixteen thousand oxen*, are used in the farming system of this extraordinary man; to which may be added one thousand more ploughs and four thousand oxen employed on the estates of the prince, and the different members of his family.

This is the secret of the Raj Rana's power and reputation; and to the wealth extracted from her soil. Kotah owes her preservation from the ruin which befel the states around her during the convulsions of the last half century, when one after another sank into decay. But although sagacity marks the plan, and unexampled energy superintends its details, we must, on examining the foundations of the system either morally or politically, pronounce its effects a mere paroxysm of prosperity, arising from stimulating causes which present no guarantee of permanence. Despotism has wrought this magic effect: there is not one, from the noble to the peasant, who has not felt, and who does not still feel, its presence. When the arm of the octagenarian Protector shall be withdrawn, and the autho-

* This was drawn up in 1820-21.

rity transferred to his son, who possesses none of the father's energies, then will the impolicy of the system became apparent. It was from the sequestrated estates of the valiant Hara chieftain, and that grinding oppression which thinned Harouti of its agricultural, population, and left the lands waste, that the Regent found scope for his genius. The fields, which had descended from father to son through the lapse of ages, the unalienable right of the peasant, were seized, in spite of law, custom, or tradition, on every defalcation; and it is even affirmed that he sought pretexts to obtain such lands as from their contiguity or fertility he coveted, and that hundreds were thus deprived of their inheritance. In vain we look for the peaceful hamlets which once studded Harouti; we discern instead the *orie*, or farm-house of the Regent, which would be beautiful were it not erected on the property of the subject; but when we enquire the ratio which the cultivators bear to the cultivation, and the means of enjoyment this artificial system has left them, and find that the once independent proprietor, who claimed a sacred right of inheritence,* now ploughs like a serf the fields formerly his own, all our perceptions of moral justice are shocked.

The love of country and the passion for possessing land are strong throughout Rajpootana: while there is a hope of existence, the cultivator clings to the '*bapota*,' and in Harouti this *amor patriæ* is so invincible, that, to use their homely phrase, "he would rather fill his *pait* in slavery there, than live in luxury abroad." But where could they fly to escape oppression? All around was desolation; armies perambulated the country, with rapid strides, in each other's train, "one to another still succeeding." To this evil Kotah was comparatively a stranger; the Protector was the only plunderer within his domains. Indeed, the inhabitants of the surrounding states, from the year 1865, when rapine was at its height

* Throughout the Boondi territory, where no regent has innovated on the established laws of inheritance, by far the greater part of the land, is the absolute property of the cultivating *ryat*, who can sell or mortgage it. There is a curious tradition that this right was obtained by one of the ancient princes making a general sale of the crown land, reserving only the tax. In Boondi, if a ryat becomes unable, from pecuniary wants or otherwise, to cultivate his lands, he lets them; and custom has established *four annas per beega* of irrigated land, and *two annas* for *gorma*, that dependent on the heavens, or a share of the produce in a similar proportion as his right. If in exile, from whatever cause, he can assign this share to trustees; and, the more strongly to mark his inalienable right in such a case, the trustees reserve on his own account *two seers on every maund of produce*, which is emphatically termed "*huk bapata ca bhom*," the "dues of the patrimonial soil."

flocked into Kotah, and filled up the chasm which oppression had produced in the population. But with the banishment of predatory war, and the return of industry to its own field of exertion, this *panacea* for the wounds which the ruler has inflicted will disappear; and although the vast resources of the Regent's mind may check the appearance of decay, while his faculties survive to superintend this vast and complicated system, it must ultimately, from the want of a principle of permanence, fall into rapid disorganization. We proceed to the details of the system, which will afford fresh proofs of the talent, industry, and vigilance of this singular character.

The soil of Kotah is a rich tenacious mould, resembling the best parts of lower Malwa. The single plough is unequal to breaking it up, and the Regent has introduced the plough of double yoke from the Concan. His cattle are of the first quality, and equally fit for the park or the plough. He purchases at all the adjacent fairs, chiefly in his own dominions, and at the annual *mela* (fair) of his favourite city *Jhalra-Putun*. He has tried those of Marwar and of the desert, famed for a superior race of cattle; but he found that the transition from their sandy regions to the deep loam of Harouti soon disabled them.

Each plough or team is equal to the culture of one hundred beegas; consequently 4,000 ploughs will cultivate 400,000 during each harvest, and for both 800,000, nearly 300,000 English acres. The soil is deemed poor which does not yield seven to ten maunds* of what per beega, and five to seven of millet and Indian corn. But to take a very low estimate, and allowing for bad seasons, we may assume four maunds per beega as the average produce, (though double would not be deemed an exaggerated average): this will give 3,200,000 maunds of both products, wheat and millet, and the proportion of the former to the latter is as three to two. Let us estimate the value of this. In seasons of abundance, twelve rupees per *mauni*,† in equal quantities of both grains, is the average; at this time (July 1820), notwithstanding the preceding season has been a failure throughout Rajwarra, (though there was a prospect of an excellent one), and grain a dead weight, eighteen rupees per *mauni* is the current price, and may be quoted as the average standard of Harouti:

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* A maund is seventy-five pounds.

† *Grain measure of Rajpootana.*—

75	pounds ...	1 seer.
43	seers ...	1 maund.
12	maunds ...	1 mauni,
100	maunis ...	1 manassa.

above is approximating to dearness, and below to the reverse. But if we take the average of the year of actual plenty, or *twelve* rupees * per *mauni* of equal quantities of wheat and joar, or one rupee per maund, the result is thirty-two lakhs of rupees annual income.

Let us endeavour to calculate how much of this becomes net produce towards the expenses of the goverment, and it will be seen that the charges are about one-third gross amount.

Expenses.

Establishment—*viz.* feeding cattle and servants, tear and wear of gear, and clearing the fields—one-eighth of the gross amount, † or	4,00,000
Seed	6,00,000
Replacing 4,000 oxen annually, at 20s.	80,000
Extras	20,000
	11,00,000

We do not presume to give this, or even the gross amount, as more than an approximation to the truth; but the Regent himself has mentioned that in one year the casualties in oxen amounted to five thousand! We have allowed one-fourth, for an ox will work well seven years, if taken care of. Thus, on the lowest scale, supposing the necessities of the government required the grain to be sold in the year it was raised, twenty lakhs will be the net profit of the Regent's farms. But he has abundant resources without being forced into the market before the favourable moment; until when, the produce is hoarded up in subterranean granaries. Every thing in these regions is simple, yet efficient: we will describe the grain-pits.

These pits or trenches are fixed on elevated dry spots; their size being according to the nature of the soil. All the preparation they undergo is the incineration of certain vegetable substances, and lining the sides and bottom with wheat or barley stubble. The grain is then deposited in the pit, covered over with straw, and a terrace of earth, about eighteen inches in height, and projecting in front beyond the orifice of

* It does descend as low as eight rupees per mauni for wheat and barley, and four for the millets, in seasons of excessive abundance.

† It is not uncommon in Rajwarra, when the means of individuals prevent them from cultivating their own hands, to hire out the whole with men and implements; for the use of which *one-eighth* of the produce is the established consideration. We have applied this in the rough estimate of the expenses of the Regent's farming system.

the pit, is raised over it. This is secured with a coating of clay and cow-dung, which resists even the monsoon, and is renewed as the torrents injure it. Thus the grain may remain for years without injury, while the heat which is extricated checks germination, and deters rats and white ants. Thus the Regent has seldom less than fifty lakhs of maunds in various parts of the country, and it is on emergencies, or in bad seasons, that these stores see the light; when, instead of twelve rupees, the *mauni* runs as high as forty, or the famine price of sixty. Then these pits are mines of gold; the Regent having frequently sold in one year sixty lakhs of maunds. In S. 1860, (or A. D. 1804), during the Mahratta when Holcar was in the Bhurtpoor state, and predatory armies were moving in every direction, and when famine and war conjoined to disolate the country, Kotah fed the whole population of Rajwarra, and supplied all these roving hords. In that season, grain being fifty-five rupees per *mauni*, he sold the enormous amount of *one crore of rupees*, or *a million sterling*!

Reputable merchants of the Mahajin tribe refrain from speculating in grain, from the most liberal feelings, esteeming it *dherm nuhyn hyn*, 'a want of charity.' The humane Jain merchant says, "to hoard up grain, for the purpose of taking advantage of human misery, may bring riches, but never profit."

According to the only accessible documents, the whole crown-revenue of Kotah from the tax in kind, amounted, under bad management, to twenty-five lakhs of rupees. This is all the Regent admits he collects from (to use his own phrase) his handful (*puchewara*) of soil: of course he does not include his own farming system, but only the amount raised from the cultivator. He confesses that two-thirds of the superficial area of Kotah were waste; but that this is now reversed, there being two-thirds cultivated, and only one-third waste, and this comprises mountain, forest, common, &c.

In S. 1865 (A. D. 1809), as if industry were not already sufficiently shackled, the Regent established a new tax on all corn exported from his dominions. It was termed *lut'ho*, and amounted to a rupee and a half per *mauni*. The tax —not less unjust in origin than vexatious in operation—worse than even the infamous *gabelle*, or the *droit d' aubaine* of France—was another fruit of monopoly. It was at first confined to the grower, though of course it fell indirectly on the consumer; but the *Jagati*, or chief collector of the custom, a man after the Regent's own heart, was so pleased with its efficiency on the very first trial, that he advised his master to push it farther, and it was accordingly levied as well on the farmer

as the purchaser. An item of ten lakhs was at once added to the budget; and as if this were insufficient to stop all competition between the regent-farmer-general and his subjects, three, four, nay even five *lut'hos*, have been levied from the same grain before it was retailed for consumption. Kotah exhibited the picture of a people, if not absolutely starving, yet living in penury in the midst of plenty. Neither the lands of his chiefs nor those of his ministers were exempt from the operation of this tax, and all were at the mercy of the *Jagati*, from whose arbitrary will there was no appeal. It had reached the very height of oppression about the period of the alliance with the British government. This collector had become a part of his system; and if the Regent required a few lakhs of ready money, *Jo hookum*, 'your commands,' was the reply. A list was made out of 'arrears of *lut'ho*,' and friend and foe, minister, banker, trader, and farmer, had a circular. Remonstrance was not only vain but dangerous: even his ancient friend, the Pundit Bellal, had twenty-five thousand rupees to pay in one of these schedules; the *homme d' affaires* of one of his confidential chiefs, five thousand; his own foreign minister a share, and many bankers of the town, four thousand, five thousand and ten thousand each. The term *lut'ho* was an abuse of language for a forced contribution: in fact the obnoxious and well known *dind* of Rajwarra. It alienated the minds of all men, and nearly occasioned the Regent's ruin; for scarcely was their individual sympathy expressed, when the Hara princes conspired to emancipate themselves from his interminable and galling protection.

When the English government came in contact with Rajwarra, it was a primary principal of the universal protective alliance to proclaim that it was for the benefit of the governed as well as the governors, since it availed little to destroy the wolves without, if they were consigned to the lion within. But there are and must be absurd inconsistencies, even in the policy of western legislators, where one set of principles is applied to all. Zalim soon discovered that the fashion of the day was to *purwurush*. 'foster the ryat.' The odious character of the tax was diminished, and an edict limited its operation to the farmer, the seller, and the purchaser; and so anxious was he to conceal this weapon of oppression, that the very name of *lut'ho* was abolished, and *sowae hasil*, or 'extraordinaries,' substituted. This item is said still to amount to five lakhs of rupees.

Thus did the skill and rigid system of the regent exact from his *puchewara* of soil, full fifty lakhs of rupees. We must also recollect that nearly five more are to be added on

account of the household lands of the members of his own and the prince's family, which is almost sufficient to cover their expenses.

What will the European practical farmer, of enlarged means and experience, think of the man who arranged this complicated system, and who, during forty years, had superintended its details? What opinion will he form of his vigour of mind, who, at the age of fourscore years, although blind and palsied, still superintends and maintains this system? What will he think of the tenacity of memory, which bears graven thereon, as on a table, an account of all these vast depositories of grain, with their varied contents, many of them the store of years past; and the power to check the slightest errors of the intendant of this vast accumulation; while, at the same time he regulates the succession of crops throughout this extensive range? Such is the minute topographical knowledge which the Regent possesses of his country, that every field in every farm is familiar to him: and woe to the superintendent *haveldar* if he discovers a fallow nook that ought to bear a crop.

Yet vast as this system is, overwhelming as it would seem to most minds, it formed but a part of the political engine conducted and kept in action by his single powers. The details of his administration, internal as well as external, demanded unremitted vigilance. The formation, the maintenance, and discipline of an army of twenty thousand men, his fortresses, arsenals, and their complicated minutiæ, were amply sufficient for one mind. The daily account from his police, consisting of several hundred emissaries, besides the equally numerous reports from the head of each district, would have distracted an ordinary head, "for the winds could not enter and leave Harouti without being reported." But when, in addition to all this, it is known that the Regent was a practical merchant, a speculator in exchanges, that he encouraged the mechanical arts, fostered foreign industry, pursued even horticulture, and, to use his own words, "considered no trouble thrown away which made the rupee return sixteen and a half annas, with whom can he be compared?"* Literature, philosophy, and *excerpta* from the grand historical epics, were the amusements of his hours of relaxation; but here we anticipate, for we have not yet finished the review of his economical character. His monopolies, especially that of grain, not only influenced his own market, but affected all the adjacent countries; and when speculation in opium ran to such a demoralizing excess in conse-

* There are sixteen *annas* to a rupee.

quence of the British government monopolizing the entire produce of the poppy cultivated throughout Malwa, he took advantage of the *mania*, and by his sales or purchases raised or depressed the market at pleasure. His gardens, scattered throughout the country, still supply the markets of the towns and capital with vegetables, and his forests furnish them with fuel.

So rigid was his system of taxation, that nothing escaped it. There was a heavy tax on widows who remarried. Even the *gourd* of the mendicant paid a tythe, and the ascetic in his cell had a domiciliary visit to ascertain the gains of mendicity, in order that a portion should go to the exigencies of the state. The *toomba burrar*, or 'gourd-tax,' was abolished after forming for a twelve-month part of the fiscal code of Harouti, and then not through any scruples of the Regent, but to satisfy his friends. Akin to this, and even of a lower grade, was the *jakroo-burrar*, or 'broom-tax,' which continued for ten years; but the many lampoons it provoked from the satirical *Bhat* operated on the more sensitive feelings of his son, Madhu Sing, who obtained its repeal.

Zalim was no favourite with the bards; and that he had little claim to their consideration may be inferred from the following anecdote. A celebrated rhymer was reciting some laudatory stanzas, which the Regent received rather coldly, observing with a sneer, that "they told nothing but lies, though he should be happy to listen to their effusions when truth was the foundation." The poet replied, that "he found truth a most unmarketable commodity; nevertheless, he had some of that at his service;" and stipulating for forgiveness if they effended, he gave the protector his picture in a string of *improvised* stanzas, so full of *vis* (poison), that the lands of the whole fraternity were resumed, and none of the order have ever since been admitted to his presence.

Though rigid in his observance of the ceremonies of religion, and sharing in the prevailing superstitions of his country, he never allows the accidental circumstance of birth or caste to affect his policy. Offences against the state admit of no indemnity, be the offender a Brahmin or a bard; and if these classes engage in trade, they experience no exemption from imposts.

Such is an outline of the territorial arrangements of the Regent Zalim Sing. When power was assigned to him, he found the state limited to Kailwarra on the east; he has extended it to the verge of the Plateau, and the fortress which guards its ascent, at first rented from the Mahrattas, is now by treaty his own. He took possession of the reins of power with an

empty treasury and *thirty-two lakhs* of accumulating debt. He found the means of defence a few dilapidated fortresses, and a brave but unmanageable feudal army. He has, at an immense cost, put the fortresses into the most complete state of defence, and covered their ramparts with many hundred pieces of cannon ; and he has raised and maintains, in lieu of about four thousand Hara cavaliers, an army,—regular we may term it,—of twenty thousand men, distributed into battalions, a park of one hundred pieces of cannon, with about one thousand good horse, besides the feudal contingents.

But is this prosperity ? Is this the greatness which the Raja Goman intended should be entailed upon the successors, his chiefs, and his subjects ? Was it to entertain twenty thousand mercenary soldiers from the sequestrated fields of the illustrious Hara, the indigenous proprietor ? Is this government, is it good government according to the ideas of more civilized nations, to extend taxation to its limit, in order to maintain this cumbrous machinery ? We may admit that, for a time, such a system may have been requisite, not only for the maintenance of his delegated power, but to preserve the state from predatory spoliation ; and now, could we see the noble restored to his forfeited estates, and the ryat to his hereditary rood of land, we should say that Zalim Sing had been an instrument in the hand of Providence for the preservation of the rights of the Haras. But, as it is, whilst the corn which waves upon the fertile surface of Kotah presents not the symbol of prosperity, neither is his well-paid and well-disciplined army a sure means of defence : moral propriety has been violated ; rights are in abeyance, and until they be restored even the apparent consistency of the social fabric is obtained by means which endanger its security.

CHAPTER IX.

Political system of the Regent.—His foreign policy.—His pre-eminent influence in Rajwarra.—His first connexion with the English government.—Monson's retreat.—Gallant conduct and death of the Hara chief of Corlah.—Aid given by the Regent involves him with Holcar.—Holcar comes to Kotah.—Preparations to attack the capital.—Singular interview with Zalim.—Zalim's agents at foreign courts.—Alliance with Ameer Khan, and the Pindarri chiefs.—Characteristic anecdotes.—Zalim's offensive policy.—His domestic policy.—Character of Maharao Omed Sing.—Zalim's conduct towards him.—Choice of ministers.—Bishen Sing Foujdar.—Dulleel Khan Pathan.—Circumvallation of Kotah.—Foundation of the city Jhalra-patun.—Mehrab Khan, commander of the forces.

THE foregoing reflections bring us back to political considerations, and these we must separate into two branches, the foreign and domestic. We purposely invert the discussion of these topics, for the sake of convenience.

Zalim's policy was to create, as regarded himself, a kind of balance of power; to overawe one leader by his influence with another, yet by the maintenance of a good understanding with all, to prevent individual umbrage, while his own strength was at all times sufficient to make the scale preponderate in his favour.

Placed in the very heart of India, Kotah was for years the center around which revolved the desultory armies, or ambulant governments, ever strangers to repose; and though its wealth could not fail to attract the cupidity of these vagabond powers, yet, by the imposing attitude which he assumed, Zalim Sing maintained during more than half a century, the respect, the fear, and even the esteem of all; and Kotah alone, throughout this lengthened period, so full of catastrophes, never saw an enemy at her gates. Although an epoch of perpetual change and political convulsion,—armies destroyed, states overturned, famine and pestilence often aiding moral causes in desolating the land—yet did the Regent, from the age of twenty-five to twenty-two,* by his sagacity, his energy, his

* I may once more repeat, this was written in A. D. 1820-21, when Zalim Sing had reached the age of fourscore and two.

moderation, his prudence, conduct the bark intrusted to his care through all the shoals and dangers which beset her course. It may not excite surprise that he was unwilling to relinquish the helm when the vessel was moored in calm waters; or, when the unskilful owner, forgetting these tempests, and deeming his own science equal to the task, demanded the surrender, that he should hoist the flag of defiance.

There was not a court in Rajwarra, not even the predatory governments, which was not in some way influenced by his opinions, and often guided by his councils. At each he had envoys, and when there was a point to gain, there were irresistible arguments in reserve to secure it. The necessities, the vanities, and weaknesses of man, he could enlist on his side, and he was alternately, by adoption, the father, uncle, or brother, of every person in power during this eventful period, from the prince upon the throne, to the brat of a Pindarri. He frequently observed, that "none knew the shifts he had been put to;" and when entreated not to use expressions of humility, which were alike unsuited to his age and station, and the reverence he compelled, he would reply, "God grant you long life, but it is become a habit." For the last ten years, he not only made his connexion with Meer Khan subservient to avoiding a collision with Holcar, but converted the Khan into the make-weight of his balance of power: "he thanked God the time was past, when he had to congratulate even the slave of Toork on a safe *accouchement*, and to pay for his happiness."

Though by nature irascible, impetuous, and proud, he could bend to the extreme of submission. But while he would, by letter or conversation, say to a marauding Pindarri or Pathan, "let me petition to your notice," or "if my clodpole understanding (*bhomia bood'h*) is worth consulting;" or reply to a demand for a contribution, coupled with a threat of inroad, "that the *friendly epistle* had been received; that he lamented the writer's distresses, &c., &c.;" with a few thousand more than was demanded, and a present to the messenger, he would excite a feeling which at least obtained a respite; on the other hand, he was always prepared to repel aggression; and if a single action would have decided his quarrel, he would not have hesitated to engage any power in the circle. But he knew even success, in such a case, to be ruin, and the general feature of his external policy was accordingly of a temporizing and very mixed nature. Situated as he was, amidst conflicting elements, he had frequently a double game to play. Thus, in the coalition of 1806-7, against Jodpoor, he had three parties to please, each requesting his aid, which made

neutrality almost impossible. He sent envoys to all; and while appearing as the universal mediator, he gave assistance to none.

It would be vain as well as useless to attempt the details of his foreign policy; we shall merely allude to the circumstance which first brought him in contact with the British government, in A. D. 1803-4, and then proceed to his domestic administration.

When the ill-fated expedition under Monson traversed Central India to the attack of Holcar, the regent of Kotah, trusting to the invincibility of the British arms, did not hesitate, upon their appearance within his territory, to co-operate both with supplies and men. But when the British army retreated, and its commander demanded admission within the walls of Kotah, he met a decided and very proper refusal. "You shall not bring anarchy and a disorganized army to mix with my peaceable citizens; but draw up your battalions under my walls; I wiil furnish provisions, and I will march the whole of my force between you and the enemy, and bear the brunt of his attack." Such were Zalim's own expressions: whether it would have been wise to accede to his proposal is not the point of discussion. Monson continued his disastrous flight through the Boondi and Jeipoor dominions, and carried almost alone the news of his disgrace to the illustrious Lake. It was natural he should seek to palliate his error by an attempt to involve others; and amongst those thus calumniated, first and foremost was the regent of Kotah, "the head and front of whose offending,"—non-admission to a panic-struck, beef-eating army within his walls,—was translated into treachery, and a connivance with the enemy; a calumny which long subsisted to the prejudice of the veteran politician. But never was there a greater wrong inflicted, or a more unjust return for services and sacrifices, both in men and money, in a cause which little concerned him; and it nearly operated hurtfully, at a period (1817) when the British government could not have dispensed with his aid. It was never told, it is hardly yet known at this distant period, what devotion he evinced in that memorable *retreat*, as it is misnamed, when the troops of Kotah and the corps of the devoted Lucan were sacrificed to ensure the safety of the army until it left the Mokundurra Pass in its rear. If there be any incredulous supporter of the commander in that era of our shame, let him repair to the altar of the Coelah chief, who, like a true Hara, "spread his carpet" at the ford of the Ajmar, and there awaited the myrmidons of the Mahrattas, and fell protecting the flight of an army which might have passed from one end of India to

the other. Well might the veteran allude to our ingratitude in 1804, when in A.D. 1817 he was called upon to co-operate in the destruction of that predatory system, in withstanding which he had passed a life of feverish anxiety. If there was a doubt of the part he acted, if the monuments of the slain will not be admitted as evidence, let us apeal to the opinion of the enemy, whose testimony adds another feature to the portrait of this extraordinary man.

Besides the Coelah chief, and many brave Haras, slain on the retreat of Monson, the Bukshee, or commander of the force, was made prisoner. As the price of his liberation, and as a punishment for the aid thus given to the British, the Mahratta leader exacted a bond of ten lakhs of rupees from the Bukshee, threatening on refusal to lay waste with fire and sword the whole line of pursuit. But when the discomfited Bukshee appeared before the Regent, he spurned him from his presence, disavowed his act, and sent him back to Holcar to pay the forfeiture as he might.* Holcar satisfied himself then with threatening vengeance, and when opportunity permitted, he marched into Harouti and encamped near the capital. The walls were manned to receive him; the signal had been prepared which would not have left a single house inhabited in the plains, while the Bhils would simultaneously pour down from the hills on Holcar's supplies or followers. The bond was again presented, and without hesitation disavowed: hostilities appeared inevitable, when the friends of both parties concerted an interview. But Zalim, aware of the perfidy of his foe, declined this except on his own conditions. These were singular, and will recall to mind another and yet more celebrated meeting. He demanded that they should discuss the terms of peace or war upon the Chumbul, to which Holcar acceded. For this purpose Zalim prepared two boats, each capable of containing about twenty armed men. Having moored his own little bark in the middle of the stream, under the cannon of the city, Holcar, accompanied by his cavalcade, embarked in his boat and rowed to meet him. Carpets were spread, and there these extraordinary men, with only one eye† between them, settled the conditions of peace, and the endearing epithets of 'uncle' and 'nephew' were bandied, with abundant mirth on the peculiarity of their situation; while,—for the fact is beyond a doubt,—each boat was plugged, and men were at hand on the first

* If my memory betrays me not, this unfortunate commander, unable to bear his shame, took poison.

† It should be remembered that Zalim was quite blind, and that Holcar had lost the use of one eye.

appearance of treachery to have sent them all to the bottom of the river. But Holcar's necessities were urgent, and a gift of three lakhs of rupees averted such a catastrophe, though he never relinquished the threat of exacting the ten lakhs; and when at length madness overtook him, "the bond of Kaka Zalim Sing" was one of the most frequently-repeated ravings of this soldier of fortune, whose whole life was one scene of insanity.

It will readily be conceived, that the labours of his administration were quite sufficient to occupy his attention without intermeddling with his neighbours; yet, in order to give a direct interest in the welfare of Kotah, he became a competitor for the farming of the extensive districts which joined his southern frontier, belonging to Sindia and Holcar. From the former he rented the *punj-mohals*, and from the latter the four important districts of Dig, Perawa, &c., which, when by right of conquest they became British, were given in sovereignty to the Regent. Not satisfied with this hold of self-interest on the two great predatory powers, he had emissaries in the persons of their confidential ministers, who reported every movement; and to "make assurance doubly sure," he had Mahratta pundits of the first talent in his own administration, through whose connexions no political measure of their nation escaped his knowledge. As for Meer Khan, he and the Regent were essential to each other. From Kotah the Khan was provided with military stores and supplies of every kind; and when his legions mutinied (a matter of daily occurrence) and threatened him with the *bastinado*, or fastening to a piece of ordinance under a scorching sun, Kotah afforded a place of refuge during a temporary retreat, or ways and means to allay the tumult by paying the arrears. Zalim allotted the castle of Shirgurh for the Khan's family, so that this leader had no anxiety on their account, while he was pursuing his career of rapine in more distant scenes.

Even the Pindarris were conciliated with all the respect and courtesy paid to better men. Many of their leaders held grants of land in Kotah: so essential, indeed, was a good understanding with this body, that when Sindia, in A. D. 1807, entrapped and imprisoned in the dungeons of Gwalior the celebrated Kureem, Zalim not only advanced the large sum required for his ransom, but had the temerity to pledge himself for his future good conduct: an act which somewhat tarnished his reputation for sagacity, but eventually operated as a just punishment on Sindia for his avarice.

The scale of munificence on which the Regent exercised the rites of sanctuary (*sirna*) towards the chiefs of other

countries claiming his protection, was disproportioned to the means of the state. The exiled nobles of Marwar and Mewar have held estates in Kotah greater than their sequestrated patrimonies. These dazzling acts of beneficence were not lost on a community amongst whom hospitality ranks at the head of the virtues. In these regions, where the strangest anomalies and the most striking contradictions present themselves in politics, such conduct begets no astonishment, and rarely provokes a remonstrance from the state whence the suppliant fled. The Regent not only received the refugees, but often reconciled them to their sovereigns. He gloried in the title of 'peace-maker,' and whether his conduct proceeded from motives of benevolence or policy, he was rewarded with the epithet, sufficiently exalted in itself. "They all come to old Zalim with their troubles," he remarked, "as if he could find food for them all from 'his handful of soil.'"

To conclude: his defensive was, in its results, the reverse of his offensive policy. Invariable and brilliant success accompanied the one; defeat, disappointment, and great pecuniary sacrifices, were the constant fruits of the other. Mewar eluded all his arts, and involved Kotah in embarrassments from which she will never recover, while his attempt to take Sheopoor, the capital of the Gores, by a *coup de main*, was signally defeated. Had he succeeded in either attempt, and added the resources of these acquisitions to Kotah, doubtless his views would have been still more enlarged. At an early period of his career, an offer was made to him, by the celebrated Pertap Sing of Jeipoor, to uudertake the duties of chief minister of that state: it is vain to speculate on what might have been the result to the state or himself, had he been able to wield her resources, at that time so little impaired.

Let us now view the domestic policy of the Regent; for which purpose we must again bring forward the pageant prince of Kotah, the Raja Omed Sing, who was destined never to be extricated from the trammels of a guardianship which, like most offices in the East, was designed to be hereditary: and at the age of threescore and ten, Omed Sing found himself as much a minor as when his dying father "placed him in the lap" of the Protector Zalim Sing. The line of conduct he pursued towards his sovereign, through half a century's duration, was singularly consistent. The age, the character, the very title of *nanah*, or 'grandsire,' added weight to his authority, and the disposition of the prince seemed little inclined to throw it off. In short, his temperament appeared exactly suited to the views of the Regent, who, while he consulted his wishes in every step, acted entirely from himself. The

Maha-Rao was a prince of excellent understanding, and possessed many of those qualities inherent in a Rajpoot. He was fond of the chase, and was the best horseman and marksman in the country ; and the Regent gained such entire ascendency over him, that it is doubtful whether he was solicitous of change. Besides, there was no appearance of constraint ; and his religious occupations, which increased with his age, went far to wean him from a wish to take a more active share in the duties of government. His penetration, in fact, discovered the inutility of such a desire, and he soon ceased to entertain it ; while in proportion as he yielded, the attentions of the minister increased. If an envoy came from a foreign state, he was introduced to the Prince, delivered his credentials to him ; and from him received a reply, but that reply was his minister's. If a foreign noble claimed protection, he received it from the Prince : he was the dispenser of the favours, though he could neither change their nature or amount. Nay, if the Regent's own sons required an addition to their estates, it could only be at the express desire of the Maha-Rao ; and to such a length did the minister carry this deference, that an increase to his personal income required being pressed upon him by the Prince. If horses arrived from foreign countries for sale, the best were set aside for the Maha-Rao and his sons. The archives, the seal, and all the emblems of sovereignty, remained as in times past in the custody of the personal servants of the Prince, at the castle, though none durst use them without consent of the Regent. He banished his only son, Madhu Sing, during three years, to the family estate at Nandta, disrespect to the heir-apparent, Kishore Sing, when training their horses together ; and it was with difficulty that even the entreaty of the Maha-Rao could procure his recall. There are many anecdotes related to evince that habitual deference to everything attached to his sovereign, which, originating in good feeling, greatly aided his policy. The Regent was one day at prayer, in the family temple in the castle, when the younger sons of the Maha-Rao not knowing he was there, entered to perform their devotions. It was the cold season, and the pavement was damp ; he took the quilt which he wore from his shoulders, and spread it for them to stand upon. On their retiring, a servant, deeming the quilt no longer fit to be applied to the Regent's person, was putting it aside ; but, guessing his intention, Zalim eagerly snatched it from him, and recovering himself, observed it was now of some value, since it was marked with the dust of the feet of his sovereign's children. These are curious anomalies in the mind of a man who had determined on unlimited authority. No usurpation was

ever more meek, or yet more absolute ; and it might be affirmed that the Prince and the Regent were made for each other and the times in which they lived.

It was to be expected that a man, whose name was long synonymous with wisdom, should shew discernment in the choice of his servants. He had the art of attaching them to his interests, of uniting their regard with a submissive respect, and no kindness, no familiarity, ever made them forget the bounds prescribed. But while he generously provided for all their wants and granted them every indulgence, he knew too well the caprice of human nature to make them independent of himself. He would provide for them, for their relations and their dependents ; his hand was ever bestowing gratuities on festivals, births, marriges, or deaths ; but he never allowed them to accumulate wealth. It is to be remarked that his most confidential servants were either Pathans or Mahratta Pundits : the first he employed in military posts, the other in the more complicated machinery of politics. He rarely employed his own countrymen ; and the post of Foujdar, now held by Bishen Sing, a Rajpoot of the Suktawut clan, is the exception to the rule. Dulleel Khan and Mehrab Khan were his most faithful and devoted servants and friends. The stupendous fortifications of the capital, with which there is nothing in India to compete, save the walls of Agra. were all executed by the former. By him, also was raised that pride of the Regent, the city called after him, Jhalra-patun ;* while all the other forts were put into a state which makes Kotah the most defensible territory in India. Such was the affectionate esteem in which Dulleel was held by the Regent, that he used ofen to say, " he hoped he should not outlive Dulleel Khan." Mehrab Khan was the commander of the infantry, which he maintained in a state of admirable discipline and efficiency ;† they received their *bees roza* or twenty days' pay, each month, with their arrears at the end of every second year.

* *Jhala-ra-Patun*, 'the city of the Jhala,' the Regent's tribe.

† Mehrab Khan was the commandant of one division of Zalim's contingent, placed at my disposal, which in eight days took possession of every district of Holcar's adjacent to Harouti, and which afterwards gained so much credit by the brilliant escalade of the 'Soudi' fortress, when co-operating with General Sir John Malcolm. The *Royals* (*Raj-Paltun*) were led by Syf Alli, a gallant soldier, but who could not resist joining the cause of the Maharao and legitimacy in the civil war of 1821.

CHAPTER X.

The Rajpoot State invited to an alliance with the British Government.—Zalim Sing the first to accept it.—Marquis of Hastings sends an agent to his court.—Confederation against the Pindarris.—The Regent's conduct during the war.—Approbation and reward of his services.—Peace throughout India.—Death of Maharao Omed Sing.—Treaty and supplemental articles.—Sons of Maharao Omed Sing.—Their characters.—Sons of the Regent.—State of parties.—The Regent leaves the Chaoni *for Kotah.—Proclaims Kishore Sing as successor of the late prince.—His letter to the British agent, who repairs to Katah.—Dangerous illness of the Regent.—Plots to overturn the order of succession.—The Regent's ignorance thereof.—Intricate position of the British Government.—Arguments in defence of the supplemental articles.—Recognition of all rulers* de facto *the basis of our treaties.—Kishore Sing refuses to acknowledge the supplemental articles.—Consequences.—The Regent blockades the Prince, and demands the surrender of his son Gordhundas.—The Maharao breaks through the blockade.—The British agent interposes.—Surrender and exile of Gordhundas.—Reconciliation of the Maharao and the Regent.—Coronation of the Maharao.—Mutual covenants executed.—The Regent prohibits* dind *throughout Kotah—Reflections.*

WE now enter upon that period of the Regent's history when the march of events linked him with the policy of Britain When, in A. D. 1817, the Marquis of Hastings proclaimed war against the Pindarris, who were the very lees of the predatory hordes, which the discomfiture of the greater powers had thrown off, neutrality was not to be endured; and it was announced that all those who were not for us in this grand enterprize, which involved the welfare of all, would be considered against us. The Rajpoot states, alike interested with ourselves in the establishment of settled government, were invited to an alliance offensive and defensive with us, which was to free them for ever from the thraldom of the predatory armies; in return for which, we demanded homage to our power, and a portion of their revenues as the price of protection, The eagle-eye of Zalim saw at once the virtue of compliance, and the grace attendant on its being quickly yielded. Accordingly,

his envoy was the first to connect Kotah in the bonds of alliance, which soon united all Rajwarra to Britain. Meanwhile, all India was in arms; two hundred thousand men were embodied, and moving on various points to destroy the germ of rapine for ever. As the first scene of action was expected to be in the countries bordering upon Harouti, the presence of an agent with Zalim Sing appeared indispensable. His instructions were to make available the resources of Kotah to the armies moving round him, and to lessen the field of the enemy's manœuvres, by shutting him out of that country. So efficient were these resources, that in five days after the agent reached the Regent's camp,* every pass was a post; and a corps of fifteen hundred men, infantry and cavalry, with four guns, was marched to co-operate with General Sir John Malcolm, who had just crossed the Nerbudda with a weak division of the army of the Dekhan, and was marching northward surrounded by numerous foes and doubtful friends. Throughout that brilliant and eventful period in the history of British India, when every province from the Ganges to the ocean was agitated by warlike demonstrations, the camp of the Regent was the pivot of operations and the focus of intelligence. The part he acted was decided, manly, and consistent; and if there were moments of vacillation, it was inspired by our own conduct, which created doubts in his mind as to the wisdom of his course. He had seen and felt that the grand principle of politics, expediency, guided all courts and councils, whether Moghul, Mahratta, or British: the disavowal of the alliances formed by Lord Lake, under Marquis Wellesley's administration, proved this to demonstration, and he was too familiar with the history of our power to give more credit than mere politeness required to our boasted renunciation of the rights of anticipated conquest. A smile would play over the features of the orbless politician when the envoy disclaimed all idea of its being a war of aggrandisement. To all such protestations he would say, "Maharaja, I cannot doubt you believe what you say; but remember what old Zalim tells you; the day is not distant when only one emblem of power (*eki sicca*) will be recognized throughout India." This was in A. D. 1817-18; and the ten years of life since granted to him must have well illustrated the truth of this remark; for although no absolute conquest or incorporation of Rajpoot territory has

* The author of these annals, then assistant Resident at Sindia's court, was deputed by Lord Hastings to the Raj Rana Zalim Sing. He left the residency at Gwalior on the 12th November 1817, and reached the Regent's camp at Rowtah, about twenty-five miles S. S. E. of Kotah, on the 23d.

taken place, our system of control, and the establishment of our monopoly within these limits (not then dreamed of by ourselves), has already verified in part of his prediction. It were indeed idle to suppose that any protestations could have vanquished the arguments present to a mind which had pondered on every page of the history of our power; which had witnessed its developments, from the battle of Plassy under Clive, to Lake's exploits at the altars of Alexander. He had seen throughout, that the fundamental rule which guides the Rajpoot prince, "obtain land," was one both practically and theoretically understood by viceroys from the west, who appeared to act upon the four grand political principles of the Rajpoot, *sham*, *dan*, *bed*, *dind*; or, persuasion, gifts, stratagem, force; by which, according to their great law-giver, kingdoms are obtained and maintained, and all mundane affairs conducted. When, therefore, in order to attain our ends, we expatiated upon the disinterestedness of our views, his co-operation was granted less from a belief in our professions, than upon a dispassionate consideration of the benefits which such alliance would confer upon Kotah, and of its utility in maintaining his family in the position it had so long held in that state. He must have balanced the difficulties he had mastered to maintain that power, against the enemies, internal and external, which had threatened it, and he justly feared both would speedily be sacrificed to the incapacity of his successors. To provide a stay to their feebleness was the motive which induced him to throw himself heart and hand into the alliance we sought; and of signal benefit did he prove to the cause he espoused. But if we read aright the workings of a mind, which never betrayed its purpose either to friend or foe, we should find that there was a moment wherein, though he did not swerve from the path he had chalked out, or shew any equivocation in respect to the pledge he had given, the same spirit which had guided him to the eminence he had acquired, suggested what he might have done at a conjuncture when all India, save Rajpootana, was in arms to overthrow the legions of Britain. All had reason to dread her colossal power, and hatred and revenge actuated our numerous allies to emancipate themselves from a yoke, to which, whether they were bound by friendship or by fear, was alike galling. If there was one master-mind that could have combined and wielded their resources for our overthrow, it was that of Zalim Sing alone. Whether the aspirations of his ambition, far too vast for its little field of action, soared to this height, or were checked by the trammels of nearly eighty winters, we can only conjecture. Once, and once only, the dubious oracle came forth. It was

in the very crisis of operations, when three English divisions were gradually closing upon the grand Pindarri horde, under Kureem Khan, in the very heart of his dominions, and his troops, his stores, were all placed at our disposal, he heard that one of these divisions had insulted his town of Barah: then, the ideas which appeared to occupy him burst forth in the ejaculation, "that if twenty years could be taken from his life, Delhi and Dekhan should be one;" and appeared to point to the hidden thoughts of a man, whose tongue never spoke but in parables.

There is also no doubt that his most confidential friends and ministers, who were Mahrattas, were adverse to his leaguing with the English, and for a moment he felt a repugnance to breaking the bond which had so long united him with their policy. He could not but enumerate amongst the arguments for its maintenance, his ability to preserve that independence which fifty years had strengthened, and he saw that, with the power to which he was about to be allied, he had no course but unlimited obedience; in short, that his part must now be subordinate. He preferred it, however, for the security it afforded; and as in the course of nature he must soon resign his trust, there was more hope of his power descending to his posterity than if left to discord and faction. But when hostilities advanced against the freebooters, and the more settled governments of the Peshwa, Bhoonsla, Holcar, and Sindia, determined to shake off our yoke, we could urge to him irresistible arguments for a perfect identity of interests. The envoy had only to hint that the right of conquest would leave the districts he rented from Holcar at our disposal; and that as we wanted no territory in Central India for ourselves, we should not forget our friends at the conclusion of hostilities. If ever there were doubts, they were dissipated by this suggestion; and on the grand horde being broken up, it was discovered that the families of its leaders were concealed in his territory. Through his indirect aid we were enabled to secure them, and at once annihilated the strength of the marauders. For all these important services, the sovereignty of the four districts he rented from Holcar was guaranteed to the Regent. The circumstances attending the conveyance of this gift afforded an estimate of Zalim's determination never to relinquish his authority; for, when the *sunnud* was tendered in his own name, he declined it, desiring the insertion of that of "his master, the Maharao." At the time, it appeared an act of disinterested magnanimity, but subsequent acts allowed us to form a more correct appreciation of his motives The campaign concluded, and the noble commander and his

enlightened co-adjutor* left the seat of war impressed with the conviction of the great services, and the highest respect for the talents, of the veteran politician, while the envoy, who had acted with him during the campaign, was declared the medium of his future political relations.

In march A. D. 1818, profound repose reigned from the Sutlej to the ocean, of which Rajpoot history presented no example. The magic Runes, by which the north-man could "hush the stormy wave," could not be more efficacious than the rod of our power in tranquillizing this wide space, which for ages had been the seat of conflict. The *satya yuga*, the golden age of the Hindu, alone afforded a parallel to the calm which had succeeded eras of tumultuous effervescence.

Thus matters proceeded till November 1819, when the death of the Maharao Omed Sing engendered new feelings in the claimants to the succession, and placed the Regent in a position from which not even his genius might have extricated him, unaided by the power whose alliance he had so timely obtained. And here it becomes requisite to advert to the terms of this alliance. The treaty† was concluded at Delhi, on the 26th of December 1817, by the envoys of the Regent, in the name of his lawful sovereign, the Maharao Omed Sing, ratified by the contracting parties and the deeds were interchanged at the Regent's court early in January. To this treaty his sovereign's seal and his own were appended; but no guarantee of the Regent's power was demanded pending the negotiation, nor is he mentioned except in the preamble, and then only as the ministerial agent of the Maharao Omed Sing, in whose behalf alone the treaty was virtually executed. This excited the surprise of the British representative,‡ who, in his official despatch detailing the progress and conclusion of the negotiations, intimated that he not only expected such stipulation, but was prepared for admitting it. There was no inadvertence in this omission; the Regent saw no occasion for any guarantee, for the plenary exercise of the powers of sovereign during more than half a century had constituted him, *de facto*, prince of Kotah. Moreover, we may suppose, had he left a desire for such stipulation, that a feeling of pride might have stifled its expression, which by making the choice of ministers dependent on a foreign power would have virtually annulled

* I allude to Mr. Adam, who divided with the noble Marquis the entire merits of that ever memorable period.

† Copy of this is inserted in Appendix No. 6.

‡ C. T. Metcalfe, Esq., then resident at Delhi, now Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Bart, member of council in Bengal.

the independent sovereignty of Kotah. Whatever was the reason of the omission, at a season when his recognition might have had the same formal sanction of all the parties as the other articles of the treaty, it furnished the future opponents of the Regent's power with a strong argument against its maintenance in perpetuity on the death of the Maharao Omed Sing.

It has been already said, that the treaty was concluded at Delhi in December 1817, and interchanged in January 1818. In March of the same year, two supplemental articles were agreed to at Delhi, and transmitted direct to the Regent, guaranteeing the administration of affairs to his sons and successors for ever.

Having premised to such, let us give a brief notice of the parties, whose future fate was involved in this policy.

The Maharao Omed Sing had three sons, Kishore Sing, Bishen Sing, and Pirthi Sing. The heir-apparent who bore a name dear to the recollection of the Haras, was then forty years of age. He was mild in his temper and demeanour; but being brought up in habits of seclusion, he was more conversant with the formulas of his religion, and the sacred epics, than with affairs of mankind. He was no stranger to the annals of his family, and had sufficient pride and feeling to kindle at the recollection of their glory; but the natural bent of his mind, reinforced by education, had well fitted him to follow the path of his father, and to leave himself and his father, and to leave himself and his country to be governed as best pleased the *nanah saheb*,* the Regent.

Bishen Sing was about three years younger; equally placed in disposition, sensible and sedate, and much attached to the Regent.

Pirthi Sing was under thirty; a noble specimen of a Hara, eager for action in the only career of a Rajpoot—arms. To him the existing state of things was one of opprobrium and dishonour, and his mind was made up to enfranchise himself and family from the thraldom in which his father had left them, or perish in the attempt. The brothers were attached to each other, and lived in perfect harmony, though suspicions did exist that Bishen Sing's greater docility and forbearance towards the Regent's son and successor, arose from interested, perhaps traitorous views. Each of them had estates of twenty-five thousand rupees' annual rent, which they managed through their agents.

* This was the parental epithet always applied to the Regent by Omed Sing and his sons, who, it will be remembered, mingled some of the Jhala blood in their veins. *Nanah-saheb* 'sir grandsire.'

The Regent had two sons, the elder, Madhu Sing, legitimate; the younger, Gordhun-das, illegitimate; but he was regarded with more affection, and endowed with almost equal authority with the declared successor to the regency. Madhu Sing was about forty-six at the period we speak of. A physiognomist would discover in his aspect no feature indicative of genius, though he might detect amidst traits which denoted indolence, a supercilious tone of character, the effect of indulgence. This was fostered in a great degree by the late Maharao, who supported the Regent's son against his own in all their dissensions, even from their infancy, which had increased the natural arrogance developed by power being too early entrusted to him: for when the Regent, as before related, quitted the capital for the camp, Madhu Sing was nominated to the office of Foujdar, the hereditary post of his father, and left as his *locum tenens* at Kotah. This office, which included the command and pay of all the troops, left unlimited funds at his disposal; and as the checks which restrained every other officer in the state, were inoperative upon his sons, who dared to inform against the future regent? Accordingly, he indulged his taste in a manner which engendered dislike to him: his gardens, his horses, his boats, were in a style of extravagance calculated to provoke the envy of the sons of his sovereign; while his suite eclipsed that of the prince himself. In short, he little regarded the prudent counsel of his father, who, in their metaphorical language, used to express his fears "that when he was a hundred years old," (*i. e.* dead,) the fabric which cost a life in rearing would fall to pieces.

Gordhun-das,* the natural son of the Regent, was then about twenty-seven,† quick, lively, intelligent, and daring. His conduct to his sovereign's family has been precisely the reverse of his brother's, and in consequence he lived on terms of confidential friendship with them, especially with the heir-apparent and prince, Pirthwi Sing, whose disposition corresponded with his own. His father, who viewed this child of his old age with perhaps more affection than his elder brother, bestowed upon him the important office of *Purdhan*, which comprehends the grain-department of the state. It gave him the command of funds, the amount of which endangered the declared succession. The brothers cordially detested

* *Anglice*, 'the slave of Gordhun,' one of the names of Krishna, the tutelary divinity of the Regent.

† Let me again remind the reader, that this was written in 1820-21; for many reasons, the phraseology and chronology of the original MS. are retained.

each other, and many indignities were cast upon Gordhun-das by Madhu Sing, such as putting him in the guard, which kindled an irreconcilable rancour between them. Almost the only frailty in the character of the Regent was the defective education of his sons: both were left to the indulgence of arrogant pretensions, which ill-accorded with the tenor of his own behaviour through life, or the conduct that was demanded of them. Dearly, bitterly, has the Regent repented this error, which in its consequences has thrown the merits, of an active and difficult career into the shade, and made him regret that his power was not to die with him.

Such was the state of parties and politics at Kotah in November 1819, when the death of the Maharao developed views that had long been concealed, and that produced the most deplorable results. The Regent was at the *Chaoni*, his standing camp at Gagrown, when this event occurred, and he immediately repaired to the capital, to see that the last offices were properly performed, and to proclaim the *an*, or oath of allegiance, and the accession of the Maharao Kishore Sing.

The political agent received the intelligence * on his march from Marwar to Mewar, and immediately addressed his government on the subject, requesting instructions. Meanwhile, after a few days' halt at Oodipur, he repaired to Kotah to observe the state of parties, whose animosities and expectations were forebodings of a change which menaced the guaranteed order of things. On his arrival, he found the aged Regent, still a stranger to the luxury of a house, encamped a mile beyond the city, with his devoted bands around him; while his son, the heir to his power, continued in his palace in the town. The prince and brothers, as heretofore, resided at the palace in the castle, where they held their *coteries*, of which Gordhun-das and Pirthwi Sing were the principals, moulding the new Maharao to their will, and from which the second brother, Bishen Sing, was excluded. Although the late prince

* The following is a translation of the letter written by the Regent, announcing the decease of his master, dated 1st Suffur, A H. 1235, or November 21st, 1819:—

"Until Sunday, the eve of the 1st Suffur, the health of Maharao Omed Sing was perfectly good. About an hour after sunset, he went to worship *Sri-Byjnathji*. Having made six prostrations, and while performing the seventh, he fainted and remained totally insensible. In this state he was removed to his bed-chamber, when every medical aid was given, but unavailingly; at two in the morning he departed for heaven."

"Such affliction is not reserved even for a foe; but what refuge is there against the decree? You are our friend, and the honour and welfare of those whom the Maharao has left behind are now in your hands. The Maharao Kishore Sing, eldest son of the Maharao deceased, has been placed upon the throne. This is written for the information of friendship."

had hardly ceased to breathe, before the animosities so long existing between the sons of the Regent burst forth, and threatened "war within the gates;" and although nothing short of the recovery of rights so long in abeyance was determined upon by the prince; yet,—and it will hardly be believed,—these schemes escaped the vigilance of the Regent.

The death of his friend and sovereign, added to care and infirmity, brought on a fit of illness, the result of which was expected to crown the hopes of the parties who were interested in the event; and when to their surprise and regret, he recovered, the plans of his prince and natural son were matured, and as notorious as the sun at noon to every person of note but the Regent himself. He was not, indeed, the first aged ruler, however renowned for wisdom, who had been kept in ignorance of the cabals of his family. It required a prophet to announce to David the usurpation of Adonijah;* and the same cause, which kept David ignorant that his son had supplanted him, concealed from the penetrating eye of Zalim Sing the plot which had for its object that his power should perish with him, and that his son Gordhun should supersede the heir to his hereditary staff of office. Strange as it must appear, the British Agent acted the part of Nathan on this occasion, and had to break the intelligence to the man who had swayed for sixty years, with despotic authority, the destinies of Kotah, that his sons were arming against each other, and that his prince was determined that his wand (*Churri*) of power should (to speak in their metaphorical style) be consumed in the same pyre with himself whenever the "decree of Bhagwan" went forth.

It was then that the supplemental articles, guaranteeing Madhu Sing in the succession to the regency, proved a stumbling-block in the path of our mediation between parties, the one called on to renounce that dear-bought power, the other determined to regain what time and accident had wrested from him. Had the emergency occurred while the predatory system was predominant, not a whisper would have been raised; the point in all probability would never have been mooted: it would have been considered as a matter of course, where

"Amurath to Amurath succeeds."

that the Maharao Kishore should continue the same puppet in the hands of Madhu Sing that his father had been in Zalim's. This would have excited no surprise, nor would such a proceeding have afforded speculation for one hour.

* "Nathan spoke unto Bathsheba, 'hast thou not heard that Adonijiah the son of Hagitha, does reign and David our Lord knoweth it not?"

Nay, the usurper might have advanced to the ulterior step; and, like the Frank *maire du palais*, have demanded of the pontiff of Nathadwarra, as did Pepin of Pope Zacharius, "whether he who had the power, should not also have the title of king,"* and the same plenary indulgence would have awaited the first Jhala Raja of Kotah as was granted to the first of the Carlovingian kings! It, therefore, became a matter of astonishment, especially to the unreflecting, whence arose the general sympathy, amounting to enthusiasm, towards this hitherto disregarded family, not only from chief and peasant, within the bounds of Harouti, and the foreign mercenary army raised and maintained by the Regent, but from the neighbouring princes and nobles, who had hitherto looked upon the usurpation in silence.

A short explanation will solve what was then enigmatical, even to those most interested in forming a just opinion. The practice of the moral virtues amongst any portion of civilized society may be uncertain, but there is one invariable estimate or standard of them in theory. The policy of 1817 changed the moral with the political aspect of Rajasthan. If, previous thereto, no voice was raised against usurpation and crime, it was because all hope that their condition could be ameliorated was extinct. But this was to them a *nya samvat*, a 'new era,' a day of universal regeneration. Was the sovereign not to look for the restoration of that power which had been guaranteed by treaty,—nor the chiefs to claim the restitution of their estates,—nor the peasant to hope for the lands added to the crown domain;—and were not all foreign potentates interested in calling for an example of retributive justice for ministerial usurpation, however mildly exercised towards the prince? With more rationl than political argument, they appealed to our high notions of public justice to accomplish these objects. Unhappy position, in which circumstances,—nay, paradoxical as it may appear, political gratitude and justice,—dictated a contrary course, and marshalled British battalions in line with the retainers of usurpation to combat the lawful sovereign of the country! The case was one of the most difficult that ever beset our policy in the East, which must always to a certain extent be adapted to the condition of those with whom we come in contact; and perhaps, on this occasion, no caution or foresight could have averted the effects of his alliance.

There is not a shadow of doubt that the supplemental

* Such was the question propounded, and answered as Pepin expected, regarding the disposal of Childeric, the last of the Merovingian race.

articles of the treaty of Kotah, which pledge our faith to two parties in a manner which rendered its maintenance towards both an impossibility, produced consequences that shook the confidence of the people of Rajwarra in our political rectitude. They established two pageants instead of one, whose co-existence would have been miraculous: still as a measure ought not to be judged entirely by its results, we shall endeavour to assign the true motive and character of the act.

If these articles were not dictated by good policy; if they cannot be defended on the plea of expediency; if the omission in the original treaty of December could not be supplied in March, without questioning the want of foresight of the former; he might justify them on the ground that they were a concession to feelings of gratitude for important services, rendered at a moment when the fate of our power in India was involved to an extent unprecedented since its origin. To effect a treaty with the Nestor of Rajwarra, to ensure alliance with the rest of the estates, which object was the very essence of Lord Hastings' policy. Thus, on general views, as well as for particular reasons (for the resources of Kotah were absolutely indispensable), the co-operation of the Regent was a measure vitally important. Still it may be urged that as the Regent himself, from whatever motive, had allowed the time to go by when necessity might have compelled us to incorporate such an article in the original treaty, was there no other mode of reimbursing these services besides a guarantee which was an apple of discord? The war was at an end; and we might with justice have urged that 'the state of Kotah,' with which we had treated, had, in the destruction of all the powers of anarchy and sharing in its spoils, fully reaped the reward of her services. Such an argument would doubtless have been diplomatically just; but we were still revelling in the excitement of unparalleled success, to which Zalim had been no mean contributor, and the future evil was overlooked in the feverish joy of the hour. But if cold expediency may not deem this a sufficient justification, we may find other reasons. When the author of the policy of 1817 had maturely adjusted his plans for the union of all the settled governments in a league against the predatory system, it became necessary to adopt a broad principle with respect to those with whom we had to treat. At such a moment he could not institute a patient investigation into the moral discipline of each state, or demand of those who wielded the power by what tenure they held their authority. It became, therefore, a matter of necessity to recognize those who were the rulers *de facto*, a principle which was publicly promulgated and uni-

versally acted upon. Whether we should have been justified in March, when all our wishes had been consummated, in declining a proposal which we would most gladly have submitted to in December, is a question which we shall leave diplomatists to settle,* and proceed to relate the result of the measure.

The counsellors of the new Maharao soon expounded to him the terms of the treaty, and urged him to demand its fulfilment according to its literal interpretation. The 'politic deference, which the Regent had invariably shewn to the late prince, was turned skilfully into an offensive weapon against him. They triumphantly appealed to the tenth article of the treaty, "the Maharao, his heirs and successors, shall remain absolute rulers of their country;" and demanded how we could reconcile our subsequent determination to guarantee Madhu Sing and his heirs in the enjoyment of power, which made him *de facto* the prince, and "reduced the *gadi* of Kotah to a simple heap of cotton?" - with the fact before our eyes, that the seals of all the contracting parties were to the original treaty, but that of the supplemental articles the late Maharao died in absolute ignorance.

All friendly intercourse between the prince and the Regent, and consequently with Madhu Sing, was soon at an end, and every effort was used whereby the political enfranchisement of the former could be accomplished. The eloquence of angels must have failed to check such hopes, still more to give a contrary interpretation to the simple language of the treaty, to which, with a judicious pertinacity, they confined themselves. It would be useless to detail the various occurrences pending the reference to our Government. The prince would not credit, or affected not to credit, its determination, and founded abundant and not easily-refutable arguments upon its honour and justice. When told that its instructions were, "that no pretensions of the titular Raja can be entertained by us in opposition to our positive engagement with the Regent; that he alone was considered as the head of the Kotah state; and the titular Raja no more deemed the ruler of Kotah, than the Raja of Satarra the leader of the Mahrattas, or

* The overture for these supplementary articles in all probability, originated not with the Regent, but with the son. Had the author (who was then the medium of the political relations with Kotah) been consulted regarding their tendency, he was as well aware *then as now*, what *he ought* to have advised. Whether his feelings, alike excited by the grand work in which he bore no mean part, would have also clouded his judgment, it were useless to discuss. It is sufficient, in all the spirit of candour, to suggest such reasons as may have led to a measure, the consequences of which have been so deeply lamented.

the Great Mogul, the emperor of Hindustan," the Maharao shut his ears against the representation of the Agent, and professed to regard the person who could compare his case to other so little parallel to it, as his enemy. While his brother, Pirthwi Sing, and Gordhun-das formed part of the council of Kishore Sing, it was impossible to expect that he would be brought to resign himself to his destiny; and he was speedily given to understand that the removal of both from his council was indispensable.

But it was impossible to effect this without escalading the castle, in which operation the prince, in all human probability, might have perished, it was deemed advisable to blockade it and starve them into surrender. When reduced to extremity, the Maharao took the determination of trusting his cause to the country, and placing himself at the head of a band of five hundred horse, chiefly Haras, with the tutelary deity at his saddle-bow, with drums beating and colours flying, he broke through the blockade. Fortunately, no instructions had been given for resistance, and his cavalcade passed on to the southward unmolested. As soon as the movement was reported, the Agent hastened to the Regent's camp, which he found in confusion; and demanded of the veteran what steps he had taken, or meant to take, to prevent the infection spreading. His conduct, at such a crisis, was most embarrassing. Beset by scruples, real or affected, the Agent could only obtain ill-timed if not spurious declarations of loyalty; "that he would cling to his sovereign's skirts, and *chakri kar* (serve him); that he would rather retire to Nathdwarra, than *blacken his face* by any treason towards his master." Rejoiced at the mere hint of a sentiment which afforded the least presage of the only mode of cutting the Gordain knot of our policy, the Agent eagerly replied, "there was no earthly bar to his determination, which he had only to signify;" but abhorring duplicity and cant at such a moment, when action of the most decisive kind was required, and apprehensive of the consequences of five hundred unquiet spirits being thrown loose on a society so lately disorganized, he hastily bid the veteran adieu, and galloped to overtake the prince's cavalcade. He found it bivoucked at the *Rungbari*, a country-seat six miles south of the capital. His followers and their horses, intermingled, were scattered in groups outside the garden-wall; and the prince, his chiefs, and advisers, were in the palace, deliberating on their future operation. There was no time for ceremony; and he reached the assembly before he could be announced. The rules of etiquette and [illegible] were not lost even amidst impending strife; though the greeting was [illegible], a warm expostulation with the

prince and the chiefs was delivered with rapidity; and the latter were warned that their position placed them in direct enmity to the British government, and that, without being unable to benefit their sovereign, they involved themselves in destruction. The courtesy which these brave men had a right to was changed into bitter reproof, as the Agent turned to Gordhun-das, whom he styled a traitor to his father, and from whom his prince could expect no good, guided as he was solely by interested motives, and warned him that punishment of no common kind awaited him. His hand was on his sword in an instant; but the action being met by a smile of contempt, and his insolent replies passing unheeded, the Agent, turning to the prince, implored him to reflect before the door would be closed to accommodation; pledging himself, at the same time, to everything that reason and his position could demand, except the surrender of the power of the Regent, which our public faith compelled us to maintain; and that the prince's dignity, comforts, and happiness, should be sedulously consulted. While he was wavering, the Agent called aloud, "the prince's horse!" and taking his arm, Kishore Sing suffered himself to be led to it, observing as he mounted, "I rely implicitly on your friendship." His brother, Pirthwi Sing, spoke; the chiefs maintained silence; and the impetuosity of Gordhun and one or two of the *coterie* was unheeded. The Agent rode side by side with the prince, surrounded by his bands, in perfect silence, and in this way they re-entered the castle, nor did the Agent quit him till he replaced him on his *gadi*, when he reiterated his expressions of desire for his welfare, but urged the necessity of his adopting his conduct to the imperious circumstances of his position; and intimated that both his brother and Gordhun-das must be removed from his person, the latter altogether from Harouti. This was in the middle of May; and in June, after the public deportation of Gordhun-das as a state-criminal to Delhi, and ample provision being made for the prince and every member of his family, a public reconciliation took place between him and the Regent.

The meeting partook of the nature of a festival, and produced a spontaneous rejoicing the populace, with the loudest acclamations, crowding every avenue to the palace by which the Regent and his son were to pass. The venerable Zalim appeared like their patriarch; the princes as disobedient children sueing for forgiveness. They advanced bending to embrace his knees, whilst he, vainly attempting to restrain this reverential salutation to his age and to habit, endeavoured by the same lowly action to shew his respect to his sovereign. Expressions, in keeping with such forms of affec-

tion and respect, from the Maharao, of honour and fidelity from the 'guardian of his father' and himself, were exchanged with all the fervour of apparent sincerity. Anomalous condition of human affairs! strange perversity, which prevented this momentary illusion from becoming a permanent reality!

This much-desired reconciliation was followed on the 8th of Sawun, or 17th August A. D. 1820, by the solemnities of a public installation of the Maharao on the *gadi* of his ancestors: a pageantry which smoothed all asperities for the time, and, in giving scope to the munificence of the Regent, afforded to the mass, who judge only by the surface of things, a theme for approbation. We leave for another place * the details of this spectacle; merely observing that the representative of the British government was the first (following the priest) to make the *tika*, or unction of sovereignty † on the forehead of the prince; and having tied on the jewels, consisting of aigrette, necklace, and bracelets he girded on, amidst salutes of ordnance, the sword of investiture. The Maharao with an appropriate speech, presented one hundred and one gold mohurs, as the *nuzzur* or fine of relief, professing his homage to the British government. At the same time, a *khelat*, or dress of honour, was presented, in the name of the Governor-general of India, to the Regent, for which he made a suitable acknowledgment, and a *nuzzur* of twenty-five gold mohurs.

Madhu Sing then fulfilled the functions of hereditary Foujdar, making the *tika*, girding on the sword, and presenting the gift of accession, which was returned by the Maharao presenting to Madhu Sing the *khelat* of ultimate succession to the regency: the grand difficulty to overcome, and which originated all these differences. The Agent remained an entire month after the ceremony, to strengthen the good feeling thus begun; to adapt the Maharao's mind to the position in which an imperious destiny had placed him; and also to impress on the successor to the regency the dangerous responsibility of the trust which a solemn treaty had guaranteed, if by his supineness, want of feeling, or misconduct, it were violated. On the 4th September, previous to leaving Kotah, the Agent was present at another meeting of all the parties, when there was as much appearance of cordiality manifested as could be expected in so difficult a predicament. The old Regent, the Maharao, and Madhu Sing, joined hands in reciprocal forgive-

* The details of ceremony will be given in the Personal Narrative.

† "Anointing" appears to have been, in all ages, the mode of installation. The unguent on this occasion is of sandal-wood and utr of roses made into a paste, or very thick [illegible]ent, of which a little is placed upon the forehead with the middle finger of the right hand.

ness of the past, each uttering a solemn asseveration that he would cultivate harmony for the future.

It was on this occasion that the Regent performed two deliberate acts, which appear suitable accompaniments to the close of his political life, both as respects his prince and his subjects. He had prepared a covenant of surety for his old and faithful servants after his death, demanding the Maharao's, his son Madhu Sing's and the Agent's signature thereto, stipulating that "if his successor did not choose to employ their services, they should be free agents, be called to no account for the past, but be permitted to reside wherever they pleased." The Maharao and Madhu Sing having signed the deed, the British agent, at the desire of the Regent, placed his signature as a guarantee for its execution. In this act, we not only have proof that to the last the Regent maintained the supremacy of his master, but evidence of the fears he entertained respecting the conduct of his successor.

The other act was brilliant victory over the most inveterate habits of his age and country,—the revocation of *dind*, or forced contributions, throughout the dominion of Kotah. This spontaneous abolition of a practice so deeply rooted in Rajasthan, is another proof of the keen penetration of the Regent, and of the desire to conciliate the opinions of the protecting power, as to the duties of princes towards their subjects; duties regarding which, as he said, "theoretically, *we* are not ignorant;" and on which he has often forcibly descanted before his son whilst laying down rules of conduct when he should be no more. At such moments, he entered fully and with energy into his own conduct; condemning it; pointing out its inevitable results, and the benefits he had observed to attend an opposite course of action. "My word, son, was not worth a copper," he would say; "but now nobody would refuse anything to old Zalim." It was, therefore, as much from a conviction of the benefit to himself and the state which would attend the renunciation of his tax, as with a view of courting golden opinion, that he commanded a stone to be raised in the chief town of every district of his country, on which was inscribed the edict of perpetual abolition of *dind*, with the denunciation of eternal vengeance on whoever should revoke it. The effigies of the sun, the moon, the cow, and the hog, animals reverenced or execrated by all classes, were carved in relief, to attest the imprecation.

Such was the pacific termination of a contest for authority, which threatened to deluge Kotah with blood. Whether we had a right to hope that such high and [illegible] pretensions could rest satisfied with the measure of conciliation and concession

that were pursued, the sequel will disclose to those who judge only by results.

CHAPTER XI.

Banishment of Gordhun-das, the natural son of the Regent.—His reappearance in Malwa.—Consequent renewal of dissensions at Kotah.—The troops mutiny and join the Maharao.—The Regent assaults the castle.—Flight of the Maharao and party.—Reception at Boondi. The Maharao's second brother joins the Regent.—Gordhun-das' attempt to join the Maharao frustrated—The Maharao leaves Boondi.—General sympathy for him.—He arrives at Brindabun.—Intrigues of Gordhun-das and superior native officers of the British Government, who deceive the Maharao.—Returns to Kotah at the head of a force.—Summons the Haras to his standard.—His demands.—Supplemental articles of the treaty considered.—Embarrassing conduct of the Regent.—The Maharao refuses all mediation.—His ultimatum.—British troops march.—Junction with the Regent.—Attack the Maharao.—His defeat and flight.—Death of his brother Pirthwi Sing.—Singular combat.—Amnesty proclaimed.—The Hara chiefs return to their families.—The Maharao retires to the temple of Krishna in Mewar.—Negotiation for his return.—Satisfactory termination.—Reflections on the civil wars.—Character and death of Zalim Sing.

THE sole measure of severity which arose out of these commotions was exercised on the natural son of the Regent, who was banished in face of open day from the scene of his turbulent intrigue. Gordhun-das, or, as his father styled him "Gordhun-ji," was the 'child of love' and of his old age, and to his mother the Regent, it is said, felt the most ardent attachment. The perpetual banishment of this firebrand was essential to tranquillity; yet, notwithstanding his misdeeds, political and filial, it was feared that the sentiments of the Jewish monarch, rather than the sternness of the Roman father, would have influenced the Rajpoot regent, whose bearing, when the sentence of condemnation was enforced, was to be regarded as the test of a suspicion that the Maharao had been goaded to his course through this [illegible]rior views which he dared not openly pro[illegible]at was worthy of a Roman,

and sufficed to annihilate suspicion—"Let the air of Harouti never more be tainted by his presence." Delhi and Allahabad were the cities fixed upon from which he was to select his future residence, and unfortunately the first was chosen. Here he resided with his family upon a pension sufficiently liberal, and had a range abundantly excursive for exercise, attended by some horsemen furnished by the British local authority.

About the close of 1821, permission was imprudently granted to the exile to visit Malwa, to fulfil a marriage-contract with an illegitimate daughter of the chieftain of Jabboa. Scarcely had he set his foot in that town, when symptoms of impatience, in lieu of perfect tranquillity, began to be visible at Kotah, and a correspondence both there and at Boondi was hardly detected, before a spirit of revolt was reported to have infected the tried veterans of the Regent. Syef Alli, the commander of the 'royals' (*Raj Pultan*), an officer of thirty years' standing distinguished for his zeal, fidelity, and gallantry, was named as having been gained over to the cause of his nominal sovereign. This was looked upon as slander; but too wise entirely to disregard it, the Regent interposed a force between the disaffected battalion and the castle, which brought the matter to issue. The Maharao immediately proceeded by water, and conveyed Syef Alli and part of his battalion to the place; which was no sooner reported, than the blind Regent put himself into his litter, and headed a force with which he attacked the remainder, while two twenty-four pounders, mounted on a cavalier, which commanded not only every portion of the city, but the country on both sides the Chumbul, played upon the castle. In the midst of this firing (probably unexpected), the Maharao, his brother Pirthwi Sing, and their adherents, took to boat, crossed the river, and retired to Boondi, while the remainder of the mutinous 'royals' laid down their arms. By this energetic conduct, the new attempt upon his power was dissolved as soon as formed, and the *gadi* of the Haras was abandoned. Bishen Sing escaped from his brothers in the midst of the fray, and joined the Regent, whose views regarding him, in his crisis, however indirectly manifested, could not be mistaken; but our system of making and unmaking kings in these distant regions, though it may have enlarged our power, had not added to our reputation; and the Agent had the most rooted repugnance to sanction the system in the new range of our alliances, however it might have tended to allay the discord which prevailed, or to free the paramount power from the embarrassment in which its deplomatic relations had placed it, and from whence [illegible] pe without incurring the too just reproach of conciliation and ditions we

had imposed. Common decency forbade our urging the only plea we could in forming the treaty, our considering the prince as a mere phantom; and if we had been bold enough to do so, the reply would have been the same: "why did you treat with a phantom?" while he would have persisted in the literal interpretation of the bond.

There was but one way to deal with the perplexity—to fulfil the spirit of the treaty, by which public peace would be ensured. Instructions were sent to the prince of Boondi, that there was no restraint upon his performing the rites of hospitality and kindred to the fugitive princes, but that he would be personally responsible if he permitted them to congregate troops for the purpose of hostility against the Regent; while, at the same time, the commander of the British troops at Neemuch was desired to interpose a light corps on the line of Jabboa and Boondi, and to capture Gordhun-das, dead or alive, if he attempted to join the Maharao. He, however, contrived through the intricacies of the plateau, to elude the well-arranged plan; but finding that the prince of Boondi had the same determination, he made direct for Marwar, where being also denied an asylum, he had no alternative but to return to Delhi, and to a more strict *surveillance*. This, however, may have been concerted; for soon after, the Maharao broke ground from Boondi, giving out a pilgrimage to Brindabun; and it was hoped that the tranquillity and repose he would find amidst the fanes of his tutelary deity, Brijnath-ji, might tempt a mind prone to religious seclusion, to pass his days there. While he remained at Boondi, public opinion was not at all manifested; the distance was trifling to Kotah, and being with the head of his race, the act was deemed only one of those hasty ebullitions so common in those countries, and which would be followed by reconciliation. But as soon as the prince moved northward, expectation being excited that his cause would meet attention elsewhere, he had letters of sympathy and condolence from every chief of the country, and the customary attentions to sovereignty were paid by those through whose states he passed, with the sole exception of that most contiguous to our provinces, Bhurutpoor. The prince of this celebrated place sent a deputation to the frontier, excusing himself on account of his age and blindness; but the Hara prince, knowing what was due from a Jat zemindar, however favoured by the accessions of fortune, repelled with disdain both his gifts and his mission. For the haughty, though not unbecoming maintenance of precedent, the Maharao was warned off the bounds of Bhurutpoor. Having remained some time amongst "gallantry and [illegible]," there was reason to believe

that the canticles of Jydeva had rendered an earthly crown a mere bauble in the eyes of the abdicated Hara, and that the mystical effusions of Kaniya and Radha had eradicated all remembrance of the rhapsodies of Chund, and the glories of the Chohan: he was accordingly left at discretion to wander where he listed. As it was predicted, he soon felt the difference between his past and present mode of life, surrounded by a needy crew in a strange land; and towards the middle of April he had reached Muttra, on his return from Brindabun to Kotah. But his evil genius, in the shape of Gordhun-das, had destined this should not be; and notwithstanding the rigorous *surveillance*, or, in fact, imprisonment, which had been enjoined, this person found an opportunity to carry on cabals with natives of high rank and office.

Intrigues multiplied, and false hopes were inspired through these impure channels, which were converted by his corrupt emissaries into fountain-heads of political control, superseding the only authorized medium of communication between the misguided prince and the paramount power. Accordingly, having collected additional troops about him, he commenced his march to Harouti, giving out to the chiefs through whose dominions he passed, that he was returning by the consent of the paramount power for the resumption of all his sovereign rights, so long in abeyance. Men with badges in his train belonging to the persons alluded to, and an agent from the native treasurer of Delhi, who supplied the prince with funds, gave a colour of truth which deceived the country, and produced ardent expressions of desire for his success. As he proceeded, this force increased, and he reached the Chumbul, towards the close of the monsoon 1821, with about three thousand men. Having crossed the river, he issued his summons, in a language neither to be misunderstood nor disobeyed by a Rajpoot; he conjured them by their allegiance to join his cause, "that of seeking justice according to the treaty:" and the call was obeyed by every Hara of the country. His conduct afforded the most powerful illustration of the Rajpoot's theory of fidelity, for even those closely connected by ties of blood and by every species of benefit, withdrew from the Regent, to whom they owed every thing, in order to join their hereditary and lawful prince, whom some had never seen, and of whom they knew nothing. Negotiation, and expostulation the most solemn and earnest on the personal dangers he was incurring, were carried on, and even public tranquillity was hazarded, rather than have recourse to the last argument, which was the less necessary, as universal peace reigned arouud us, and the means of quell[illegible] hand. An [illegible] of conciliation and [illegible]

entire month was thus consumed: but the ultimatum* left no means of putting a stop to increasing disorders but that appeal which from various considerations had been so long delayed.

The tired troops of the Regent could not be depended on; he confessed it; and in this confession, what an evidence is afforded of the nature of his rule, and of the homage to immutable justice in all parts of the world! Every corps, foreign or indigenous, was ready to range on the side of legitimate authority against the hand which had fed and cherished them. So completely did this feeling pervade every part of the political fabric, that the Regent himself said, in his forcible manner, on

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* Letter of Maharao Kishore Sing, accompanying counter-articles presented to Capt. Tod, dated Asoj bud Panchmee, or 16th September, "Camp Meanoh."

(After complements.)

Chand Khan has often expressed a desire to know what were my expectations. These had been already sent to you by my vakeels Mirza Mohumud Alee Beg, and Lalla Salik Ram. I again send you the Schedule of articles. According to their purport you will act. Do me justice as the representative of the British Government, and let the master be as master, and the servant as servant; this is the case everywhere else, and is not hidden from you.

Articles, the fulfilment of which was demanded by Maharao Kishore Sing, and accompanying his letter of 16th September.

1. According to the treaty executed at Delhi, in the time of Maharao Omed Sing, I will abide.

2. I have every confidence in Nana-ji Zalim Sing; in like manner as he served Maharao Omed Sing, so he will serve me. I agree to his administration of affairs; but between Madhu Sing and myself suspicions and doubts exist; we can never agree; therefore, I will give him a jageer; there let him remain. His son, Bappa Lall, shall remain with me, and in the same way as other ministers conduct state business before their princes, so shall he before me. I, the master, he, the servant; and if as the servant he acts, it will abide from generation to generation.

3. To the English Government, and other principalities, whatever letters are addressed shall be with my concurrence and advice.

4. Surety for his life, and also for mine, must be guaranteed by the English Government.

5. I shall allot a jageer for Pirthwi Sing (the Maharao's brother), at which he will reside. The establishments to reside with him and my brother Bishen Sing shall be of my nomination. Besides, to my kinsmen and clansmen, according to their rank, I shall give jageers, and they shall, according to ancient usage, be in attendance upon me.

6. My personal or *khas* guards, to the amount of three thousand, with Bappa Lall (the Regent's grandson) shall remain in attendance.

7. The amount of the collections of the country shall all be deposited in the *Kishen Bindar* (general treasury), and thence expenditure made.

8. The killedars (commandants) of all the forts shall be appointed by me, and the army shall be under my orders. He (the Regent), may desire the officers of Government to execute his commands, but it shall be with my advice and sanction.

These are the Articles I desire; they are according to the rules for governmen[illegible] Panchmee, S. 878 (1822).

his escape from the danger, "even the clothes on his back smelt of treason to him." It was hoped that "the wisdom which called aloud (even) in the streets" would not be disregarded by the veteran; that disgust at such marks of perfidy would make him spurn from him the odium of usurpation, and thus free the paramount power from a situation the most painful and embarrassing. Abundant opportunities were afforded, and hints were given that he alone could cut the knot, which otherwise must be served by the sword. But all was fruitless: "he stood upon his bond," and the execution of the treaty. The Maharao, his nominal sovereign, took the same ground, and even sent a copy of the treaty to the Agent, tauntingly asking whether it was to be recognized or not? All this embarrassment would have been avoided, had the supplemental articles been embodied in the original treaty; then the literal interpretation and its spirit would not have been at variance, nor have afforded a pretext to reproach the paramount power with a breach of faith and justice: charges which cannot in fact be supported, inasmuch as the contracting parties, who executed the original document, amended it by this supplemental deed. The dispute then resolves itself into a question of expediency, already touched on, *viz.* whether we might not have provided better for the future, and sought out other modes of reward for services we had acknowledged, than the maintenance of two pageants of sovereignty, both acknowledged, the one *de facto*, the other *de jure*. It was fortunate, however, that the magnitude of the titular prince's pretensions placed him completely in opposition to the other contracting parties, inasmuch as he would not abide by either the spirit or the letter of the treaty or its supplement, in the most modified sense. His demand for "a personal guard of three thousand of his kinsmen, that he might allot estates at pleasure to his chiefs, appoint the governors of fortresses, and be head of the army," was a virtual repudiation of every principle of the alliance; while the succession to the administrative powers of the state, secured to the issue of the regent, was made to depend on his pleasure: rather a frail tenure whether in Europe or Rajpootana.

Everything that could be done to withdraw the infatuated prince from the knot of evil advisers and fiery spirits who daily flocked to his standard, carrying with them their own and their ancestors' wrongs, being ineffectual and hopeless, the troops which had been called upon to maintain the treaty moved forward in combination with the army of the Regent. As the force reached the Caly Sind, which alone divided the rivals for power, torrents of rain, which during several days swelled it to an impassable flood, afforded m[illegible] pret[illegible]t friend- of conciliation and [illegible]

ship or prudence could urge to save the Maharao from the impending ruin. But all was vain; he saw the storm, and invited its approach with mingled resolution and despair, proclaiming the most submissive obedience to the paramount power and avowing a conviction of the good intentions and friendship of its representative; but to every remonstrance he replied "what was life without honour; what was a sovereign without authority? Death, or the full sovereignty of his ancestors!"

The conduct of the Regent was not less perplexing than that of the prince; for while he affected still to talk of fealty, "to preserve his white beard from stain," he placed before him the ample shield of the treaty, although he expected that his power should be maintained without any active measures on his own part for its defence: a degree of irresponsibility not for a moment to be tolerated. It was in vain he hinted at the spirit, more than doubtful of his army; that in the moment of conflict they might turn their guns against us; even this he was told we would hazard: and, it was added, if he desired, at whatever cost, to preserve the power guaranteed to his family, he must act offensively as well as defensively; for it would shortly be too late to talk of reconciling fealty with the preservation of his power. The wily Regent desired to have his work done for him; to have all the benefit which the alliance compelled us to afford, with none of the obloquy it entailed. The Agent had some hope, even at the twelfth hour, that rather than incur the opprobrium of the world, and the penalty denounced against the violation of *swamdherma*, in committing to the chance of battle the lives of all those to whom he was protector, he would draw back and compromise his power; but the betrayal of his half-formed designs in hypocritical cant adapted only for the multitude, soon dispelled the illusion; and though there was a strong internal struggle, the love of dominion overcame every scruple.

The combination of the troops was discussed in his presence and that of his officers; and in order that unity of action might be insured, a British officer was at his request attached to his force.*

At daybreak on the 1st of October, the troops moved down to the attack. The Regent's army consisted of eight battalions of infantry, with thirty-two pieces of cannon and fourteen strong *pagas*, or squadrons of horse. Of these, five battalions, with fourteen pieces and ten squadrons, composed the advance;

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* Lieutenant M' Millan, of the 5th regt. Native Infantry, volunteered for this duty, and performed it as might have been expected from an officer of.

while the rest formed a reserve with the Regent in person, five hundred yards in the rear. The British troops, consisting of two weak battalions and six squadrons of cavalry, with a light battery of horse-artillery, formed on the right of the Regent's force as it approximated to the Maharao's position. The ground over which the troops moved was an extensive plain, gradually shelving to a small shallow stream, whence it again rose rather abruptly. The Maharao's camp was placed upon a rising ground, a short distance beyond the stream: he left his tents standing, and had disposed his force on the margin of the rivulet. The "Royals," who had deserted their old master, with their leader, Syef Alli, were posted on the left; the Maharao with the *elite*, a band of full five hundred Hara cavaliers, upon the right, and the interval was filed by a tumultuous rabble. The combined force was permitted to choose its position, within two hundred yards of the foe, without the slightest demonstration of resistance or retreat. The Agent took advantage of the pause to request the British commander to halt the whole line, in order that he might make a last attempt to withdraw the infatuated prince and his devoted followers from the perils that confronted them. He advanced midway between the lines, and offered the same conditions and an amnesty to all; to conduct and replace the prince on the *gadi* of his ancestors with honour. Yet, notwithstanding ruin stared him in the face, he receded from none of his demands; he insisted on the *sine qua non*, and would only re-enter Kotah surrounded by three thousand of his Hara kinsmen. During the quarter of an hour allowed him to deliberate ere the sword should be drawn, movements in position on both sides took place; the Maharao's chosen band, condensing all their force on the right, opposed the Regent's advance, while the British troops formed so in *echelon* as to enfilade their dense masses.

The time having expired, and not an iota of the pretensions being abated, the signal, as agreed upon, was given, and the action commenced by a dicharge of cannon and fire-arms from the Regent's whole line, immediately followed by the horse-artillery on the right. With all the gallantry that has ever distinguished the Haras, they acted as at Furrukabad and Dholpoor, and charged the Regent's line, when several were killed at the very muzzle of the guns, and but for the advance of three squadrons of British cavalry, would have turned his left flank, and probably penetrated to the reserve, where the Regent was in person.* Defeated in this design, they had no

* The author, who placed himself at the extreme left of the Regent's

resource but a precipitate retreat from the unequal conflict, and the Maharao, surrounded by a *gole* of about four hundred horse, all Haras, his kinsmen, retired across the stream, and halted on the rising ground about half a mile distant, while his auxiliary foot broke and dispersed in all directions. The British troops rapidly crossed the stream, and while the infantry made a movement to cut off retreat from the south, two squadrons were commanded to charge the Maharao. Determined not to act offensively, even in this emergency he adhered to his resolution, and his band awaited in a dense mass and immovable attitude the troops advancing with rapidity against them, disdaining to fly and yet too proud to yield. A British officer headed each troop ; they and those they led had been accustomed to see the foe fly from the shock ; but they were Pindarris, not Rajpoots. The band stood like a wall of adamant ; our squardons rebounded from the shock, leaving two brave youths * dead on the spot, and their gallant commander † was saved by a miracle, being stunned by a blow which drove in his casque, his reins cut, and the arm raised to give the *coup de grace*, when a pistol-shot from his orderly levelled his assailant. The whole was the work of an instant. True to the determination he expressed, the Maharao, satisfied with repelling the charge, slowly moved off; nor was it till the horse-artillery again closed, and poured round and grape into the dense body, that they quickened their retreat ; while, as three fresh squadrons had formed for the charge, they reached the *mukhi* fields, amongst the dense crops of which they were lost.

Pirthwi Sing, younger brother of the prince, impelled by that heroic spirit which is the birthright of a Hara, and aware that Harouti could no longer be a home for him while living, determined at least to find a grave in her soil. He returned, with about five and twenty followers, to certain destruction, and was found in a field of Indian corn as the line advanced, alive, but grievously wounded. He was placed in a litter, and, escorted by some of Skinner's horse, was conveyed to the camp. Here he was sedulously attended ; but medical skill was of no avail, and he died the next day. His demeanour was dignified and manly ; he laid the blame upon destiny, expressed no wish for life, and said, looking to the tree near the tent, that "his ghost would be satisfied in contemplating

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line, to be a check upon the dubious conduct of his troops, particularly noted this intended movement, which was frustrated only by Major Kennedy's advance.

* Lieutenants Clarke and Read, of the Fourth Regt. Light Cavalry.

† Major now Lt. Col. J. [illegible] C. B.

therefrom the fields of his forefathers." His swords and ring had been taken from him by a trooper, but his dagger, pearl-necklace, and other valuables, he gave in charge to the Agent, to whom he bequeathed the care of his son, the sole heir to the empty honours of the sovereignty of Kotah.

It was not from any auxiliary soldier that the prince received his death-wound; it was inflicted by a lance, propelled with unerring force from behind, penetrating the lungs, the point appearing through the chest. He said it was a revengeful blow from some determined hand, as he felt the steeled point twisted in the wound to ensure its being mortal. Although the squadrons of the Regent joined in the pursuit, yet not a man of them dared to come to close quarters with their enemy; it was therefore supposed that some treacherous arm had mingled with his men, and inflicted the blow which relieved the Regent from the chief enemy to his son and successor.

The Maharao and his band were indebted for safety to the forest of corn, so thick, lofty, and luxuriant, that even his elephant was lost sight of. This shelter extended to the rivulet, only five miles in advance, which forms the boundary of Harouti; but it was deemed sufficient to drive him out of the Kotah territory, where alone his presence could be dangerous. The infantry and foreign levies, who had no moral courage to sustain them, fled for their lives, and many were cut to pieces by detached troops of our cavalry.

The calm undaunted valour of the Maharao and his kin could not fail to extort applause from those gallant minds which can admire the bravery of a foe, though few of those who had that day to confront them were aware of the moral courage which sustained their opponents, and which converted their *vis inertiæ* into an almost impassable barrier.

But although the gallant conduct of the prince and his kin was in keeping with the valour so often recorded in these annals, and now, alas! almost the sole inheritance of the Haras, there was one specimen of devotion which we dare not pass over, comparable with whatever is recorded with the fabled traits of heroism of Greece or Rome. The physiognomy of the country has been already described; the plans, along which the combined force advanced, gradually shelved to the brink of a rivulet whose opposite bank rose perpendicularly, forming as it were the buttress to a table-land of gentle acclivity. The Regent's battalions were advancing in columns along this precipitous bank, when their attention was arrested by several shots fired from an isolated hillock rising out of the plain across the stream, without any order, but

as by a simultaneous impulse, the whole line halted, to gaze at two audacious individuals, who appeared determined to make their mound a fortress. A minute or two passed in mute surprise, when the word was given to move on; but scarcely was it uttered, ere several wounded from the head of the column were passing to the rear, and shots began to be exchanged very briskly, at least twenty in return for one. But the long matchlocks of the two heroes told every time in our lengthened line, while they seemed to have "a charmed life," and the shot fell like hail around them innocuous, one containing to load behind the mound, while the other fired with deadly aim. At length, two twelve-pounders were unlimbered; and as the shot whistled round their ears, both rose on the very pinnacle of the mound, and made a profound *salaam* for this complement to their valour; which done, they continued to load and fire, whilst entire platoons blazed upon them. Although more men had suffered, an irresistible impulse was felt to save these gallant men; orders were given to cease firing, and the force was directed to move on, unless any two individuals chose to attack them manfully hand to hand. The words were scarcely uttered when two young Rohillas drew their swords, sprung down the bank, and soon cleared the space between them and the foemen. All was deep anxiety as they mounted to the assault; but whether their physical frame was less vigorous, or their energies were exhausted by wounds or by their peculiar situation, these brave defenders fell on the mount, whence they disputed the march of ten battalions of infantry and twenty pieces of cannon.* They were Haras! But Zalim was the cloud which interposed between them and their fortunes; and to remove it they courted the destruction which at length overtook them.

The entire devotion which the vassalage of Harouti manifested for the cause of the Maharao, exemplified, as before observed, the nature and extent of *swamdherma* or fealty, which has been described as the essential quality of the Rajpoot character; while, at the same time, it illustrates the severity of the Regent's yoke. Even the chief who negotiated the treaty could not resist the defection (one of his sons was badly wounded), although he enjoyed estates under the Regent which his hereditary rank did not sanction, besides being connected with him by marriage.

The Maharao gained the Parbutty, which, it is said, he swam over. He had scarcely reached the shore when his horse

* Lieut. (now captain) Mc Millan and the Author were the only officers, I believe, who witnessed the singular scene.

dropped dead from a grape-shot wound. With about three hundred horse he retired upon Baroda. We had no vengeance to execute; we could not, therefore, consider the brave men, who abandoned their homes and their families from a principle of honour, in the light of the old enemies of our power, to be pursued and exterminated. They had, it is true, confronted us in the field; yet only defensively, in a course at least morally just and seemingly sanctioned by authorities which they could not distrust.

The pretensions so long opposed to the treaty were thus signally and efficiently subdued. The chief instigators of the revolt were for ever removed, one by death, the other by exile; and the punishment which overtook the deserters from the regular forces of the Regent would check its repetition. Little prepared for the reverse of that day, the chiefs had made no provision against it, and at our word every door in Rajwarra would have been closed against them. But it was not deemed a case for confiscation, or one which should involve in proscription a whole community, impelled to the commission of crime by a variety of circumstances which they could neither resist nor control, and to which the most crafty views had contributed.* The Maharao's camp being left standing, all his correspondence and records fell into our hands, and developéd such complicated intrigues, such consummate knavery, that he, and the brave men who suffered from espousing his pretensions, were regarded as entitled to every commiseration.† As soon, therefore, as the futility of their pretensions was disclosed, by the veil being thus rudely torn from their eyes, they manifested a determination to submit. The Regent was instructed to grant a complete amnesty, and to announce to the chiefs that they might repair to their homes without a question being put to them. In a few weeks all was tranquillity and peace; the chiefs and vassals returned to their

* In a letter, addressed by some of the principal chiefs to the Regent, through the Agent, they did not hesitate to say they had been guided in the course they adopted of obeying the summons to the Maharao *by instructions of his confidential minister.*

† The native treasurer at Delhi, who conducted these intrigues, after a strict investigation was dismissed from his office; and the same fate was awarded to the chief *moonshi* of the Persian secretary's office at the seat of Government. Regular treaties and bonds were found in the camp of the Maharao, which afforded abundant condemnatory evidence against these confidential officers, who mainly produced [illegible] we have to record, and rendered nugatory the [illegible] strenuous efforts to save the misguided prince and his brave brethren.

families, who blessed the power which tempered punishment with clemency.*

* The author, who had to perform the painful duty related in this detailed transaction, was alternately aided and embarrassed by his knowledge of the past history of the Haras, and the mutual relation of all its discordant elements. Perhaps, entire ignorance would have been better—a bare knowledge of the treaty, and the expediency of a rigid adherence thereto, unbiassed by sympathy, or notions of abstract justice, which has too little in common with diplomacy. But without overlooking the colder dictates of duty, he determined that the ægis of Britain should not be a shield of oppression, and that the remains of Hara independence, which either policy or fear had compelled the Regent to respect, should not thereby be destroyed; and he assumed the responsibility, a few days after the action, of proclaiming a general amnesty to the chiefs, and an invitation to each to return to his dwelling. He told the Regent that any proceeding which might render this clemency nugatory, would not fail to dissatisfy the Government. All instantly availed themselves of the permission; and in every point of view, morally and physically, the result was most satisfactory, and it acted as a panacea for the wounds our public faith compelled us to inflict. Even in the midst of their compulsory infliction, he had many sources of gratulation: and of these he will give an anecdote illustrative of Rajpoot character. In 1807, when the author, then commencing his career, was wandering alone through their country, surveying their geography, and collecting scraps of their statistics, he left Sindia battering Rathgurh, and with a slender guard proceeded through the wilds of Chanderi, and thence direct westwards, to trace the course of all the rivers lying between the Betwa and the Chumbul. In passing through Harouti, leaving his tent standing at Barah, he had advanced with the perambulator as far as the Caly-Sind, a distance of seventeen miles; and, leaving his people to follow at leisure, was returning home unattended at a brisk canter, when, as he passed through the town of Bamolia, a party rushed out and made him captive, saying that he must visit the chief. Although much fatigued, it would have been folly to refuse. He obeyed, and was conveyed to a square, in the centre of which was an elevated *chabootra* or platform, shaded by the sacred tree. Here, sitting on carpets, was the chief with his little court. The Author was received most courteously. The first act was to disembarrass him of his boots; but this, heated as he was, they could not effect; refreshments were then put before him and a Brahmin brought water, with a ewer and basin, for his ablutions. Although he was then but an indifferent linguist, and their *patois* scarcely intelligible to him, he passed a very happy hour, in which conversation never flagged. The square was soon filled, and many a pair of fine black eyes smiled courteously upon the stranger—for the females, to his surprise, looked abroad without any fear of censure; though he was ignorant of their sphere in life. The author's horse was lame, which the chief had noticed; and on rising to go, he found one ready caparisoned for him, which, however, he would not accept. On reaching his tent the Author sent several little articles as tokens of regard. Fourteen years after this, the day following the action at Mangrole, he received a letter by a messenger from the mother of the chief of Bamolia, who sent her blessing, and invoked him, by past friendship and recollections, to protect her son, whose honour had made him join the standard of his sovereign. The author had the satisfaction of replying that her son would be with her nearly as soon as the bearer of the letter. The Bamolia chief, it will be

The Maharao continued his course to Nathdwarra in Mewar, proving that the sentiment of religious abstraction alone can take the place of ambition. The individuals who, for their own base purposes, had by misrepresentation and guile guided him to ruin, now deserted him ; the film fell from his eyes, and he saw, though too late, the only position in which he could exist. In a very short time, every pretension inimical to the spirit and letter of the treaty, original and supplemental, was relinquished ; when, with the Regent's concurrence, a note was transmitted to him, containing the basis on which his return to Kotah was practicable. A transcript with his acceptance being received, a formal deed was drawn up, executed by the Agent and attested by the Regent, not only defining the precise position of both parties, but establishing a barrier between the titular and executive authorities, which must for ever prevent all collision of interests : nothing was left to chance or cavil. The grand object was to provide for the safety, comfort, and dignity of the prince, and this was done on a scale of profuse liberality ; far beyond what his father, or indeed any prince of Kotah had enjoyed, and incommensurate with the revenue of the state, of which it is about the twentieth portion. The amount equals the household expenditure of the Rana of Oodipoor, the avowed head of the whole Rajpoot race, but which can be better afforded from the flourishing revenues of Kotah than the slowly improving finances of Mewar.

The preliminaries being satisfactorily adjusted, it became important to inspire this misguided prince with a confidence that his welfare would be as anxiously watched as the stipulations of the treaty whose infringement had cost him so much misery. He had too much reason to plead personal alarm as one of the causes of his past conduct, and which tended greatly to neutralize all the endeavours to serve him. Even on the very day that he was to leave Nathdwarra, on his return, when after great efforts his mind had been emancipated from distrust, a final and diabolical attempt was made to thwart the measures for his restoration. A mutilated wretch was made to personate his brother Bishen Sing, and to give out that he had been maimed by command of the Regent's son, and the imposter had the audacity to come within a couple of miles of the Maharao ; a slight resemblance to Bishen Sing aided the deceit, which, though promptly exposed, had made the impression for which it was contrived, and it required some skill to remove it. The Rana of Oodipoor no sooner heard

recollected, was the descendant of the [illegible] of Athoon, one of the grea[illegible] opponents of the Regent at the opening of his career.

of this last effort to defeat all the good intentions in which he co-operated towards the Maharao, to whose sister he was married, than he had the imposter seized and brought to the city, where his story had caused a powerful sensation. His indiscreet indignation for ever destroyed the clue by which the plot might have been unravelled; for he was led immediately to execution, and all that transpired was, that he was a native of the Jeipoor state, and had been mutilated for some crime. Could the question have been solved, it might have afforded the means of a different termination of these unhappy quarrels, to which they formed a characteristic sequel: intrigue and mistrust combined to inveigle Kishore Sing into attempts which placed him far beyond the reach of reason, and the most zealous exertions to extricate him.

This last scene being over, the Maharao left his retreat at the fane of Kaniya, and marched across the plateau to his paternal domains. On the last day of the year, the Regent, accompanied by the Agent, advanced to reconduct the prince to the capital. The universal demonstration of satisfaction at his return was the most convincing testimony that any other course would have been erroneous. On that day, he once more took possession of the *gadi* which he had twice abandoned, with a resignation free from all asperity, or even embarrassment. Feelings arising out of a mind accustomed to religious meditation, aided while they softened the bitter monitor, adversity, and together they afforded the best security that any deviation from the new order of things would never proceed from him.

Besides the schedule of the personal expenditure, over which he was supreme, much of the state expenses was to be managed under the eye of the sovereign: such as the charities, and gifts on festivals and military ceremonies. The royal insignia used on all great occasions was to remain as heretofore at his residence in the castle, as was the band at the old guard-room over the chief portal of entrance. He was to preside at all the military or other annual festivals, attended by the whole retinue of the state; and the gifts on such occasions were to be distributed in his name. All the places, in and about the city, were at his sole disposal, and funds were set apart for their repairs: the gardens, *rumnas*, or game-preserves, and his personal guards, were also to be entertained and paid by himself. To maintain this arrangement inviolate, an officer of the paramount power was henceforth to reside at Kotah. A handsome stipend was settled on the minor son of the deceased Pi[illegible]wi Sing; while, [illegible] order to prevent any umbrage to the Maharao, his brother Bishen Sing, whose trimming

policy had been offensive to the Maharao, was removed to the family estate at Antah, twenty miles east of the capital, on which occasion an increase was spontaneously made to his jagheer.

The Agent remained an entire month after this, to strengthen the good understanding now introduced. He even effected a reconciliation between the Prince and Madhu Sing, when the former, with great tact and candour, took upon himself the blame of all these disturbances: each gave his hand in token of future amity, and the Prince spontaneously embraced the man (the Regent's son) to whom he attributed all his misery. But the Maharao's comforts and dignity are now independent of control, and watched over by a guardian who will demand a rigid exaction of every stipulation in his favour. The patriarchal Zalim was, or affected to be, overjoyed at this result, which had threatened to involve them all in the abyss of misery. Bitter was his self-condemnation at the moral blindness of his conduct, which had not foreseen and guarded against the storm; and severe, as well as merited, was the castigation he inflicted on his succssor. "It is for your sins, son, that I am punished," was the conclusion of every such exhortation.

It will be deemed a singular fatality, that this last conspicuous act in the political life of the Regent should have been on the spot which exactly sixty years before witnessed the opening scene of his career: for the field of Butwarro* adjoined that of Mangrole. What visions must have chased each other on this last memorable day, when he recalled the remembrance of the former! When the same sword, which redeemed the independence of Kotah from tributary degradation to Amber, was now drawn against the grandson of that sovereign who rewarded his services with the first office of the state! Had some prophetic *Bardai* withdrawn the mantle of *Bhavani*, and disclosed through the vista of threescore years the Regent in the foreground, in all the panoply of ingenuous youth "spreading his carpet" at Butwarro, to review the charge of the Cuchwaha chivalry, and in the distant perspective that same being palsied, blind, and decrepit, leading a mingled host, in character and costume altogether strange, against the grandchildren of his prince, and the descendants of those Haras who nobly seconded him to gain this reputation, what effect would such a prospect have produced on one whom the mere hooting of an owl on the house-top had "scared from his propriety?"

* The battle of Butwarro was fo[illegible] S. 1817, or A. [illegible] 1761 the action at Mangrole, Oct. 1, A. D. 1821.

Soon after the satisfactory conclusion of these painful scenes, the Regent returned to the *Chaoni*, his fixed camp, and projected a tour of the state, to allay the disorders which had crept in, and to regulate afresh the action of the state-machine, the construction of which had occupied a long life, but which could not fail to be deranged by the complicated views which had arisen amongst those whose business was to work it. Often, amidst these conflicts, did he exclaim, with his great prototype both in prosperity and sorrow, "my kinsfolk have failed, and my familiar friends have forgotten me." But Zalim had not the same resources in his griefs that Job had; nor could he with him exclaim, "if my land cry against me, if I have eaten the fruits thereof without money, or caused the owners thereof to lose their lives, let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockles instead of barley."* His yet vigorous mind, however, soon restored every thing to its wonted prosperity; and in a few weeks, not a trace was left of the commotions which for a while had totally unhinged society, and threatened to deluge the land with proscription and blood. The prince was reseated on the throne with far greater comforts about him and more certainty of stability than previous to the treaty; the nobles took possession of their estates with not a blade of grass removed, and the *gurh-khetie*, the home-farms of the Regent, lost none of their productiveness: commerce was unscathed, and public opinion, which had dared loudly to question the moral justice of these proceedings, was conciliated by their conclusion. The Regent survived these events five years: his attenuated frame was worn out by a spirit, vigorous to the last pulsation of life, and too strong for the feeble cage which imprisoned it.

If history attempt to sum up, or institute a scrutiny into, the character of this extraordinary man, by what standard must we judge him? The actions of his life, which have furnished matter for the sketch we have attempted, may satisfy curiosity; but the materials for a finished portrait he never supplied: the latent springs of those actions remained invisible save to the eye of Omniscience. No human being ever shared the confidence of the *Machiavelli* of Rajasthan, who, from the first dawn of his political existence to its close, when "fourscore years and upwards," could always say "my secret is my own." This single trait, throughout a troubled career of more than ordinary length, would alone stamp his character with originality. Nor effervescence of felicity, of success, of sympathy, which occasionally bursts from the most rugged

* Job, Chap. XXXI.

nature, no sudden transition of passion,—joy, grief, hope, even revenge,—could tempt him to betray his purpose. That it was often fathomed, that his "vaulting ambition has overleapt itself," and made him lose his object, is no more than may be said of all who have indulged in "that sin by which angels fell;" yet he never failed through a blind confidence in the instruments of his designs. Though originally sanguine in expectation and fiery in temperament, he subdued these natural defects, and could await with composure the due ripening of his plans: even in the hey-day of youth he had attained this mastery over himself. To this early discipline of his mind he owed the many escapes from plots against his life, and the difficulties which were perpetually besetting it increased his natural resources. There was no artifice, not absolutely degrading, which he would not condescend to employ: his natural simplicity made humility, when necessary, a plausible disguise; while his scrupulous attention to all religious observances caused his mere affirmation to be respected. The sobriety of his demeanour gave weight to his opinions and influenced the judgment; while his invariable urbanity gained the good will of his inferiors, and his superiors were won by the delicacy of his flattery, in the application of which he was an adept. To crown the whole, there was a mysterious brevity, an oracular sententiousness, in his conversation, which always left something to the imagination of his auditor, who gave him credit for what he did not, as well as what he did utter. None could better appreciate, or studied more to obtain, the meed of good opinion; and throughout his lengthened life, until the occurrences just described, he threw over his acts of despotism and vengeance a veil of such consummate art, as to make them lose more than half their deformity. With him it must have been an axiom, that mankind judge superficially; and in accordance therewith, his first study was to preserve appearances, and never to offend prejudice if avoidable. When he sequestrated the estates of the Hara feudality, he covered the fields, by them neglected, with crops of corn, and thereby drew a contrast favourable to himself between the effects of sloth and activity. When he usurped the functions of royalty, he threw a bright halo around the orb of its glory, overloading the *gadi*[*] with the trappings of grandeur, aware that

'the world is e'er deceived by ornament:"

not did the princes of Kotah ever appear with such magnificence as when he possessed all the attributes of royalty but the name. Every act evinced his deep skill in the knowledge

of the human mind and of the elements by which he was surrounded ; he could circumvent the crafty Mahrattas, calm or quell the arrogant Rajpoot, and extort the applause even of the Briton, who is little prone to allow merit in an Asiatic. He was a depository of the prejudices and the pride of his countrymen, both in religious and social life, yet enigmatical as it must appear, he frequently violated them, though the infraction was so gradual as to be imperceptible except to the few who watched the slow progress of his plans. To such he appeared a compound of the most contradictory elements : lavish and parsimonious, oppressing and protecting ; with one hand bestowing diamond aigrettes, with the other taking the tythe of the anchorite's wallet ; one day sequestrating estates and driving into exile the ancient chiefs of the land ; the next receiving with open arms some expatriated noble, and supporting him in dignity and affluence, till the receding tide of human affairs rendered such support no longer requisite.

We have already mentioned his antipathy to the professors of "the tuneful art ;" and he was as inveterate as Diocletian to the alchemist, regarding the trade of both as alike useless to society ; neither were, therefore, tolerated in Kotah. But the enemies of the Regent assert that it was from no dislike of their merit, but from his having been the dupe of the one, and the object of the other's satire (*vis*). His persecution of witches (*dhakun*) was in strict conformity with the injunction in the Pentateuch : "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (Exod. chap. xxii. ver. 18). But his ordeal was worse than even death itself : handling balls of hot iron was deemed too slight for such sinners ; for it was well known they had substances which enabled them to do this with impunity. Throwing them into a pond of water was another trial : if they sank, they were innocent, if they unhappily rose to the surface, the league with the powers of darkness was apparent. A gram-bag of cayenne pepper tied over the head, if it failed to suffocate, afforded another proof of guilt ; though the most humane method, of rubbing the eyes with a well-dried capsicum, was perhaps the most common, and certainly if they could furnish this demonstration of their innocence, by withholding tears, they might justly be deemed witches. These *dhakuns*, like the vampires of the German *bardais*, are supposed to operate upon the *viscera* of their victims, which they destroy by slow degrees with charms and incantations, and hence they are called in Sinde (where, as Abulfazil says, they abound) *Jigger-khor*, or 'liver-devourers.' One look of a *dhakun* suffices to destory ; but there were few who co[illegible] the title, at [illegible] in Kotah, though old age and

eccentricity are sufficient, in conjunction with superstition or bad luck, to fix the stigma upon individuals.

Aware of the danger of relaxing, "to have done," even when eighty-five winters had passed over his head, was never in his thoughts. He knew that a Rajpoot's throne should be the back of his steed ; and when blindness overtook him, and he could no longer lead the chase on horseback, he was carried in his litter to his grand hunts, which consisted sometimes of several thousand armed men. Besides dissipating the *ennui* of his vassals, he obtained many other objects by an amusement so analogous to their character ; in the unmasked joyousness of the sport, he heard the unreserved opinions of his companions, and gained their affection by thus administering to the favourite pastime of the Rajpoot, whose life is otherwise monotonous. When in the forest, he would sit down, surrounded by thousands, to regale on game of the day. Camels followed his train, laden with flour, sugar, spices, and huge cauldrons for the use of his sylvan *cuisine* ; and amidst the hilarity of the moment, he would go through the varied routine of government, attend to foreign and commercial policy, the details of his farms or his army, the reports of his police ; nay, in the very heat of the operations, shot flying in all directions, the ancient Regent might be discovered, like our immortal Alfred or St. Louis of the Franks, administering justice under the shade of some spreading peepul tree ; while the day so passed would be closed with religious rites, and the recital of a mythological epic : he found time for all, never appeared hurried, nor could he be taken by surprise. When he could no longer see to sign his own name, he had an autograph fac-simile engraved, which was placed in the special care of a confidential officer, to apply when commanded. Even this loss of one sense was with him compensated by another, for long after, he was stone-blind, it would have been vain to attempt to impose upon him in the choice of shawls or clothes of any kind, whose fabrics and prices ho could determine by the touch ; and it is even asserted that he could in like manner distinguish colours.

If, as has been truly remarked, "that man deserves well of his country who makes a blade of grass grow where none grew before," what merit is due to him who made the choicest of nature's products flourish where grass *could not* grow ; who covered the bare rock around his capital with soil, and cultivated the exotics of Arabia, Ceylon, and the western Archipelago ; who translated from the Indian Apennines (the mountains of Malabar) the coco-nut and palmyra ; and thus refuted the assertion that these trees could not flourish remote from the influence of a marine atmosphere ? [illegible] were to be

found the apples and quinces of Cabul, pomegranates from the famed stock of *Kagla ca bagh* in the desert, oranges of every kind, scions of Agra and Sylhet, the *amba* of Mazagon, and the *chumpa-kela*, or golden plantain, of the Dekhan, besides the indigenous productions of Rajpootana. Some of the wells for irrigating these gardens cost in blasting the rock thirty thousand rupees each; he hinted to his friends that they could not do better than follow his example, and a hint always sufficed. He would have obtained a prize from any horticultural society for his improvement of the wild *ber* (*jujube*), which by grafting he increased to the size of a small apple. In chemical science he had gained notoriety; his *uttrs*, or essential oils of roses, jessamine, *ketki*, and *keura*, were far superior to any that could be purchased. There was no occasion to repair to the valley of Cashmeer to witness the fabrication of its shawls; for the looms and the wool of that fairy region were transferred to Kotah, and the Cashmeerian weaver plied the shuttle under Zalim's own eye. But, as in the case of his lead-mines, he found that this branch of industry did not return even sixteen annas and a half of the rupee,* the minimum profit at which he fixed his remuneration; so that after satisfying his curiosity, he abandoned the manufacture. His forges for swords and fire-arms had a high reputation, and his matchlocks rival those of Boondi, both in excellence and elaborate workmanship.

His corps of gladiators, if we may thus designate the *Jaetis*, obtained for him equal credit and disgrace. The funds set apart for this recreation amounted at one time to fifty thousand rupees per annum; but his wrestlers surpassed in skill and strength those of every other court in Rajwarra, and the most renowned champions of other states were made "to view the heavens,"† if they came to Kotah. But, in his younger days, Zalim was not satisfied with the use of mere natural weapons, for occasionally he made his *jaetis* fight with the *bagnuk*,‡ or tiger-claw, when they tore off the flesh from each other. The chivalrous Omed Sing of Boondi put a stop to this barbarity. Returning from one of his pilgrimages from Dwarica, he passed through Kotah while Zalim and his court were assembled in the *akhara* (arena) where two of these stall-fed prize-fighters were about to contend. The presence of this brave

* There are sixteen annas to the Rupee or half-crown.

† "*Asman dechaona*," is the phrase of the '*Fancy*' in these regions, for victory; when the vanquished is thrown upon his back and kept in that attitude.

‡ See an account of this instrument by Colonel Briggs, Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ..

Hara checked the bloody exhibition, and he boldly censured the Regent for squandering on such a worthless crew resources which ought to cherish his Rajpoots. This might have been lost upon the Protector, had not the royal pilgrim, in the fervour of his indignation, thrown down the gauntlet to the entire assembly of *Jaetis.* Putting his shield on the ground, he placed therein, one by one, the entire panoply of armour which he habitually wore in his peregrinations, namely, his matchlock and its ponderous accompaniments, sword, daggers, staff, and battle-axe, and challenged any individual to raise it from the ground with a single arm. All tried and failed; when Sriji, though full sixty years of age, held it out at arm's length during several seconds. The Haras were delighted at the feat of their patriarchal chief; while the crest-fallen *Jaetis* hung their heads, and from that day lost ground in the favour of the Regent. But these were the follies of his earlier days, not of the later period of his life; he was then like an aged oak, which, though shattered and decayed, had survived the tempest and the desolation which had raged around it.

To conclude: had he imitated Diocletian, and surrendered the *purple*, he would have afforded another instance of the anomalies of the human understanding; that he did not do so, for the sake of his own fame and that of the controlling power, as well as for the welfare of his prince, must be deeply lamented; the more especially as his *churri* (rod) has descended to feeble hands. He had enjoyed the essentials of sovereignty during threescore years, a period equal in duration to that of Darius the Mede; and had overcome difficulties which would have appalled the ordinary minds. He had vanquished all his enemies, external and internal, and all his views as regarded Haraouti were accomplished.

Almost the motives which might have urged the surrender of his power, stronger perhaps than his desire of reparation with heaven and his prince, was the fear of his successor's inefficiency: but this consideration unhappily was counter-balanced by the precocious talents of his grandson, whom he affectionately loved, and in whom he thought he saw himself renewed. Pride also, that chief ingredient in his character, checked such surrender; he feared the world would suppose he had relinquished what he could no longer retain; and ruin would have been preferred to the idea that he had been "driven from his stool." Able and artful ministers flattered the feeling so deeply rooted, and to crown the whole, he was supported by obligations of public faith contracted by a power without a rival. Still, old age, declining health, the desire of repose and of religious retirement, prompted wishes which often

escaped his lips ; but counteracting feelings intruded, and the struggle between the good and evil principle lasted until the moment had passed when abdication would have been honourable. Had he, however, obeyed the impulse, his retreat would have more resembled that of the fifth Charles than of the Roman king. In the shades of Nathdwarra he would have enjoyed that repose, which Diocletian could not find at Salona ; and embued with a better philosophy and more knowledge of the human heart, he would have practised what was taught, that "there ought to be no intermediate change between the command of men and the service of God."

PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from the valley of Oodipoor.—Lake of Khyroda.—Ancient temple of Mandeswar.—Bhartewar.—Its Jain temples.—Khyroda.—Connected with the history of the feuds of Mewar.—Exploits of Singram Sing.—He obtains Khyroda.—Curious predicament of Jey Sing, the adopted heir of Singram.—Calmness with which political negotiations are managed in the east.—The agricultural economy of Khyroda.—Precarious nature of sugar-cultivation.—Heentah.—Large proportion of land alienated as religious grants.—Heentah and Doondia established on church-lands.—Mandhata Raja.—Traditions of him.—Performed the Aswamedha.—*His grant of Mynar to the Rishis.—Grant inscribed on a pillar.—Exploit of Raj Sing against the Mahrattas.—Morwun, boundary of the Mewar territory.—Reflections on that state.—The author's policy during his official residence there.*

Oodipoor, January 29, 1820.—THE Personal Narrative attached to the first volume of this work terminated with the author's return to Oodipoor, after a complete circuit of Marwar and Ajmeer. He remained at his head-quarters at Oodipoor until the 29th January 1820, when circumstances rendering it expedient that he should visit the principalities of Boondi and Kotah (which were placed under his political superintendence), the determined not to neglect the opportunity it afforded of adding to his portfolio remarks on men and manners, in a country hitherto untrodden by Europeans.

Although we had not been a month in the valley of Oodipoor, we were all desirous to avail ourselves of the lovely weather which the cold season of India invariably brings, and which exhilarates the European who has languished through the hot winds, and the still more oppressive monsoon. The thermometer at this time, within the valley, was at the freezing point at break of day, ranging afterwards as high as 90°, whilst the sky was without a cloud, and its splendour at night was dazzling.

Khyroda.—On the 29th, we broke ground from the heights of Toos, marched fifteen English miles (though estimated at only six and a half coss), and encamped under the embankment of the spacious lake of Khyroda. Our route was over a rich and well-watered plain, but which had long been a stranger to the plough. Three miles from Duboke we crossed our own stream, the Bairis, and at the village of Dorowlee is a small outlet from this river, which runs into a hollow and forms a *jheel*, or lake. There is a highly interesting temple, dedicated to Mandeswar (Siva), on the banks of this stream, the architecture of which attests its antiquity. It is the counterpart in miniature of a celebrated temple at Chandravati, near Aboo, and verifies the traditional axiom, that the architectural rules of past ages were fixed on immutable principles.

We passed the *serai* of Soorujpoora, a mile to the right, and got entangled in the swampy ground of Bhartewar. This town, which belongs to the chief of Kanorh, one of the sixteen great barons of Mewar boasts a high antiquity, and Bhartirri, the elder brother of Vicrama, is its reputed founder. If we place any faith in local tradition, the bells of seven hundred and fifty temples, chiefly of the Jain faith, once sounded within its walls, which were six miles in length; but few vestiges of them now remain, although there are ruins of some of these shrines which show they were of considerable importance. Within a mile and a half of Khyroda we passed through Khyrsana, a large charity-village belonging to the Brahmins.

Khyroda is a respectable place, having a fortress with double ditches, which can be filled at pleasure from the river. Being situated on the high road between the ancient and modern capitals, it was always a bone of contention in the civil wars. It was in the hands of Rawut Jey Sing of Lawah, the adopted heir of Singram Suktawut, one of the great leaders in the struggles of the year 1748, an epoch as well known in Mewar as the 1745 of Scotland. Being originally a fiscal possession, and from its position not to be trusted to the hands of any of the feudal chiefs, it was restored to the sovereign; though it was not without difficulty that the retriever of Lawah agreed to sign the constitution of the 4th of May,* and relinquish to his sovereign a stronghold which had been purchased with the blood of his kindred.

The history of Khyroda would afford an excellent illustration of the feuds of Mewar. In that between Singram Sing the Suktawut and [illegible]-Sing Chondawut, both of these chief

* See treaty between the Rana and his chiefs, Vol I, page 217.

clans of Mewar lost the best of their defenders. In 1733, Singram, then but a youth (his father Lalji, Rawut of Seogurh being yet alive), took Khyroda from his sovereign, and retained it six years, in 1740, the rival clans of Deogurh, Amoit, Korabur, &c., under their common head, the chief of Saloombra, and having their acts legalized by the presence of the Depra minister, united to expel the Suktawut. Singram held out four months; when he hoisted a flag of truce and agreed to capitulate, on condition that he should be permitted, to retreat unmolsted, with all his followers and effects to Bheendir, the capital of the Suktawuts. This condition was granted and the heir of Seogurh was received into Bheendir. Here he commenced his depredations, the adventures attending which are still the topics of numerous tales. In one of his expeditions to the estate of Korabur, he carried off both the cattle and the inhabitants of Goorli. Zalim Sing, the heir of Korabur, came to the rescue, but was laid low by the lance of Singram. To revenge his death, every Chondawut of the country assembled round the banner of Saloombra; the sovereign himself espoused their cause, and with his mercenary bands of Sindies succeeded in investing Bheendir. During the seige, Urjoon of Korabur, bent on revenge for the loss of his heir, determined to surprise Seogurh, which he effected, and spared neither age nor sex. * Khyroda remained attached to the fisc during several years, when the Rana, with a thoughtlessness which has nourished these feuds, granted it to Sirdar Sing, the Chondawut chief of Bhadaisir. In S. 1746, the Chondawuts were in rebellion and disgrace, and their rivals, under the chief of Bheendir, assembled their kindred to drive out the Sindie garrison, who held Khyroda for their foe. Urjoon of Korabar, with the Sindie Koli, came to aid the garrison, and an action ensued under the walls, in which Singram slew with his own hand two of the principal subordinates of Korabur, *viz.* Goman the Sikerwal, and Bheemji Ranawut. Nevertheless, the Chondawuts gained the day, and the Suktawuts again retired on Bheendir. There they received a reinforcement sent by Zalim Sing of Kotah (who fostered all these disputes, trusting that eventually he should be able to snatch the bone of contention from both), and a band of Arabs, and with this aid they returned to the attack. The Chondawuts, who, with the auxiliaries of Sinde, were encamped in the plains of Akolah, willingly accepted the challenge, but were defeated; Sindie Koli, leader of the auxiliaries, was slain, and the force was entirely dispersed. Singram, who headed this and every assault against the rival

* The sequel of this feud has been related.

clan, was wounded in three places ; but this he accounted nothing, having thereby obtained the regard of his sovereign, and the expulsion of his rival from Khyroda, which remained attached to the fisc until the year 1758, when, on the payment of a fine of ten thousand rupees, the estate was assigned to him under royal signature. This was in the year A. D. 1802, from which period until 1818, when we had to mediate between the Rana and his chiefs. Khyroda remained a trophy of the superior courage and tact of the Suktawuts. No wonder that the Rawut Jey Sing of Lawah, the adopted heir of Singram, was averse to renounce Khyroda. He went so far as to man its walls, and forbid any communication with the servants of his sovereign : the slightest provocation would have compelled a siege and assault, in which all the Chondawuts of the country would gladly have joined, and the old feuds might have been revived on the very dawn of disfranchisement from the yoke of the Mahrattas. But what will be thought of this transaction when it is stated, that the lord of Khyroda was at this time at court, the daily companion of his sovereign ! Although the dependents of Jey Sing would have fired on any one of his master's servants who ventured to its walls, and, according to our notions, he was at that moment a rebel both to his prince and the paramount protector, not an uncourtly phrase was ever heard, nor could it be discovered that the Rana and the Rawut stood in any other relation than as the gracious sovereign and the loyal subject. These matters are conveniently managed : all the odium of discussion is left to the *kamdars*, or delegates of the prince and the chief, between whom not the least diminution of courteous etiquette would be observable, whilst there remained a hope of adjustment. Asiatics do not count the moments which intervene between the conception and consummation of an undertaking as do those of colder climes. In all their transactions, they preserve more composure, which, whatever be its cause, lends an air of dignity to their proceedings. I have risen from discussion with the respective ministers of the sovereign and chieftains regarding acts involving treason, in order to join the principals in an excursion on the lake, or in the tilt-yard at the palace, where they would be passing their opinions on the points of a horse, with mutual courtesy and affability. This in no unamiable feature in the manners of the East, and tends to strengthen the tie of fraternity which bind together the fabric of Rajpoot policy.

The agricultural economy of Khyroda, which discovers distinct traces of the patriarchal system, is not without interest. Kh[illegible] is a *tuppa*, or subdivision of one of the greater *khalisa* or fiscal districts of Mewar, and consists of fourteen townships,

besides their hamlets. It is rated at 14,500 rupees of yearly rent, of which itself furnishes 3,500. The land, though generally of a good quality, is of three classes, viz. *pewul*, or watered from wells ; *gorma*, also irrigated land, extending three or four *khaits* or fields, around the village ; and *mar* or *mal*, depending on the heavens alone for moisture. As has been already stated, there are two harvests, *viz* the *oonaloo* (from *oon*, 'heat'), or summer-harvest ; and the *sealoo* (from *see*, 'cold'), the winter or autumnal. The share of the crown, as in all the ancient Hindu governments, is taken in kind, and divided as follows. Of the first or *oonaloo* crop, consisting of wheat, barley, and gram, the produce is formed into *kullas* (piles or heaps) of one hundred maunds each ; these are subdivided into four parts, of twenty-five maunds each. The first operation is to provide from one of these the *seerano*, or one seer on each maund, to each individual of the village-establishment : *viz.* the *patel*, or head-man ; the *patwari*, registrar or accountant ; the *shanah*, or watchman ; the *bullae*, or messenger and also general herdsman ; * the *kathi* (alias *sootar*) or carpenter ; the *lohar*, or blacksmith ; the *khomar*, or potter ; the *dhobi*, or washerman ; the *chamar*, who is shoe-maker, carrier, and scavenger ; the *nae*, or barber-surgeon. These ten *seeranos*, or one seer on each kulla, or two maunds and a half to each individual, swallow up one of the subdivisions. Of the three remaining parts, one share, or twenty-five maunds, goes to the *raj*, or sovereign, and two to the ryat, or cultivator, after deducting, a *seerano* of two maunds for the heir-apparent, which is termed *Kowur-mutka*, or 'pot for the prince.' An innovation of late years has been practised on the portion belonging to the village, from wich no less than three *seeranos* of one maund each are deducted, previous to subdivision amongst the ten village officers ; *viz.* one 'pot for the prince,' another for the Rana's chief groom, and third for his *moodi*, or steward of the grain department. These all go to the government, which thus realizes thirty maunds out of each hundred, or *three-tenths*, instead of *one-fourth*, according to ancient usage. But the village-establishment has an additional advantage before the grain is thrashed out ; this is the *kirpah* or sheaf from every beega (a third of an acre) of land cultivated, to each individual ; and each sheaf is reckoned to yield from five to seven *seers* of grain. The reapers are also allowed small *kirpas*-or sheafs, yielding two or three seers each ; and there were

* The *bullae* or *bullaiti* is the shepherd of the community, who drives the village flock to the common pasturage ; and, besides his *seerano*, has some trifling reward from every individual. It is his especial duty to prevent cattle-trespasses.

various little larcenies permitted, under the terms of *dantuni* and *chabuni*, indicating they were allowed the use of their teeth (*dant*) while reaping : so that in fact they fed ('*chabna*, to bite or masticate') upon roasted heads of Indian corn and maize.

Of the *sealoo* crop, which consists of *mukhi*, or Indian corn, and *jooar* and *bajra*, or maize, with the different pulses, the process of distribution is as follows. From every *kulla*, or heap of one hundred maunds, forty are set apart for the *raj* or government, and the rest, after deducting the *seeranos* of the village-establishment, goes to the cultivator.

On the culture of sugar-cane, cotton, indigo, opium tobacco, *til* or sesamum, and the various dyes, there has always been a fixed money-rent, varying from two to ten rupees per *beega*.

There is nothing so uncertain in its results as the cultivation of sugar-cane, which holds out a powerful lure for dishonesty to the collector for the crown. But it is asserted here that the ryat had no option, being compelled to cultivate, in due proportion, cane, opium, and grain, from the same *chursa* or well. A rough estimate of the expense attending the culture of a *chursa*, or what may be irrigated by one well, may not be uninteresting. Let us take, first, one *beega* of cane, and no more can be watered with one pair of oxen, premising that the cane is planted in the month of Aghun, and reaped in the same month next year; that is, after a whole twelve-month of labour :—

Hasil or rent........................Rupees	10
Seed of one beega........................	20
Gor, or stirring up the earth with spuds, eight times before reaping, sixteen men each time, at two *annas* to each.........	16
Two men at the well, at four rupees each per month, for twelve months...............	96*
Two exen, feeding, &c........................	18
Paring and cutting forty thousand canes, at four annas per thousand.................	10
Placing canes in the mill, clothes to the men, besides one seer of sugar out of every maund..................................	20
Shares of the village-establishment; say if the beega yields fifty maunds, of which they are entitled to one-fifth..............	40
(Carried over) Rupees	230

* This goes to feed the cultivator, if he works himself.

Brought forward Rupees 230

Wood..2
Hire of boiler...................................6

Rupees 238

A beega will yield as much as eighty maunds of sugar, though fifty is esteemed a good crop; it sells at about four rupees per maund, or......} 200

Leaving the cultivator minus Rupees 38

It will be observed that the grower's whole expenses are charged; besides, to make up, we must calculate from the labour of the same two men and cattle, the produce profit of one *beega* of opium and four *beegas* of wheat and barley, as follows:

Surplus profit on the opium, seven seers of opium, at four rupees per seer........Rs. 28
One hundred and fifty maunds of grain, of both harvests, of which one-third to the *raj*, leaves one hundred maunds, at one rupee each maund........................100

Rupees 128

Deduct deficiency on cane...............38

Profit left, after feeding, men and cattle, &c. &c....................Rupees 90

Sometimes, though rarely, the cane is sold standing, at four to five rupees the thousand; but, occasionally, the whole crop is lost, if the cane should unfortunately flower, when it is rooted up and burnt, or given to the cattle, being unfit for the use of man. This may be superstition; though the cultivators of the cane in the West-Indies may perhaps say that the deterioration of the plant would render it not worth the trouble of extracting the juice. I shall here conclude this rough sketch of the agricultural economy of Khyroda, which may be taken as a fair specimen of the old system throughout Mewar, with remarking that, notwithstanding the laws of Menu, inscriptions on stone, nnd tradition, which constitute in fact the customary law of Rajpootana, make the rent in kind far lighter than what

we have just recorded, yet the cultivator could not fail to thrive if even this system were maintained. But constant warfare, the necessities of the prince, with the cupidity and poverty of the revenue officers, have superadded vexations petty demands, as *khur-lakur* (wood and forage), and *ghur-ginti* (house-tax); the first of which was a tax of one rupee annually on every beega of land in cultivation, and the other the same on each house or hut inhabited. Even the *kaed sali*, or triennial fine on the headman and the registrar, was levied by these again on the cultivators. But besides these regular taxes, there was no end to irregular exactions of *burrar* and *dind*, or forced contributions, until, at length, the country became the scene of desolation, from which it is only now emerging.

HEENTAH, *January 30th.*—This was a short march of three and half coss, or nine miles, over the same extensive plain of rich black loam, or *mal*, whence the province of Malwa has its name. We were on horseback long before sunrise; the air was pure and invigorating; the peasantry were smiling at the sight of the luxuriant young crops of wheat, barley, and gram, aware that no ruthless hand could now step between them and the bounties of Heaven. Fresh thatch, or rising walls, gave signs of the exiles' return, who greeted us, at each step of our journey, with blessing and looks of joy mingled with sadness. Passed the hamlet, or *poorwa*, of Amerpoora, attached to Khyroda, and to our left the township of Mynar, held in *sasun* (religious grant) by a community of Brahmins. This place affords a fine specimen of 'the wisdom of ancestors' in Mewar, where fifty thousand *beegas*, or about sixteen thousand acres of the richest crown-land, have been given in perpetuity to these drones of society; and although there are only twenty families left of this holy colony, said to have been planted by Raja Mandhata in the *treta-yug*, or silver age of India, yet superstition and indolence conspire to prevent the resumption even of those portions which have none to cultivate them. A "sixty thousand years' residence in hell" is undoubtedly no comfortable prospect, and to those who subscribe to the doctrine of transmigration, it must be rather mortifying to pass from the purple of royalty into "a worm in ordure," one of the delicate purgatories which the Rajpoot soul has to undergo before it can expiate the offence of resuming the lands of the church! I was rejoiced, however, to find that some of 'the sons of Sukta,' as they increased in numbers, in the inverse ratio of their possessions, deemed it better to incur all risks than emigrate to foreign lands in search of *bhom*; and both Heentah and Doondia have been established on the lands of the church. Desirous [of] preserving every right of every class, I imprecated on my

head all the anathemas of the order, if the Rana should resume all beyond what the remnant of this family could require. I proposed that a thousand *beegas* of the best land should be retained by them, that they should not only be furnished with cattle, seed, and implements of agriculture, but that there should be wells cleared out, or fresh ones dug for them. At this time however, the astrologer was a member of the cabinet, and being also physician in ordinary, he, as one of the order, protected his brethren of Mynar, who as may be supposed, were in vain called upon to produce the *tamba-patra*, or copper-plate warrant, for these lands.

Mandhata Raja, a name immortalized in the topography of the regions, was of the Pramar tribe, and sovereign of Central India, whose capitals were Dhar and Oojein; and although his period is uncertain, tradition uniformly assigns him priority to Vicramaditya, whose era (fifty-six years anterior to the Christian) prevails throughout India. There are various spots on the Nerbudda which perpetuate his name, especially where that grand stream forms one of its most considerable rapids. Cheetore, with all its dependencies, was but an appanage of the sovereignty of Dhar in these early times, nor can we move a step without discovering traces of their paramount sway in all these regions: and in the spot over which I am now moving the antiquary might without any difficulty fill his portfolio. Both Heentah and Doondia, the dependencies of Mynar, are brought in connexion with the name of Mandhata, who performed the grand rite of *aswameda*, or sacrifice of the horse, at Doondia, where they still point out the *coond*, or 'pit of sacrifice.' Two *Rishis*, or 'holy men,' of Heentah attended Mandhata, who, on the conclusion of the ceremony, presented them the customary *poon*, or 'offering,' which they rejected; but on taking leave, the Raja delicately contrived to introduce into the *beera of pan*, a grant for the lands of Mynar. The gift, though unsolicited, was fatal to their sanctity, and the miracles which they had hitherto been permitted to form, ceased with the possession of Mammon. Would the reader wish to have an instance of these miracles? After their usual manifold ablutions, and wringing the moisture of their *dhoti*, or garment, they would fling it into the air, where it remained suspended over their head, as a protection against the sun's rays. On the loss of their power, these saints became tillers of the ground. Their descendants hold the lands of Mynar, and are spread over this tract, named *Burra Choubeesa*, 'the great twenty-four!'

We also passed in this morning's march the village of Bamuneo, having a noble piece of water maintained by a strong embankment of masonry. No less than four thousand *beegas*

are attached. It was fiscal land, but had been usurped during the troubles, and being nearly depopulated, had escaped observation. At this moment it is in the hands of Mooti Pasban, the favourite handmaid of "the Sun of the Hindus." This 'pearl' (*mooti*) pretends to have obtained it as a mortgage, but it would be difficult to shew a lawful mortgager. Near the village of Bhansaira, on the estate of Futteh Sing, brother of Bheendir, we passed a *seura* or *sula*, a pillar or land-mark, having a grant of land inscribed thereon with the usual denunciations, attested by an image of the sacred cow, engraved in slight relief, as witness to the intention of the donor.

Heentah was a place of some consequence in the civil wars, and in S. 1808 (A. D. 1752) formed the appanage of one of the *babas*, or infants of the court, of the Maharaja Sawunt Sing. It now belongs to a subordinate Suktawut, and was the subject of considerable discussion in the treaty of resumption of the 4th of May 1818, between the Rana and his chiefs.

It was the scene of a gallant exploit in S. 1812, when ten thousand Mahrattas, led by Sutwa, invaded Mewar. Raj Sing, of the Jhala tribe, the chief of Sadri, and descendant of the hero who rescued that first of Rajpoot princes, Rana Pertap, had reached the town of Heentah in his passage from court to Sadri, when he received intelligence that the enemy was at Salairo, only three miles distant. He was recommended to make a slight detour and go by Bheendir; but having no reason for apprehension, he rejected the advice, and proceeded on his way. He had not travelled half a mile, when they fell in with the marauders, who looked upon his small but well-mounted band as legitimate prey. But, in spite of the odds, they preferred death to the surrender of their equipments, and an action ensued, in which the Raj, after performing miracles of valour, regained the fort, with eighty only of his three hundred and fifty retainers. The news reaching Khoshial Sing, the chief of Bheendir, who, besides the sufficient motive of *Rajpooti*, or 'chivalry,' was impelled by friendship and matrimonial connexion, he assembled a trusty band, and marched to rescue his friend from captivity and his estate from mortgage for his ransom. This little phalanx amounted only to five hundred men, all Suktawuts, and of whom three-fourths were on foot. They advanced in a compact mass, with lighted matches, cavaliers on either flank, with Khoshial at their head, denouncing death to the man who quitted his ranks, or fired a shot without orders. They were soon surrounded by the cloud of Mahratta horse; but resolve was too manifest in the intrepid band even for numbers to provoke the strife. They thus passed over the immense plain between Bheendir and Heentah, the gates of

which they had almost reached, when, as if ashamed at seeing their prey thus snatched from their grasp, the word was given, "*birchee de!*" and a forest of Mahratta lances, each twelve feet long, bristled against the Suktawuts. Khoshial called a halt, wheeled his cavaliers to the rear, and allowed the foe to come within pistol-shot, when a well-directed volley checked their impetuosity, and threw them into disorder. The little band of cavalry seized the moment and charged in their turn, gave time to load again, and returned to their post to allow a second valley. The gate was gained, and the Sadri chief received into the ranks of deliverers. Elated with success, the Maharaja promptly determined rather to fight his way back than coop himself up in Heentah, and be starved into surrender; all seconded the resolution of their chief, and with little comparative loss they regained Bheendir. This exploit is universally known, and related with exultation, as one of the many brilliant deeds of "the sons of Sukta," of whom the Maharaja Khoshial Sing was conspicuous for worth, as well as gallantry.

Morwun, 31st January.—The last day of January (with the thermometer 50° at day-break), brought us to the limits of Mewar. I could not look on its rich alienated lands without the deepest regret, or see the birthright of its chieftains devlove on the mean Mahratta or ruthless Pathan, without a kindling of the spirit towards the heroes of past days, in spite of the vexations their less worthy descendants occasion me; less worthy, yet not worthless, for having left my cares behind me with the court, where the stubborness of some, the vices and intrigues of others, and the apathy of all, have deeply injured my health. There is something magical in absence; it throws a deceitful medium between us and the objects we have quitted, which exaggerates their amiable qualities, and curtails the proportions of their vices. I look upon Mewar as the land of my adoption, and linked with all the associations of my early hopes and their actual realization, I feel inclined to exclaim with reference to her and her unmanageable children,

"Mewar, with all the faults, I love thee still.'

The virtues owe an immense debt to the present feudal nobility, not only of Mewar but of Rajpootana, and it is to be hoped that the rising generation will pay to it what has been withheld by the past; that energy and temperance will supersede opium and the juice of the *mawah*, and riding in the ring, replace the siesta; and the tabor (*tabla*) and lute. I endeavoured to banish some of these incentives to degeneracy; nor is their a young chieftain, from the heir-apparent to the throne to the aspirant to a skin of land (when opportunity was

granted), from whom I have not exacted a promise, never to touch that debasing drug, opium. Some may break this pledge, but many will keep it ; specially those whose minority I protected against court-faction and avarice : such a one as Urjoon Sing, the young chief of Bussie, of the Sangawut branch or Chondawut clan. His grandfather (for his father was dead) had maintained the old castle and estate, placed on the elevated Oopermal, against all attempts of the Mahrattas, but had incurred the hatred of Bheem Sing of Saloombra, the head of his clan, who in S. 1846 dispossessed him, and installed a junior branch in the barony of Bussie. But the energetic Tukta Sing regained his lost rights, and maintained them, until civil broils and foreign foes alike disappeared, on their connexion with the British in 1818. Then the veteran chief, with his grandson, repaired to court, to unite in the general homage to their prince with the assembled chiefs of Mewar. But poverty and the remembrance of old feuds combined to dispossess the installation of the interloper, who was supported by all the influence of the chief of Saloombra. The first noble of Mewar tried to avail himself of my friendship to uphold the cause of his *portegee*, Buraud Sing, whom he often brought to visit me, as did old Tukta, his grandson. Both were of the same age, thirteen ; the aspirant to Bussie, fair and stout, but heavy in his look ; while the possessor, Urjoon, was spare, dark, and beaming with intelligence. Merit and justice on one side ; stupidity and power to the other. But there were duties to be performed ; and the old Thakoor's appeal was not heard in vain. "*Swamdherma* and this" (putting his hand to his sword), said the aged chief, "have hitherto preserved our rights ; now, the cause of the child is in his soverign's hands and yours ; but here money buys justice, and right yields to favour." The Rana, though he had assented to the views of Saloombra, left the case to my adjudication. I called both parties before me, and in their presence, from their respective statements, sketched the genealogical tree, exhibiting in the remote branches the stripling competitor's, which I shewed to the Rana. Ever prone to do right when not swayed by faction, he confirmed Urjoon's patent, which he had given him three years previously, and girt him with the sword of investiture. This contest for his birthright was of great advantage to the youth ; for his grandfather was selected to command the quotas for the defence of the frontier fortress of Jehajpoor, a duty which he well performed ; and his grandson accompanied him and was often left in command while he looked after the estate. Both came to visit me at Cheetore. Urjoon was greatly improved during his two years' absence from the paternal abode, and promises to do honour to the clan he belongs to. Amongst many questions, I

asked "if he had yet taken to his *uml*?" to which he energetically replied, "my fortunes will be *cracked* indeed, if ever I forget injunction of yours."

But a truce to digression: the whole village *punchaet* has been waiting this half hour under the spreading burr tree, to tell me, in the language of homely truth, *khoosh hyn Compani saheb ca Pertap sa*, that "by the auspices of Sir Company they are happy; and that they hope I may live a thousand years."

I must, therefore, suspend my narrative, whilst I patiently listen till midnight to dismal tales of sterile fields, exhausted funds, exiles unreturned, and the depredations of the wild mountain Bhil.

CHAPTER II.

The chief of Heentah.—Difficulty of arranging the separation of Heentah from the fisc.—Anomalous character of its present chief, Maun Sing Suktawut.—His history.—Latji Rawut of Netharra.—Origin of the Dodeah family.—Adventure of Singram Sing, the Rana of Mewar.—His son, Chandrabhan, and Rana Raj.—Extraordinary manner in which he acquired Lawah.—Decline of the family—Form of deed of conveyance of lands from the lord paramount.—Adress of Maun Sing.—Atrocious murder of a Rahtore boy.—Its singular sequel.

I WAS not deceived; it is not midnight, but, late as it is, I will introduce to the reader a few of my visitors. The chief of Heentah, who was absent at his patrimonial estate of Koon, on the hills of Chappun, sent his brother and his *homme d' affaires* to make his compliments to me, and express his regret that he could not offer them personally at Heentah, which he said was "my own township." This was not mere customary civility. Heentah had been taken by the Suktawuts soon after the commencement of the civil wars of S. 1824, which was within the period (A. D. 1766) fixed by the general arrangements of the 4th of May 1818, for restitution; and it was impossible, without departing from the principle on which they were based, that the chief should retain it, though he could plead the prescriptive right of half a century.

The discussions regarding Heentah were consequently very warm: the renunciation of ten valuable townships by the Maharaja Zoorawur Sing of Bheendir, the head of the Sukta-

wut clans, did not annoy the Bheendir chief so much as his failure to retain Heentah as one of his minor feuds: nay, the surrender of Arjah, the price of blood, a far more important castle and domain, by his own brother Futteh Sing (the original acquistion of which sealed the conclusion of a long-standing feud), excited less irritation than the demand that Heentah should revert to the fisc. "It is the key of Bheendir," said the head of the clan. "It was a Suktawut allotment from the first," exclaimed his brother. "The Ranawut was an interloper," cried another. "It is my *bapota*, the abode of my fathers," was the more feeling expression of the occupant. It was no light task to deal with such arguments ; especially when an appeal to the dictates of reason and justice was thwarted by the stronger impulse of self-interest. But in a matter involving so important a stipulation of the treaty, which required "that all fiscal possessions which, since S. 1882 (A. D. 1766), the commencement of the civil wars, had, by whatever means, passed from the Rana to the chieftains, should be reclaimed," firmness was essential to the success of a measure on which depended the restoration of order. The Suktawuts behaved nobly, and with a purely patriotic spirit throughout the scene, when almost all had to relinquish important possessions. The issue was, that Heentah, with its domain, after remaining twelve months incorporated with the fisc, was restored to Zoorawur, but curtailed of Doondia and its twelve hundred acres, which, though united to Heentah, was a distinct township in the old records. Having paid ten thousand rupees as the fine of relief, the chief was girt with the sword, and re-established in this *bapota*, to the great joy of the whole clan.

Heentah is burthened with the service of fourteen horse and fourteen foot ; its *rekh*, or nominal value, in the *putta-buhye*, or 'record of fiefs,' being seven thousand rupees ; but, in consideration of the impoverished condition of his estate, the chief was only called on to furnish five horse and eight foot. The present possessor of Heentah is an adoption from the chieftainship of Koon ; but, contrary to established usage, he holds both Heentah and Koon, his parent fief, whereby he has a complex character, and conflicting duties to fulfil. As chief of Koon, he belongs to the third class of nobles, styled *gole*, and is subject to constant personal attendance on the Rana ; as lord of Heentah, too, he has to furnish a quota to serve "*at home or abroad!*". Being compelled to appear at court in person, his quota for Heentah was placed under the charge of Maun Sing (another of the Suktawut sub-vassalage), and was sent to the *thana* of little Sadri, on the Malwa frontier, to guard it from the depredations of the forester Bhil. But

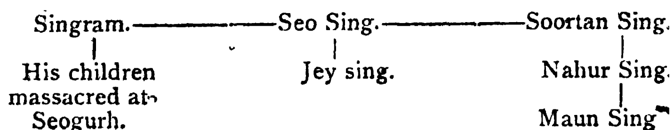
I was commissioned by the Rana to reprimand the representative of Heentah, and to threaten him with the re-sequestration of the estate, if he did not better perform the service for which he held it. In consequence of this remonstrance, I became acquainted with a long tale of woe ; and Maun Sing's vindication from a failure of duty will introduce a topic worthy of notice connected with the feudal system of Mewar, namely, the subdivision of fiefs.

Maun Sing Suktawut is a younger branch of the Lawah family, and one of the infants who escaped the massacre of Seogurh, when Lalji Rawut and two generations were cut off to avenge the feud with Korabur. In order, however, to understand the claims of Maun Sing, we must go back to the period when Lalji Rawut was lord of Netharra, which, for some offence, or through same court-intrigue, was resumed, and bestowed on one of the rival clan of Chondawut. Being a younger branch of the Bhansi family (one of the senior subdivisions of Bheendir), Lalji was but slenderly provided for in the family allotment (*bhut*). On losing Netharra, he repaired to Dongerpoor, whose Rawul gave him a grant of Seogurh, an almost inaccessible fort on the borders of the two countries. Thus compelled, throuh faction, to seek subsistence out of his native soil, Lalji renounced his loyalty, and with his sons, now *barwutteas* or 'outlaws,' resolved to pray upon Mewar. They now looked to Bheendir, the head of their clan, as their lord, and joined him in opposing their late sovereign in the field, levying black-mail from the estates of their rivals ; or, when the influence of the latter sunk at court, and was supplanted by the clan of Suktawut, Lalji poised his lance in the train of his chief in defence of the throne. Thus passed his life, a chequered course of alternate loyalty and treason, until its tragical close at Seogurh. *

Singram Sing, the eldest son of Lalji,† with his infant nephews, Jey Sing and Nahur (who was absent), escaped the avenger's sword, under which perished his father, mother, both brothers, and all his own children, at one fell swoop ! Singram succeeded to the possession of Seogurh, and to the feuds of his family. His nephew, young Nahur, joined in all his enterprizes, from the defence of Khyroda to the escalade and capture of the castle of Lawah, in which he maintained himself

* See Vol. I, p. 457.

† Lalji's issue :



until the Rana not only pardoned him, but gave him precedence above his enemies in his own councils.

Lawah was wrested by Singram Sing Suktawut from Singram Sing the Dodeah, an ancient tribe, but like many others little known, until the incident we are about to relate gave it a momentary gleam of splendour, and afforded the bard an opportunity to emblazon its fame upon his page. Even in these regions, so full of strange vicissitude, the sudden rise of the Dodeah is a favourite topic of the traditional muse of Mewar.

Chandrabhan was the father of this meteor of the day; his sole wealth consisted of a team of oxen, with which he tilled few beegas of land at the base of *Nahramugra*, the 'tiger mount,' where the Rana had a *rumna* or preserve, for the royal sport of tiger-hunting. It was during the autumnal harvest, when the Dodeah had finished his day's work, having put up the last rick of *mukhi* (Indian corn), as he was driving home the companions of his toil, a voice hailed him from the wood. He answered, and advanced to the spot whence it issued, where he found a stranger, evidently of rank, with his horse panting for breath. After inquiring his tribe, and being told "Rajpoot," the stranger begged a little water, which was supplied, along with two coarse cakes of *mukhi*, and a little *chunna-ca-dal*, pulse cooked with *ghee*, or clarified butter, which the honest Dodeah took out of a cloth not over clean. Having performed all the other duties which hospitality requires, the Dodeah made his *salaam*, and was about to depart, when a train of horsemen coming in sight, he paused to look at them. All went up to the stranger; and from the profound respect paid to him, he found that he had entertained no common guest.

It was in fact his sovereign, the Rana Juggut Sing, who delighted in the chase, and having that day been bewildered in the intricacies of Nahra-mugra, had stumbled on the Dodeah carle. The latter expressed neither surprise nor delight when introduced to the Rana, and replied to all his questions with the frankness that grows out of the sentiment of honest pride and independence, which never abandons a Rajpoot, whatever be his condition.* The Rana was so much pleased with his rustic host, that he commanded a led horse to be brought forth, and desired the Dodeah would accompany him to

* In my days of inexperience, when travelling through countries unknown, and desirous to take the first peasant I found as a guide, I have been amused by his announcing to me, before a question was put, "I am a Rajpoot," as if in anticipation of the demand and a passport to respect; literally, "I am of royal descent:" a reflection which lends an air of dignity to all his actions, and distinguishes him from every other class.

Oodipoor, only ten miles distant. 'The rocket of the moon' (*Chandrabhan*), in his peasant's garb, bestrode the noble charger with as much ease as if it were habitual to him. The next day, the Dodeah was conducted to the Presence, and invested with a dress which had been worn by his sovereign (a distinguished mark of royal favour), accompanied with the more solid reward of the grant of Kowario and its lands in perpetuity.

Chandrabhan and his benefactor died about the same time Rana Raj had succeeded to the throne of Mewar, and Sirdar Sing, son of Chandrabhan, did personal service for the lands of Kowario. It was a source of daily amusement for the prince and his youthful associates to plunge into the fountain at the *Suhailea-ca-barri*, * a villa, about two miles from the capital, on which occasions reserve was banished, and they gave themselves up to unrestrained mirth. The young Dodeah had some peculiarities, which made him a butt for their wit. The following incident will shew the character of these princely pastimes. It was one day remarked, that when refreshing in the *coond*, or reservoir, Sirdar Sing did not lay aside his turban, which provoked a suspicion that he had no hair. The Rana, impatient to get a peep at the bare head of the son of Chandrabhan, proposed that they should push each other into the water. The sport began, and the Dodeah's turban falling off, disclosed the sad truth. The jest, however, was not relished by Sirdar; and he tartly replied, in answer to his sovereign's question, "what had become of his hair?" that "he had lost it in *his* service, in a former birth, as *chela*, † by carrying wood upon his head to feed the flame, when his sovereign, as a *jogi*, or ascetic, performed penance (*tapasya*) in the hills of Buddrinath." The prince felt that he had violated decorum; but the reply was pregnant with sarcasm, and his dignity must be maintained. "Sirdar must bring proof of his assertion, or punishment awaits him," was the rejoinder. The young chief, in the same lofty tone, offered the evidence of the *deota* (divinity) of the temple of Kowario. This was a witness whose testimony could not be impugned, and he had leave to bring it forward.

At the village of Gopalpoor, attached to his estate of Kowario, was a temple of the Bagrawuts, a tribe little known, having a shrine of their divinity, who was personified by an

* 'The nymphs' *parterre*;' for the *barri* is more a flower-garden than one of indiscriminate culture.

† *Chela* is a phrase which includes servitude or domestic slavery: but implies, at the same time, treatment as a child of the family. Here it denotes that of a servant or disciple.

image with a tiger's (*bag*) head. "He invoked his support on this occasion, when the deota threw him the flower * in his hand, and desired him to carry it to his sovereign." He did so, and the Rana's faith was too great to dispute the miracle. What honours could suffice for the man who had performed the most meritorious service to his prince in former transmigrations! *Mang*, 'ask,' was the sign of grace and favour. Singram's request was governed by moderation; it was for Lawah and its lands, which adjoined his estate at Kowario.

The Rana being yet a minor, and the queen-mother at the head of affairs, he hastened to her to be released from the debt of gratitude. But Lawah, unluckily, was held by herself; and although she was not heretic enough to doubt the miraculous tale, she thought the Dodeah might have selected any other land but her's, and testily replied to her son's request, that "he might give him Mewar if he chose." Displeased at this unaccommodating tone, the prince quickly rejoined, "Mewar shall be his then." The word of a prince is sacred; he sent for Singram, and thus addressed him: "I give you Mewar for the space of three days; make the best use of your time; my arsenals, my armouries, my treasury, my stables, my throne and its ministers, are at your command." The temporary Rana availed himself of this large power, and conveyed to his estate whatever he had a mind to. During the abdication, Sirdar held his court, though he had too much tact actually to press the cushion of his master; but seated himself on one side of the vacant throne, attended by all the nobles, fully impressed with the sanctity of the individual who had attained such distinction. On the third day, the queen-mother sent her son the patent for Lawah; and on the fourth Dodeah surrendered the sceptre,

With the wealth thus acquired, he erected a castle in his domain of Lawah, on which he expended nine lakhs of rupees, about £100,00. He formed a lake; and a single *baori* or reservoir, in the fort, cost another lakh. He built a splendid palace, whose china and mirror-halls are still the theme of encomium. These were greatly defaced by an explosion of a powder-magazine, which threw down half the fortress that had taken twenty years to complete; and though it underwent considerable repairs, it lost much of its splendour, which the guns of Holcar aided to diminish: but the castle of Lawah is still one of the finest in Mewar. Sirdar Sing had also a grant of one of the royal *mahls* or palaces of Oodipoor, erected on the margin of the lake, after the model of the Jugmunder. Although it now

* That sculptured from the stone is meant.

belongs to the chief of Amait, it is only recognized as the *Dodeah-ca-mahl*; but its halls are the dwelling of the bat and the owl; the *burr* has taken root in its light airy porticos, and its walls have every direction but the perpendicular. Sirdar lived twenty years after the erection of Lawah; he died in S. 1838 (A. D. 1782), leaving one son, the heir of his honours and estates. Throughout his long life, he lost no portion of the respect paid to his early years; but with him the name of Dodeah again sunk into obscurity, or lived but as a memento of the instability of fortune. It was this son who when driven from Lawah by Singram Sing Suktawut, had no place of shelter, and died in indigence and obscurity. His son (grandson of Sirdar, and great grandson of the 'rocket of the moon,') is now patronized by the heir-apparent, Prince Jowan Sing, and receives a daily allowance, but has not a foot of land.

Singram, the Suktawut, had a regular *sunnud* for the fief of Lawah, which was rated at twenty-three thousand rupees of annual rent, while Kowario has reverted to the fisc. The lake of Lawah, which irrigates some thousand acres of rice-land, alone renders it one of the most desirable of the secondary estates of Mewar. Singram's children being all murdered in the feud of Seogurh, he was succeeded by Jey Sing (son of Seo Sing, his second brother), who was received as *khola*, or son of adoption, by all the retainers of Lawah. While Singram Sing lived, no subdivision of allotments took place; all, to use the words of Maun Sing, "ate out of one dish:" and his own father Nahur, who had aided in the enterprise, having by a similar *coup de main* secured the estate of Bunwull for himself, no necessity for such partition existed. But Bunwull belonging to the fisc, to which it reverted on the restoration of order in A. D. 1818, young Maun had no alternative but to turn round on Jey Sing, the adopted heir of Singram, and demand his *bhut*, or share of the lands of Lawah, in virtue of the right of joint acquisition, and as a younger brother. Jey Sing refused: but custom prevailed, and the village of Jaetpoorah, of fifteen hundred rupees' annual revenue, was bestowed upon the son of Nahur Sing. So long as Maun Sing performed his duties to his chief, his share of Lawah was irresumeable and inalienable: hence the stubborn tenacity of the chiefs of their share in the patrimonial acres, even when holding largely, but separately, of the crown, since of the latter, caprice or intrigue may deprive them; but their own misconduct alone can forfeit their *bapota*. The simple deed of conveyance will better establish this point:

"Maharao Sri Jey Sing, plighting his faith (*buchunaeto*).

"At this time, Brother Maun Sing, I bestow upon thee, of

my own free will, the village and lands of Jaetpoorah. This donative shall not look to *rankroos* : *su-poot*, *cu-poot* :* your issue shall enjoy them. Of this intention I call the four-armed divinity (*Chatoorbhoj*) as witness. You are my own child (*chooroo*) : wherever and whenever I order, you will do my service : if you fail, the fault be on your own head."

Whether Maun Sing failed in his duty to his superior, or otherwise, Jaetpoorah was resumed ; and having in vain endeavoured to obtain justice through the ministers, he came to me to solicit attention to his case. With the resumption of Khyroda, his brother, the chief of Lawah, lost half his nominal income ; and it may therefore be conjectured he would not be slow to listen to any charge against Maun, by which he might get back his allotment. On my departure for Marwar, in August 1820, he had written to me to say that Jey Sing had summoned him to evacuate Jaetpoorah. In my reply, I said, it was a matter for the Rana alone to decide. He accordingly went to court, and failing there, followed me ; but, as at my desire he had been appointed to head the quotas on the Sadri frontier, and had performed this duty very negligently, I received him coolly : this, however, only gave additional eagerness to his defence, as he assigned strong personal reasons for the neglect. But the son of 'the tiger' (Nahur Sing) shall speak for himself. Let the reader imagine a young man of twenty-five, above six feet high, of an athletic figure and chivalrous demeanour, his expression at once modest and independent, with those indispensable appendages to a Rajpoot warrior's visage, well-trimmed *favoris* and *moustache*, and armed at all point : such was the lord-marcher (*Seem-iswar*), Maun Sing. Having presented his patent for my perusal, he continued : "Had I failed in my obligations to my brother, he would have been justified in this step : but since you took Bunwull from me, my retainers, at his beck, equalled his own in numbers ; what right therefore had he to resume Jaetpoorah ? When Singram Sing died, Lawah was in my hands : who could have prevented my keeping it had it been my pleasure. The son of Nahur Sing would have been preferred by the vassals of Singram to one they had never even seen ; but I respected his rights though even now he could not forcibly dispossess me. When the Thakoor of Amait, on his way to court, beat his drums on the bounds of Lawah, did I not assemble my retainers and avenge the insult of my chief? My head was Jey Sing's,—that is with the *kungras* (battle-

* *Rankroos* is a phrase embracing mental or physical infirmity ; here strengthened by the words which follow. *Su-poot* means 'worthy,' or good issue (*Putra*), as *cu-poot*, the reverse, bad or incompetent issue'

ments) of Lawah: but he never could have dared to take Jaetpoorah, had not respect for the chief of Lawah, respect for the Rana, and for you, made me passive. Only bid me retake it, and I am not the son of Nahur Sing if he keeps it a day. Its little castle, erected by these hands, sheltered my wife and children, who now expelled from my partimony, are compelled to seek refuge elsewhere. The lands assigned me in lieu of Bunwull are waste. For every rupee I can hope to derive from them, I must expend one; and on Jaetpoorah alone could I raise any funds. Reckoning on this, I paid my fine of two thousand five hundred rupees for my *putta* (grant), and from its produce I looked to maintain my family and followers until the first should be made productive. When I lost this support, my creditors assailed me: to satisfy them, I sold all I had of value even to my wife's jewels and the horse you saw me ride when I came to meet you at Gangapur. I laid my case before *Prithwi-nath*, and here is his reply, deciding in my favour. I represented it through Jawandas (a natural brother of the Rana), and five hundred rupees were demanded and agreed to by me provided *buchun* (security) was given me of success. The Bikaneri-ji's* was given; but the purse of the Thakoor of Jaetpoorah is not so long as the chieftain of Lawah's, and one thousand rupees, offered by him made his the juster cause! It is this that makes me negligent of my duty; this which incited the Pathans to carry off my little harvest from Salairoh; and Bhairawi† is still in the hands of the foresters. Here is my case: If I demand aught that is not just, or that is contrary to usage, deal with me as you please. There is Futteh Sing, who holds in separate grant from the Rana an estate of thirty thousand rupees; but as a younger brother of Bheendir, he enjoys five thousand from his brother; and Ajeit Sing of Ahsind, though richer than his immediate head of Korabur, yet as the son of Urjoon Sing, holds his allotment (*bhut*) from him; but you know all this, why should I repeat it?" Here the Thakoor concluded, without any interruption being given to his animated harangue, the interest of which was enhanced by his natural eloquence, and his manly but modest deportment. He is a noble specimen, not of his tribe alone, but of the human character. His appeal was irresistible and would almost have carried conviction of its justice even to those who could not have understood his tongue. Still it was requisite to steel myself against impulses; and I recommended as the best mode of enabling me to advocate his cause,

* One of the queens, a princess of Bikaner.
† The two villages he obtained in lieu of Bunwall.

that he should repair to his post, and establish fresh claims to his sovereign's regard by punishing an atrocious act which in all probability his absence had occasioned. With the gift of a brace of pistols and the usual leave-taking hint of *utr-pan*, Maun Sing quitted my tent.

And now for the melancholy occurrence which preceded that of the young Suktawut. On the borders of Little Sadri where the quotas are posted, is a mountainous tract covered with deep forest, the abode of the half-savage Meenas and Bhils. Mixed with them are the estates of some vassal chiefs, whose duty it is to repress their excesses ; but, in such times as we have described, they more frequently instigated them to plunder, receiving a share of the spoils. Amongst the foremost in this association was the steward of Kalakote. At the foot of a pass leading into the wilds of Chuppun was the hamlet of Beeleo, occupied by a Rahtore Rajpoot, who had snatched from the mountain-side a few beegas of land, and dug some wells to irrigate the arable patches about his cot. With severe toil he raised a subsistence for himself; his wife, and an only son, who was to inherit this patrimony. Returning homewards one day, after his usual labour, he was met by his wailing help-mate ; she said the savage Bhil had rifled his cot, and with the cattle carried off their prop, their only child, and, and at the same time a young Jogi, his play-mate. The afflicted father spake not a word, but loading his match lock, took the road to Kalakote. What was his horror when, at the entrance of the village, he stumbled over the headless bodies of his boy and his young companions ! He learned that the savages belonged to the lordship of Kala-kote ; that having conveyed the children from their home upon the cattle they had stolen, they were entering the place, when the young Rahtore, recognizing the steward, called out, "save me, uncle, and my father will ransom me at your own price !" This was the object for which he had been abducted ; but these words proved that the steward was known to be the author of the outrage, and they were the last the child spoke. With this intelligence, the wretched father entered the 'black-castle' (Kalakote), in quest of the steward. He denied all participation in the abduction or the murder ; and commiserating the Rahtore's misfortune, offered him four times the number of cattle he had lost, twice the amount of all his other losses, and to pay double the sum of *mirkhea*, or money expended in the search. "Can you give me back my son?" was the only reply : "I want justice and vengeance, not money. I could have taken it in part," continued he ; "for what is life now ? but let it fall on all."

No attempt at consolation could diminish the father's grief; but in promising him my aid to realize his vengeance I gave him hope to cling to; and no handing him over to Maun Sing, saying his own suit would be best promoted by the imprisonment of all concerned in this outrage, he quitted me with some mitigation of his grief. But before he left my camp, tidings arrived that the chief culprit was beyond the reach of man; that the Great Avenger had summoned to his own tribunal the iniquitous steward of Kalakote! Even in these regions of rapine, where the blood of man and of goats is held in almost equal estimation, there was something in the wild grief of the Rahtore that sunk into the hearts of the vassals of Kalakote: they upbraided the steward, and urged him to confess the share he had in the deed. But he swore 'by his God' he had none, and offered to ratify the oath of purgation in his temple. Nothing less would satisfy them, and they proceeded to the ordeal. The temple was but a few hundred yards distant. The steward mounted his horse, and had just reached the shrine, when he dropped dead at the threshold! It caused a deep sensation; and to the vengeance of an offended divinity was ascribed this singal expiation of the triple crime of theft, murder, and sacrilege. There now only remain the base accomplices of the wretch who thus trafficked with the liberty of his fellow-men; and I should rejoice to see them suspended on the summit of the Beeleo pass, as a satisfaction to the now childless Rahtore, and a warning to others who yet follow such a course.

CHAPTER III.

Morwun.—The solitude of this fine district.—Caused by the Mahrattas and their mercenaries.—Impolicy of our conduct towards the Mahrattas.—Antiquities of Morwun.—Tradition of the foundation and destruction of the ancient city.—Inscriptions.—Jain temple.—Game.—Attack by a tiger.—Sudden change of the weather.—Destructive frost.—Legend of a temple of Mama deva.—Important inscription.—Distress of the peasantry.—Gratitude of the people to the author.—Nekoomp.—Oppression of the peasants.—Murlah. Inhabited by Charuns.—Reception of the author.—Curious privilege of the Charunis.—Its origin.—Traditional account of the settlement of this colony in Mewar.—Imprication of satis.*—The* tandas, *or caravans.—Their immunity from plunder and extortion.—Neembaira.—Ranikhaira.—Indignity committed by a scavenger of Laisrawun.—Sentence upon the culprit.—Tablet to a* Silpi.*—Reception at Neembaira.*

Morwun, February 1st.— YESTERDAY, Maun Sing took up the whole of my time with the feuds of Lawah and their consequences. It obliged me to halt, in order to make inquiries into the alienated lands in its vicinity. Morwun is, or rather was a township of some consequence, and head of a *tuppa* or subdivision of a district. It is rated, with its contiguous hamlets, at seven thousand rupees annual rent. The situation is beautiful, upon heights pleasingly diversified, with a fine lake to the westward, whose margin is studded with majestic tamarind trees. The soil is rich, and there is water in great abundance within twenty-five feet of the surface; but man is wanting! The desolation of solitude reigns throughout, for (as Rousseau observes) there is none to whom one can turn and say, *que la solitude est belle!*

I experienced another pang at seeing this fertile district revert to the destroyer, the savage Pathan, who had caused the desolation, and in the brief but expressive words of a Roman author, *solitudinem facit, pacem app ellant.* Morwun is included in the lands *mortgaged* for a war-contribution, but which with others has remained in the hands of the Mahratta mortgagees or their mercenary subordinates. But it is melancholy

to reflect that, but for a false magnanimity towards our insidious, natural enemies, the Mahrattas, all these lands would have reverted to their legitimate masters, who are equally interested with ourselves in putting down predatory warfare. Justice, good policy, and humanity, would have been better consulted had the Mahrattas been wholly banished from Central India. When I contrasted this scene with the traces of incipient prosperity I had left behind me, I felt a satisfaction that the alienated acres produced nothing to the possessor, save luxuriant grass, and the leafless *kesoola* or *plas*.

Morwun has some claims to antiquity ; it derives its appellation from the Mori tribe, who ruled here before they obtained Cheetore. The ruins of a fort, still known by the name of Chitrung Mori's castle, are pointed out as his residence ere he founded Cheetore, or more properly Cheetrore. The tradition runs thus: Chitrung, a subordinate of the imperial house of Dhar, held Morwun and the adjacent tract, in appanage. One of his subjects, while ploughing, struck the share against some hard substance, and on examination found it was transmuted to gold. This was the *parisputtur*,* or 'philosopher's stone,' and he carried it forthwith to his lord, with whose aid he erected the castle, and enlarged the town of Morwun, and ultimately founded Cheetore. The *dhoolkote*, or site of Mori-ca-puttun, is yet pointed out, to the westward of the present Morwun. It was miraculously destroyed through the impieties of its inhabitants by fire, which fate recalls a more celebrated catastrophe; but the act of impiety in the present case was merely seizing a *rishi*, or 'hermit,' while performing penance in the forest, and compelling him to carry radishes to market! The tradition, however, is of some value ; it proves, first, that there were radishes in those days ; and secondly, that volcanic eruptions occurred in this region. Oojein-Ahar in the valley of Oodipoor, and the lake of which is said in some place to be *atac*, 'deeper than plummet sounded,' is another proof of some grand commotion of nature. Morwun boasts of three *mindras*, or temples, one of which is dedicated to *Sehesnag*, the thousand-headed hydra which supports the globe. Formerly, saffron was the meet offering to this king of reptiles ; but he was now obliged to be content with ointment of sandal, produced from the evergreen, which is indigenous to Mewar.

Having heard of an inscription at the township of Unair, five miles distant, to the south-west, I requested my old *guru*

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* In the Sanscrit *puttur*, 'stone, rock,' we have nearly the *petros* of the Greeks.

to take a ride and copy it. It was of modern date, merely confirming the land of Unair to the Brahmins. The tablet is in the temple of *Chatoorbhoja* (the four-armed divinity), built and endowed by Rana Singram Sing in S. 1570 (A. D. 1514); to whose pious testament a codicil is added by Rana Juggut Sing, S. 1791, imprecating an anathema on the violator of it. There was also engraved upon one of the columns a voluntary gift, from the village-council of Unair to the divinity, of the first fruits of each harvest; *viz.* two and a half seers from each *kulla*, or heap, of the spring-crops, and the same of the autumnal. The date, S. 1845 (A. D. 1789), shows that it was intended to propitiate the deity during the wars of Mewar.

Directly opposite, and very near the shrine of the 'four-armed,' is a small Jain temple, erected, in S. 1774, to cover an image of the great pontiff, Parswanath, found in digging near this spot. Here at every step are relics of past ages.

February 2nd,—An accident has compelled another halt at Morwun. The morning was clear and frosty, not a cloud in the sky, and we rose with the sun; my kinsman, Captain Waugh, to try his Arab at a *nilgae*, and myself to bag a few of the large rock-pigeons which are numerous about Morwun. My friend, after a hard run, had drawn blood from the elk, and was on the point of spearing him effectually just as he attained a thick part of the jungle, which not heeding, horse and rider came in contact with a tree, and were dashed with violence to the ground. There he lay insensible, and was brought home upon a *charpae*, or cot, by the villagers, much bruised, but fortunately with no broken bones. A leech was not to be had in any of the adjacent villages; and the patient complaining chiefly of the hip-bone, we could only apply emollients and recommend repose. I returned with no game except one or two black-partridges and batten-quail. The rock-pigeon, or *bur-teetur*, though unaccustomed to the fowler, were too wild for me to get a shot at them. The bird bears no analogy to the pigeon, but has all the rich game plumage of the *teetur*, or partridge, in which name the ornithologist of the west will see the origin of *tetrao*. There are two species of this bird in India, one much smaller than the common partridge; that of which I speak is much larger, and with the peculiarity of being feathered to the toe. I have since discovered it to be the counterpart of a bird in the museum at Chambery, called '*barteveldt des Alpes*;' the ptarmigan of the highlands of Scotland. The male has exactly those redundant white feathers; while that I saw in Savoy was a richly-plumaged female *bur-teetur*.

Our annual supply of good things having reached us this

morning, we were enjoying a bottle of some delicious Burgundy and 'La Rose after dinner, when we were roused by violent screams in the direction of the village. We were all up in an instant, and several men directed to the spot. Our speculations on the cause were soon set at rest by the appearance of two *hurcarras* (messengers), and a lad with a vessel of milk on his head. For this daily supply they had gone several miles, and had nearly reached the camp, when having outwalked the boy, they were alarmed by his vociferations, "oh uncle let go—I am your child, uncle, let me go!" They thought the boy mad, and it being very dark, cursed his uncle, and desired him to make haste; but the same wild exclamations continuing, they ran back, and found a huge tiger hanging to his tattered cold-weather doublet. The *hurcarras* attacked the beast most manfully with their javelin-headed sticks, and adding their screams to his, soon brought the whole village men, women, and children, armed with all sorts of missiles, to the rescue; and it was their discordant yells that made us exchange our good fare for the jungles of Morwun.

The 'lord of the black rock,' for such is the designation of the tiger, was one of the most ancient *bourgeois* of Morwun; his freehold is Kala-pahar, between this and Mugurwar, and his reign for a long series of years has been unmolested, notwithstanding his numerous acts of aggression on his bovine subjects: indeed, only two nights before, he was disturbed gorging on a buffalo belonging to a poor oilman of Morwun. Whether this tiger was an incarnation of one of the Mori-lords of Morwun, tradition does not say; but neither gun, bow, nor spear, had ever been raised against him. In return for this forbearance, it is said he never preyed upon men or if he seized one, would, upon being entreated with the endearing epithet of *mamoo* or uncle, let go his hold; and this accounted for the little ragged urchin using a phrase which almost prevented the *hurcarras* returning to his rescue.

February 3rd.—Another halt for our patient, who is doing well, and greatly relieved by the application of leeches obtained from Neembaira. What a night! the clouds which had been alternately collecting and dispersing ever since we left Marwar, in December last, but had almost disappeared as we commenced our present march, again suddenly gathered. The thermometer, which had averaged 41° at daybreak throughout the last month, this morning rose to 60°. On the 1st, the wind changed to the south, with showers, where it continued throughout yesterday; but during the night it suddenly veered to the north, and the thermometer at daybreak was 28°, or four degrees below the freezing point.

Reader, do you envy me my *bon vin de Bourgogne et murailles de coton*, with not even a wood fire, labouring under a severe pulmonary affection, with work enough for five men ! Only three days ago, the thermometer was 86° at noon, and to-day it is less at noon than yesterday at daybreak : even old England with all her vicissitudes of weather, can scarcely show so rapid a change as this.

Ill-fated Mewar ! all our hopes are blasted ; this second visitation has frustrated all our labours. The frost of December, which sunk the mercury to 27° as we passed over the plains of Marwar, was felt through out Rajwarra, and blighted every pod of cotton. All was "burnt up ; " but our poor exiles comforted themselves, amidst the general sorrow, with the recollection that the young *gram* was safe. But even this last hope was now vanished : all is nipped in the bud. Had it occurred a month ago, the young plant would have been headed down with the sickle, and additional blossoms would have appeared. I was too unwell to ride out and see the ravages, caused by this frost.

February 4th.—Our patient is doing so well, that we look to moving to-morrow. Thermometer 28° at daybreak, and 31° at sunrise, with a keen cutting wind from the north. Ice closed the orifice of the *meshek*, or leathern water-bag. Even the shallow stream near the tents had a pellicle of ice on its surface : our people huddling and shivering round their fires of *bajra* sticks and the cattle of all classes looking very melancholy.

My Yati friend returned from Palode, where I had sent him to copy an inscription in a temple dedicated to *Mama-deva*, the mother of the gods ; but he was disappointed, and brought back only the following traditional legend. The shrine, erected by a wealthy Jain disciple, was destined to receive the image, of one of their pontiffs ; but on its completion, *Mama-deva* appeared *in propria persona* to the founder, and expressed so strongly her desire to inhabit it, that, heretic as he was, he could not deny the goddess' suit. He stoutly refused, however, to violate the rules of his order : "by my hands the blood neither of goats nor buffaloes can be shed," said the Jain. But, grateful for the permission that a niche should be set apart for her *suroop* (form), she told him to go to the Sonigurra chief of Cheetore, who would attend to the rites of sacrifice. The good Jain, with easy faith, did as he was commanded, and erecting another temple, succeeded at length in enshrining Parswanath. My old friend, however, discovered in a temple to *Mataji*, the 'universal mother' an inscription of great importance, as it fixes the period of

one of the most conspicuous kings of the Solanki dynasty of Nehrvalla, or correctly, Anhulwarra Puttun; and, in conjunction with another of the same prince (which I afterwards discovered in Cheetore), also bearing the very same date,* demonstrates that the Solanki had actually made a conquest of the capital of the Gehlotes. The purport is simply that "Komarpal Solanki and his son Sohunpal, in the month of Pous (the precise day illegible), S. 1207 (winter of A. D. 1151), came to worship the Universal Mother in her shrine at Palode".† The Seesodias try to get rid of this difficulty by saying, that during the banishment of Komarpal by Sidraj, he not only enjoyed *sirna* (refuge) at Cheetore, but held the post of prime minister to Rawul Samarsi, the friend and brother-in-law of the Chohan emperor of Delhi; but the inscription (given in the first volume), which I found in the temple built by Lakha Rana, is written in the style of a conqueror, "who planted his standard even in Salpoor", the city of the Getes in the Punjab. At all events, it is one more *datum* in the history of Rajpootana.

February 5th, thermometer 30°.—Mounted *Bajraj*, 'the royal steed,' and took a ride over the height of Morwun, a wild yet fairy scene, with the Pathar or table-land bounding the perspective to the east. The downs are covered with the most luxuriant grasses, and the *dhak* or *plas* dried by the wintry blast, as if scorched by the lightning, faintly brought to mind the poet's simile applied to this tree, even in the midst of spring: "the black leafless *kesoolla*." We entered a village in ruins whose neem trees bid defiance to winter; the 'thorny babool (*mimosa Arabica*) grows luxuriantly out of the inner sides of the walls, and no hand invades the airy nest of the imitative *papya*, fantastically pendant from the slenderest branches. No trace of the presence of man: but evidence that he has been here. The ground was covered with hoar-frost, and the little stream coated with ice. Many a heavy heart has it caused, and plunged joyous industry into utter despondence. Take one example: yonder Jat, sitting by the side of his field, which he eyes in despair; three months since, he returned, after many years of exile, to the *bapota*, the land of his sires, without funds, without food, or even the implements for obtaining it. He had been labouring as a serf in other lands, but he heard of peace in his own, and came back to the paternal acres, which had been a stranger to the plough-share since he was

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* See inscription, Vol. I, p, 713.
† The style of this inscription is perfectly in unison with the inscriptions on the temples and statues of Egypt.

driven from his cot in S. 1844, immediately following the battle of Hurkea-Khal, when the 'Southron' compelled the bondage of Mewar. What could he do? his well was dried up, and if not, he had no cattle to irrigate a field of wheat or barley. But Mewar is a kind mother, and she yields her *chunna* crop without water. To the *bohora* (the *metayer*) he promised one-fifth of the produce for the necessary seed and the use of a pair of oxen and a plough; one-fifth more was the share of the state from land so long sterile; there was three-fifth left for himself of his long neglected but at once luxuriant fields. He watched the crop with paternal solicitude, from the first appearance of verdure to the approach of *bussunt*, the joyous spring. Each night, as he returned to his yet roofless abode, he related the wonders of his field and its rapid vegetation; and as he calculated the produce, he anticipated its application; "so much shall go for a plough, so much for the *bohora*, so much in part payment of a pair of bullocks, and the rest will keep me in bread till the *mukhi* crop is ready." Thus the days passed, until this killing frost nipped his hopes in the bud, and now see him wringing his hands in the bitterest anguish! This is no ideal picture: it is one to be found in every village of Mewar. In this favoured soil, there is as much of *chunna* in the *rubee* harvest as of wheat and barley conjoined, and in the first crop sown in *bunjur*, or soil long sterile, wheat and *chunna* are sown together. It is a sad blow to the exiles; though happily in the crown-lands their distress will be mitigated, as these are rented on leases of five years, and the renters for their own sakes must be lenient, and moreover they are well watched.

January 6th.—Still halting; our patient very well, though he feels his bruises: but we shall put him on an elephant to-morrow. The jealousy of the Mahratta had hitherto prevented the inhabitants from fulfilling their desire to come and visit me; but to-day, the elders forming the *punchaet*, heading the procession, they came *en masse*. The authorities need not have feared exposing the nakedness of the land, which is too visible; but they apprehended the contrast of their condition with our poor subjects, who were at least unmolested in their poverty. It was a happiness to learn that this contrast was felt, and as the Patel presented to me an engaging little child, his daughter, he said, "let not our misfortunes be our faults; we all belong to Mewar, though we are not so happy as to enjoy your protection and care." I assured him, that although under the Toork, I should look upon them as my children, and the subjects of the Rana; and I have had in my power to redeem this pledge—for, strange to say, even Ameer Khan, seeing that the

prosperity of the subject is that of the prince, has commanded his governor of Neembaira to consult me in everything, and has even gone so far as to beg I would consider the place as under my authority. Already, following our example, he has reduced the transit duties nearly one-half, and begins to think the *Fringi* notions of economy better than his own, his loss having proved a gain.

Nekoomp, January 7th : eleven miles.—Midway, passed through Chakoorla, a village belonging to Meer Khan. Nekoomp is a *talook* of Jawud, which with Mundipea was held by the Pindarri freebooter, Fazil, while Jeswunt Row Bhao held them in *jaedad.* They are now leased to a Pundit by the Hakim of Jawud, which latter is assigned by Sindia to his father-in-law, the Senapati. Nekoomp is a good village, but more than two-thirds depopulated, and the renter is prevented from being lenient, as he experiences no mercy himself. Notwithstanding they have all been suffering as we have from this frost, an assessment is now levying. One poor fellow said to me, "I returned only three months ago from exile, and I had raised the mud-walls of my hut two feet, when my wife died, leaving me to take care of a boy eight years of age, and to get bread for both. If the walls were two feet higher, I would cover it in ; but though I have not a foot of land, my roofless half-finished cot is assessed a rupee and a half : " a gift of two rupees made him happier than his Hakim.

The country is beautiful, the soil rich, and water, as already mentioned, about twenty-five feet from the surface. We are now in the region of the flower sacred to "gloomy Dis," the accursed poppy. The crop looks miserable from the frost, but those patches within the influence of the wells are partly saved by the fields being inundated, which expedient is always successful upon such visitations, if applied with judgment. The mountains touching great Sadri lay twelve miles south, coming from Pertabgurh, and ranging to Saloombra and Oodipoor, where they commingle with the giant Aravalli.

Murlah, January 8th : seven miles.—Crossed two ridges running northward to Bhadaisir. The intervening valleys, as usual, fertile, with numerous villages, but alienated to the southern Goths or the partizan Pathan. Passed many large townships, formerly in the fisc of Mewar, as Baree, Binotah, Bumboree, &c. In the distance, saw "the umbrella of the earth," the far-famed Cheetore. Murlah is an excellent township, inhabited by a community of Charuns, of the tribe Cucholeah, who are Bunjarris (carriers) by profession, though potes by birth. The alliance is a curious one, and would appear incongruous, were not gain the object generally in both cases.

It was the sanctity of their office which converted our *bardais* into *bunjarris*, for their persons being sacred, the immunity extended likewise to their goods, and saved them from all imposts; so that in process of time they became the free-traders of Rajpootana. I was highly gratified with the reception I received from the community, which collectively advanced to me at some distance from the town. The procession was headed by the village-band, and all the fair Charunis, who, as they approached, gracefully waved their scrafs over me, until I was fairly made captive by *the muses* of Murlah! It was a novel and interesting scene: the manly persons of the Charuns, clad in the flowing white robe, with the high loose folded turban inclined on one side, from which the *mala*, or chaplet, was gracefully suspended: the *naiques*, or leaders, with their massive necklaces of gold, with the image of the *pitriswar* (manes) depending therefrom, gave the whole an air of opulence and dignity. The females were uniformly attired in a skirt of dark brown camlet, having a bodice of light-coloured stuff, with gold ornaments worked into their fine black hair; and all had the favourite *chooris*, or rings of *hati-dant* (elephant's tooth), covering the arm, from the wrist to the elbow, and even above it. Never was there a noble subject for the painter in any age or country; it was one which Salvator Rosa would have seized, full of picturesque contrasts: the rich dark tints of the female attire harmonizing with the white garments of their husbands; but it was the mien, the expression, the gestures, denoting that though they paid homage they expected a full measure in return. And they had it: for if ever there was a group which bespoke respect for the natural diginity of man and his consort, it was the Charun community of Murlah.

It was not until the afternoon, when the *naiques* again came to see me at my camp, that I learned the full value of my escape from the silken bonds of the fair Charunis. This community had enjoyed for five hundred years the privilege of making prisoner any Rana of Mewar who may pass through Murlah, and keeping him in bondage until he gives them a *gote*, or entertainment: and their chains are neither galling, nor the period of captivity, being thus in the hands of the *captivated*, very long. The patriarch told me that I was in jeopardy, as the Rana's representative; but not knowing how I might have relished the joke, had it been carried to its conclusion, they let me escape, though they lost a feast by it. But I told them I was too much delighted with old customs not to keep up this; and immediately sent money to the ladies with my respect, and a request that they would hold their *gote* (feast). The

patriarch and his subordinate *naiques* and their sons remained with me to discourse on the olden time.

The founders of this little colony accompanied Rana Hamir from Guzerat in the early part of his reign, and although five centuries have elapsed, they have not parted with one iota of their nationality or their privileges since that period : neither in person, manners, or dress, have they anything analogous to those amidst whom they dwell. Indeed, their air is altogether foreign to India, and although they have attained a place, and that a high one, amongst the tribes of Hind, their affinity to the ancient Persian is striking ; the loose robe, high turban, and flowing beard, being more akin to the figures on the temples of the Guebres than to anything appertaining to the *Charburrun*, or four classes of the Hindus. But I must give the tale accounting for their settlement in Mewar. Rana Hamir, so celebrated in the history of Mewar, had a leprous spot on his hand, to remove which he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Hinglaz, upon the coast of Mekran, the division *Oritæ* of Arrain's geography. He had reached the frontiers of Cutch Bhooj, when alighting near a *tanda*, or encampment of Charuns, a young damsel abandoned the meal she was preparing, and stepped forward to hold the stranger's steed. Thanking her for her courtesy, he jocosely observed that he wished his people had as good a breakfast as she was preparing, when she immediately made an offering of the contents of the vessel ; on which Hamir observed, it would go but a short way to satisfy so many hungry mouths. "Not if it pleased Hinglaz-ji," she promptly replied ; and placing the food before the Rana and his train, it sufficed for all their wants. A little well, which she excavated in the sand, was soon filled with a copious supply of water, which served to quench their thirst. It was an evident interposition of the goddess of Hinglaz in favour of this her royal votary. He returned from her shrine cured and the young Charuni's family were induced to accompany him to Mewar, where he bestowed upon them the lands of Murlah, with especial immunities in their mercantile capacity : and as a perpetual remembrance of the miraculous feast, permission was granted to the Charuni damsels to make captive of their sovereign as related above.

The colony, which now consists of some thousands of both sexes, presented an enigma to our young Englishmen, who think "all black fellows alike," and equally beneath notice : it was remarked how comfortable they looked in house and person, though there was not a vestige of cultivation around their habitations. The military policy of the troubled period accounts for the first ; and a visit to the altars of Murlah will furnish the cause of the neglect of the agrarian laws of Mewar.

As the community increased in numbers, the subdivision of the lands continued, according to the customs of Cutch, until a dispute regarding limits produced a civil war. A ferocious combat ensued, when the wives of the combatants who were slain ascended the funeral pile ; and to prevent a similar catastrophe, imprecated a curse on whomever from that day should cultivate a field in Murlah ; since which the land has lain in absolute sterility ! Such is the implicit reverence for the injunction of a *sati*, at this moment of awful inspiration, when about to take leave of the world. In Mewar, the most solemn of all oaths is that of the *sati*. *Maha satian-ca-an*, 'by the great *satis*', is an adjuration frequently used in the royal patents.

The *tanda* or caravan, consisting of four thousand bullocks, has been kept up amidst all the evils which have beset this land, through Mogul and Mahratta tyranny. The utility of these caravans, as general carriers to conflicting armies, and as regular tax-paying subjects, has proved their safe-guard, and they were too strong to be pillaged by any petty marauder, as any one who has seen a Bunjarri encampment will be convinced. They encamp in a square ; their grain-bags piled over each other breast-high, with interstices left for their matchlocks, make no contemptible fortification. Even the ruthless Toork, Jemshid Khan, set up a protecting table in favour of the Charuns of Murlah, recording their exemption from *dind* contributions, and that there should be no increase in duties, with threats to all who should injure the community. As usual, the sun and moon are appealed to us witnesses of good faith, and sculptured on the stone. Even the forester Bhil and mountain Mair have set up their signs of immunity and protection to the chosen Hinglaz ; and the figures of a cow and its *kairie* (calf), carved in rude relief, speak the agreement that they should not be slain or stolen within the limits of Murlah.

Neembaira: seven miles.—The soil, as usual, excellent; but from Ranikhaira to Neembaira the blue schist at intervals penetrates the surface, and there is but little superincumbent soil even to the bed of the stream, which makes an entire disclosure of the rock, over which flows a clear rivulet abounding with small fish, amongst which the speckled trout were visible. Ranikhaira, through which we passed, is the largest township of this district, and was built by the Rani of Ursi Rana, mother of the present ruler of Mewar, at whose expense the temple, the *bawari* or 'reservoir,' and the paved streets were constructed. Although in the alienated territory, I had a visit from its elders to complain of an indignity to the community by the *bungi*, or scavenger, of Laisrawun, who had killed a hog and thrown it into the reservoir, whose polluted waters being thus rendered

unfit for use, the inhabitants were compelled to get a purer element from the adjacent villages. This *bawari* is about half a mile from the town, and being upon the highway, the council and train very wisely stopped at the spot where the aggression had happened : and although the cavalcade of the Hakim of Neembaira was in sight, advancing to welcome me, it was impossible to proceed until I heard the whole grievance, when adjured by "subjects of Mewar, and children of the Rana, though unhappily under the Toork," to see their wrongs redressed. I might not have recorded this incident, but for its consequence; as the hog thrown into the reservoir of *Baeji-Raj*, 'the royal mother' of Mewar, affords an instance of the extent to which mortgage is carried.

The *Buhingis*, or scavengers, of Ranikhaira, the very refuse of mankind, had mortgaged their rights in the *dead carcases* of their town to a professional brother of Laisrawun ; but, on the return of these halcyon days, they swerved from their bond. The chieftain of Laisrawun espoused his vassal's cause, and probably pointed out the mode of revenge. One morning, therefore, not having the fear of Jemshid of Neembaira before his eyes, the said mortgagee slew his pig ; and, albeit but the wreck of a human being, contrived to cast his victim into the pure fountain of 'Queens-town,' and immediately fled for *sirna* to Bheendir. But what could be done to a wretch, who for former misdeeds had already suffered the dismemberment of an arm, a leg, and his nose? Here is the sentence! "To be paraded, mounted on an ass, his face blackened, with a chaplet of shoes round his neck, and drummed out of the limits of Ranikhaira !" The fountain is now undergoing purification ; and when the polluted waters are baled out, it is to be lustrated with the holy stream of the Ganges, and the ceremony will conclude with a *gote*, or feast, to one hundred Brahmins. Previous to this, I took a peep at the humble altars of Ranikhaira. All is modern; but there is one tablet which pleasingly demonstrates that both public feeling and public gratitude exist in these regions. This tablet, set up by the council of the town, recorded that Kistna, the '*silpi*,' or stonecutter, did at his own expense and labour repair all the altars then going to decay ; for which pious act they guaranteed to him and his successors for ever six *thalis* or platters of various viands, saffron, oil, butter, and several pieces of money, at every village *fete*. Doubtless such traits are not confined to Ranikhaira. I accepted with kindness the offerings of the elders and assembled groups—a pot of curds and sundry blessings—and continued my journey to meet the impatient cavaliers of Neembaira, who, to fill up the interlude, were *karowling*,

with matchlock and spear, their well-caparisoned charges. The Khan was in the centre of the groupe, and we had a friendly, unceremonious *dustabazee*, or shaking of hands, without dismounting. He is a gentlemanly Pathan, of middle age, courteous and affable, and a very different personage from the *two-handed* Jemshid, his predecessor, who lately died from a cancer in his back : a judgment, if we are to credit our Mewar friends, for his horrible cruelties and oppressions over all these regions, as lieutenant of Ameer Khan during many years. The Khan welcomed me to Neembaira with true Oriental *politesse*, saying, "that the place was mine ;" and that he had received the "positive instructions of the Nawab Shahib (Ameer Khan, whose son-in-law he is) to look upon me as himself." I replied, that, in accepting such a trust, I could not say more than that I would, whenever occasion presented itself, act for him as if Neembaira were really my own. The Khan had reason to find that his confidence was not misplaced ; and while enabled to benefit him, I had also the opportunity of protecting the interests of the feudatories who by this alienation (as is fully related in the Annals of Mewar) were placed beyond the pale of the Rana's power. The Khan after accompanying me to my tents, took leave ; but paid me a long visit in the evening, when we discussed all that concerned the welfare of his charge and the peace of the borders. As matters stand, it is duty to conciliate and to promote prosperity ; but it is melancholy to see this fertile appanage of Mewar in the hand of so consummate a villain as Meer Khan ; a traitor to his master Holcar, for which he obtained the 'sovereignty in perpetuity' of many rich tracts both in Mewar and Amber, without rendering the smallest service in return. Let this be borne in mind when another day of reckoning comes. Neembaira is a considerable town, with an excellent stone circumvallation ; and, being on the high road between Malwa and Hindustan, it enjoys a good share of traffic. Upwards of one hundred villages are attached to it, and it was estimated at three lakhs of rupees, of annual rent.

CHAPTER IV.

The Pathar or Table-land of Central India.—View from thence.—Project of a canal.—Its advantages to Mewar.—Utility of further works to the people.—Traces of superstition in the Pathar.—*Temple of Sookhdeo.—The* Dyte-ca-har, *or 'Giant's bone.'—The* Vira-jhamp, *or 'Warrior's Leap'.—Proprietorship of the* Pathar.—*Its products.—The poppy.—Pernicious effects of its increased cultivation.—Account of the introduction and mode of culture of opium.—Original spot of its cultivation.—The manufacture of opium kept pace with the depopulation of Mewar.—Process of cultivation, and of manufacture.—Its fluctuation of price.—Adulterated opium of Khantul.—Evil consequence of the use of opium.—Duty of the paramount power to restrict the culture.—Practicability of such a measure.—Distribution of crops.—Impolicy of the government in respect to the opium monopoly.*

Kunairoh, February 13th :—nine miles.—A new feature in the face of Mewar was this day disclosed to us. At the termination of our short march we ascended the *Pathar*, or plateau of Central India, the grand natural rampart defending Mewar on the east. As we approached it, the level line of its crest, so distinct from the pinnacled Aravalli, at once proclaimed it to be a table-land, or rock of the secondary formation. Although its elevation is not above four hundred feet from its western base, the transition is remarkable, and it presents from the summit one of the most diversified scenes, whether in a moral, political, or picturesque point of view, that I ever beheld. From this spot the mind's eye embraces at once all the grand theatres of the history of Mewar. Upon our right lays Cheetore, the palladium of Hinduism ; on the west, the gigantic Aravalli, enclosing the new capital, and the shelter of her heroes ; here, at our feet, or within view, all the alienated lands now under the 'barbarian Toork' or Mahratta, as Jawud, Jeerun, Neemuch, Neembaira, Kheyri, Ruttengurh. What associations, what aspirations, does this scene conjure up to one who feels as a Rajpoot for this fair land ! The rich flat we have passed over—a space of nearly seventy English miles from one table-range to the other—appears as a deep basin, fertilized by numerous streams, fed by huge reservoirs in the mountains, and studded with towns, which once were populous, but are for the most part now in ruins, though the germ of incipient prosperity is just

appearing. From this height I condensed all my speculative ideas on a very favourite subject—the formation of a canal to unite the ancient and modern capitals of Mewar, by which her soil might be made to return a tenfold harvest, and famine be shut out for ever from her gates. My eye embraced the whole line of the Baïris, from its outlet at the *Oodisagur*, to its passage within a mile of Cheetore, and the benefit likely to accrue from such a work appeared incalculable. What new ideas would be opened to the Rajpoot, on seeing the trains of oxen, which now creep solwly along with merchandize for the capital, exchanged for boats gliding along the canal; and his fields, for many miles on each side, irrigated by lateral cuts, instead of the creaking *Egyptian* wheel, as it is called, but which is indigenous to India! If the reader will turn to the map, he will perceive the great facilities for such an undertaking. He will there see two grand reservoirs within six miles of each other, the Peshola, or internal lake, having an elevation of eighty feet above the external one, the Oodisagur, whose outlet forms the Bairis river; but for which the valley of the capital would be one wide lake, and which, for want of proper regulation, once actually submerged a third of it. The Peshola may be called the parent of the other, although it is partly fed by the minor lake at the villa of Suhailea-ca-bari. Both are from twelve to fourteen miles in circumference, in some places thirty-five feet deep, and being fed by the perennial streams from the Aravalli, they contain a constant supply of water. From the external lake to Cheetore, the fall is so slight that few locks would be required; and the soil being a yielding one throughout, the expense of the undertaking would be moderate. There is plenty of material in the neighbouring hills and forests, and by furnishing occupation for the wild population, the work would tend not a little to reclaim them. But where are the means? With this difficulty, and the severe blow to our incipient prosperity in this untimely frost, our schemes dissipate like the mist of the morning. But I cannot relinquish the conviction that the undertaking, if executed, would not only enable the Rana to pay his tribute, but to be more merciful to his subjects, for whose welfare it is our chief duty to labour. *

* Even now, as I transcribe this from my journal, I would almost (when 'The Annals' are finished) risk a couple of years' residence in 'the happy valley', where I scarcely ever enjoyed one day of health, to execute this and another favourite project—the re-opening of the tin-mines of Jawur.

The summit of the Pathar has a fertile soil, well-watered and well-wooded, and producing the mango, mowah, and neem; and were the appearance of the crops a criterion, we should say it was equal in fertility to the best part of Mewar. In ancient inscriptions, the term *Oopermal* is applied, as well as *Pathar*, to this marked feature in the geological structure of Central India: the first being rendered exactly by the German *oberland*; the other signifying '*flat*' or table-land.

In the indented recesses of this elevated land, which covers an immense portion of Cenral India, there are numerous spots of romantic beauty, which enthusiasm has not failed to identify with religious associations. Wherever there is a deep glen, a natural fountain, or a cascade, the traveller will infallibly discover some traces of the 'Great God' (Mahadeva) of the Hindus, the creator and destroyer of life.

By the stupidity of my guide, and the absence of the indefatigable Balgovind, my Brahmin antiquarian pioneer, I lost the opportunity of seeing the shrine of Sookhdeo, situated in a dark cleft of the rock, not two miles from the pass where I ascended. In excuse, he said he thought, as my camp was near, that it would be easy to descend to the shrine of the 'ease-giving' god, Sookhdeo (from *sookh*, 'ease'); but *revocare gradum* was an evil which, added to the necessity of extracting all the information I could from some of the opium-growers in attendance, deterred me. The abode of Sookhdeo is in a deep recess, well-wooded, with a cascade bursting from the rock near its summit, under a ledge of which the symbolic representative is enshrined. Around it are several *gophas* or caves of the anchorite devotees: but the most conspicuous object is a projecting ledge, named *Dyte-ca-har*, or 'Giant's bone,' on which those who are in search of 'ease' jump from above. This is called the *Vira-jhamp*, or 'warrior's leap,' and is made in fulfilment of vows either for temporal or future good. Although most of the leapers perish, some instances of escape are recorded. The love of offspring is said to be the principal motive to this pious act of saltation; and I was very gravely told of one poor woman, whose philoprogenitive bump was so great, that she vowed to take the leap herself with her issue; and such, say the legend, was her faith, that both escaped. A *taili*, or oilman, was the last jumper of Sookhdeo, and he was no less fortunate; to him the 'giant's bone' was a bed of roses. So much for the faith of the oilman of Jawud! There are many such Leucotheas in this region of romance: that at Oonkar, on the Nerbudda, and the sacred mount Girnar, are the most celebrated.

Until the last sixty years, the whole of the plateau, as far

as the Chumbul, belonged to Mewar; but all with the exception of Kuneroh, are now in the hands of Sindia. Kuneroh is the chief township of a small district of twenty-two villages, which, by the change of events, has fortunately reverted to the Rana, although it was not extricated from the grasp of the Mahrattas without some difficulty; it was taken first and the right of repossession argued afterwards. Would we have tried the same process with all the rest of the plateau; but unhappily they were rented to old Lalaji Bellal, a lover of order, and an ally of old Zalim Sing! But let me repeat, for the tenth time, that all these lands are only held by Sindia on mortgage for war-contributions, paid over and over again: and when an opportunity occurs, let this be a record, and the *Pathar* west of the Chumbul be restored to Mewar.

I was delighted to see that the crops of Kuneroh had only partially suffered from the ravages of the frost of the 3rd, to 25th, which extended over Malwa, and that although the *gram* was destroyed, the wheat, barley, sugar-cane, and poppy, were abundant and little injured; though we could have wished that the last-named pernicious plant, which is annually increasing all over these regions, had been sacrificed in lieu of the noble crops of vetches (*gram*).

That the culture of the poppy, to the detriment of more useful husbandry, is increasing to an extent which demands the strong hand of legislative restraint, must strike the most superficial observer in these regions. When the sumptuary laws of this patriarchal government were in force, a restraint was at the same time imposed on an improvident system of farming which, of course, affected the prince, whose chief revenues were derived from the soil; and one of the Agrarian laws of Mewar was, that there should be to each *churrus*, or skin of land, only one *beega* of opium, and the same quantity of cane, with the usual complement of corn. But the feverish excitement produced by our monopoly of the drug has extended its culture in every direction, and even in tracts where hitherto it has never entered into their agricultural economy. Whatever, therefore, be the wisdom or policy of our interference in this matter, of the result there can be no doubt, *viz.* that it converted the agricultural *routinieres* into speculators and gamblers.

A slight sketch of the introduction and mode of culture of this drug, which has tended more to the physical and moral degradation of the inhabitants than the combined influence of pestilence and war, may not be without interest.

We are indebted to the commentaries of the imperial autobiographers, Baber, Akber, and Jehangir, for the most

valuable information on the introduction of exotics into the horticultural economy of India ; and we are proud to pay our tribute of applause to the illustrious house of Timoor, whose princes, though despots by birth and education, and albeit the bane of Rajpootana, we must allow, present a more remarkable succession of great characters, historians, statesmen and warriors, than any contemporaneous dynasty, in any region of the world.*

Akber followed up the plans of Baber, and introduced the gardeners of Persia and Tartary, who succeeded with many of their fruits, as peaches, almonds (both indigenous to Rajpootaana), pistachios, &c. To Jehangir's Commentaries we owe the knowledge that tobacco was introduced into India in his reign ; but of the period when the poppy became an object of culture for the manufacture of opium, we have not the least informa-

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* In all the branches of knowledge which have reference to the comforts, the elegancies, and the luxuries of life, they necessarily bore away the palm from the Rajpoot, who was cooped up within the barriers of superstition. The court of Samarkand, with which the kings of Ferghana were allied, must have been one of the most brilliant in the world, for talents as well as splendour ; and to all the hereditary instruction there imbibed, Baber, the conqueror of India, added that more useful and varied knowledge only to be acquired by travel, and constant intercourse with the world. When, therefore, his genious led him from 'the frosty Caucasus' into the plains of Hindusthan, the habit of observation and noting in a book, as set before him by Huzrut Tymoor, all that appeared novel, never escaped him ; and in so marked a transition from the highlands of Central India to the region of the sun, his pen had abundant occupation. No production, whether in the animal or vegetable kingdom, which appeared different from his own, escaped notice in his book, which must be looked upon as one of the most remarkable contributions to literature ever made by royalty ; for in no age and country will a work be found at once so comprehensive and so simple as the Commentaries of Baber ; and this in a region where everything is exaggerated. Whether he depicts a personal encounter, on which his life and prospects hinged, or a battle, which gave him the empire of India, all is in keeping : and when he relates the rewards he bestowed on Mir Mahomed Jaliban, his architect, for successfully executing his noble design of throwing a bridge over the Ganges, "before he had been three years sovereign of Hindusthan," and with the same simplicity records his own "introduction of melons and grapes into India," we are tempted to humiliating reflections on the magniloquence with which we paint our own few works of public good, and contrast them unfavourably with those of the Transoxianic monarch, not then twenty-five years of age ! Nor let the reader who may be induced to take up the volume, fail to give homage to the translator,† whose own simple yet varied and vigorous mind has transferred the very soul of Baber into his translation

† William Erskine, Esq., of Blackburne,—who honours me with his friendship, and has stimulated my exertions to the task in which I am engaged, and another in which I trust to be engaged, some of the books of the Poet Chund, so often alluded to in this work.

tion. Whatever may be the antiquity of this drug, for medicinal uses, it may be asserted that its abuse is comparatively recent, or not more than three centuries back. In none of the ancient heroic poems of Hindusthan is it ever alluded to. The guest is often mentioned in them as welcomed by the *munwar piala*, or 'cup of greeting,' but nowhere by the *uml-pani*, or 'infused opiate,' which has usurped the place of the *phool-ca-arrac*, or 'essence of flowers.' Before, however, the art of extracting the properties of the poppy, as at present, was pratised, they used the opiate in its crudest form, by simply bruising the capsules, which they steeped a certain time in water, afterwards drinking the infusion, to which they give the name of *tejarro*, and not unfrequently *pos*, 'the poppy.' This practice still prevails in the remote parts of Rajpootana, where either ignorance of the more refined process, prejudice, or indolence, operates to maintain old habits.

The culture of opium was at first confined to the *do-abeh*, or tract between the Chumbul and Sepra, from their sources to their junction ; but although tradition has preserved the fact of this being the original poppy-nursery of Central India, it has long ceased to be the only place of the poppy's growth, it having spread not only throughout Malwa, but into various parts of Rajpootana, especially Mewar and Harouti. But though all classes, Koombis and Jats, Baniahs and Brahmins, try the culture, all yield the palm of superior skill to the Koombi, the original cultivator, who will extract *one-fifth more* from the plant than any of his competitors.

It is a singular fact, that the cultivation of opium increased in the inverse ratio of general prosperity ; and that as war, pestilence, and famine, augmented their virulence, and depopulated Rajpootana, so did the culture of this baneful weed appear to thrive. The predatory system, which succeeded Mogul despotism, soon devastated this fair region, and gradually restricted agricultural pursuits to the richer harvests of barley, wheat, and gram ; till at length even these were confined to a bare sustenance for the families of the cultivator, who then found a substitute in the poppy. From the small extent of its culture, he was able to watch it, or to pay for its protection from pillage ; this he could not do for his corn, which a troop of horse might save him the trouble of cutting. A kind of moral barometer might, indeed, be constructed, to shew that the *maximum* of oppression in Mewar, was the *maximum* of the culture of the poppy in Malwa. Emigration commenced in S. 1840 (A. D. 1784) ; it was at its height in S. 1856 (A. D. 1800), and went on gradually depopulating that country until S. 1874 (A. D. 1818). Its consumption, of course, kept

pace with its production, it having found a vent in foreign markets.

The districts to which the emigrants fled were those of Mundisore, Kachrode, Oneil, and others, situated on the feeders of the Chumbul, in its course through Lower Malwa. There they enjoyed comparative protection and kind treatment, under Appa Saheb and his father, who were long the farmers-general of these fertile lands. It could not be expected, however, that the new settlers should be allowed to participate in the lands irrigated by wells already excavated; but Appa advanced funds, and appointed them lands, all fertile though neglected in which they excavated wells for themselves. They abandoned altogether wheat and barley, growing only *mukhi* or 'Indian corn' for food, which requires no irrigation, and to which the poppy succeeds in rotation; to these, and the sugar-cane, all their industry was directed.

But to proceed with the process of cultivation. When the crops of Indian corn (*mukhi*) or of hemp (*sunn*) are gathered in, the stalks are rooted up and burned; the field is then flooded, and, when sufficiently saturated, ploughed up. It is then copiously manured with cow-dung, which is deemed the best for the purpose; but even this has undergone a preparatory operation, or chemical decomposition, being kept in a hollow ground during the rainy season, and often agitated with long poles, to allow the heat to evaporate. In this state it is spread over the fields and ploughed in. Those who do not keep kine, and cannot afford to purchase manure, procure flocks of goats and sheep, and pay so much a night for having them penned in the fields. The land being ploughed and harrowed at least six or seven times, until the soil is almost pulverized, it is divided into beds, and slight embankments are formed to facilitate irrigation. The seed is then thrown in, the fields are again inundated; and the *seventh* day following this is repeated to saturation. On the *seventh* or *ninth*, but occasionally not until the *eleventh* day, the plant springs up; and on the *twenty-fifth*, when it has put forth a few leaves, and begins to look withered, they water it once more. As soon as this moisture dries, women and children are turned into the fields to thin the plants, leaving them about eight inches asunder, and loosening the earth around them with iron spuds. The plant is at this stage about three inches high. A month later, it is watered moderately, and when dry, the earth is again turned up and loosened. The fifth water is given in about ten days more; two days after which a flower appears here and there. This is the signal for another watering, called 'the flower-watering;' after which, in twenty-four or thirty-six hours, all the flowers burst their

cells. When about half the petals have fallen, they irrigate the plants sufficiently to moisten the earth, and soon the rest of the flowers drop off, leaving the bare capsule, which rapidly increases in bulk. In short period, when scarcely a flower remains, a whitish powder collects outside the capsule, which is the signal for immediate application of the lancet.

The field is now divided into three parts, in one of which operations commence. The cutting instrument consists of three prongs, with delicate points, around which cotton thread is bound to prevent its making too deep an incision, and thus causing the liquid to flow into the interior of the capsule. The wound is made from the base upwards, and the milky juice which exudes coagulates outside. Each plant is thrice pierced, on three successive days, the operation commencing as soon as the sun begins to warm. In cold mornings, when it congeals rapidly, the coagulation is taken off with a scraper. The fourth morning, each plant is once more pierced, to ascertain that no juice remains. On each morning this extract is immersed in a vessel of linseed oil, to prevent it from drying up. The juice being all collected, there remains only the seed. The capsules are therefore broken off and carried to the barn, where they are spread out upon the ground ; a litle water is sprinkled over them, and being covered with a cloth, they remain till the morning, when the cattle tread out the seed, which is sent to the oilmen, and the refuse is burnt; lest the cattle should eat them, as even in this stage they are poisonous. Poppy oil is more used for the *cheragh* (lamp) than any other in Mewar. They calculate a maund (of forty seers, or about seventy-five pounds weight) of seed for every two seers of milk. The price of seed is now twenty rupees per *mani* of one hundred and twelve (*cutcha*) maunds.

One *beega* of Malwa land, of the measure *Shahjehani* (when the *jureeb*, or rod, is one hundred cubits long) will yield from five to fifteen seers of opium-juice, each seer being forty-five *Salimshahi* rupees in weight: the medium is reckoned a good produce. The cultivator or farmer sells it, in the state described, to the speculator, at the price current of the day. The purchaser puts it into cotton bags of threefolds, and carries it home. Having obtained the leaves of the poppy, he spreads them in a heap of two or three inches in depth, and thereon deposits the opium, in balls of fifteen rupees' weight each, which are allowed to remain five months for the purpose of evaporation. If the milk has been thin, or treated with oil, seven parts in ten will remain; but if good and pure, eight. The *beoparris* (speculators) then sell it, either for home-consumption in Rajpootana, or for exportation.

From the year S. 1840 (A. D. 1784) to S. 1857 (A. D. 1801), the market-price of the crude opium from the cultivator ran from sixteen to twenty-one *salimshahi* rupees per *durri*, a measure of five *pucka* seers, each seer being the weight of ninety *salimshahi* rupees. I give the price of the drug by the grower in the first stage, as a better criterion than that of the manufacturer in its prepared state. In the year S. 1857, it rose to twenty-five rupees; in S. 1860 to twenty-seven, gradually increasing till S. 1865 (A. D. 1809), when it attained its *maximum* of forty-two, or an advance of one hundred and seventy per cent. above the price of the year A. D. 1784. But some natural causes are assigned for this extraordinary advance; after which it gradually fell, until S. 1870 (A. D. 1804), when it was so low as twenty-nine. In S. 1873 it had again risen to thirty-three, and in S. 1784-5, when its transit to the ports of Sinde and Guzzerat was unmolested (whence it was exported to China and the Archipelago), it had reached thirty-eight and thirty-nine, where it now (S. 1876, or A. D. 1820) stands.

In Kanthul (which includes Pertabgurh Deola), or the tracts upon the Myhie river, opium is cultivated to a great extent, and adulterated in an extraordinary manner. This being sold in China as Malwa opium, has greatly lessened the value of the drug in that market. The adulteration is managed as follows: a preparation of refined *goor* (molasses) and gum, in equal proportion, is added to half its quantity of opiate coagulum; the mass is then put into cauldrons, and after being well amalgamated by boiling, it is taken out, and when sufficiently dry, is well beaten, and put into cotton bags, which are sewn up in green hides, and exported to Muska-Mundi. The Gosens of these parts are the chief contractors for this impure opium, which is reckoned peculiarly unwholesome, and is never consumed in Rajpootana. Rumour says that it is transported to the Spice Islands, where it is used as a manure in the cultivation of the nutmeg. The transit-duties on opium, in the native states, are levied on each bullock-load, so that the adulterated pays as much as the pure. The Gosens smuggle great quantities.

Such is the history, and I believe a pretty correct one, of the growth and extension of this execrable and demoralizing plant, for the last forty years. If the now paramount power, instead of making a monopoly of it, and consequently extending its cultivation, would endeavour to restrict it by judicious legislative enactments, or at least reduce its culture to what it was forty years ago, generations yet unborn would have just reason to praise us for this work of mercy. It is no less our in-

terest than our duty to do so, and to call forth genuine industry, for the improvement of cotton, indigo. sugar-cane, and other products, which would enrich instead of demoralizing, and therefore impoverishing, the country. We have saved Rajpootana from political ruin ; but the boon of mere existence will be valueless if we fail to restore the moral energies of her population ; for of this fine region and noble race we might say as Byron does of Greece—

> "Tis Greece—but living Greece no more !"

for the mind is decayed, and the body often palsied and worn out, in the very meridian of life. As far as my personal influence went, I practised what I preached ; and, as I have already stated, exacted a promise, from the Rana on the throne to the lowest thakoor, that they would never initiate their children in this debasing practice. But as mere declamation can do very little good, I will here insert a portion of the Agrarian customary code of Mewar and Malwa, which may be brought into operation directly or indirectly. The distribution of crops was as follows.

To each *churrus*, *chursa*, or skin of land, there is attached twenty-five beegas of irrigated land for wheat and barley, with from thirty to fifty beegas more, called *mar*, or *mal*, dependent on the heavens for water, and generally sown with *gram*. Of the twenty-five beegas of land irrigated from the well, the legislature sanctioned *one beega of opium*, and ten to fifteen *biswas* (twenty biswas are a beega) of sugar-cane. But in these days of anarchy and confusion, when every one follows his own view of things, they cultivate *two of opium* and three of cane, and perhaps *two of barley*, instead of twenty-five, to feed the family ! What an unnatural state of agricultural economy is this, when the cultivator sometimes actually purchase food for his family, in order that he may bestow his time and labour on this enervating exoitic ! But should the foreign markets be closed, and famine, as it is not unusual, ensue, what must be the consequence, where the finest corn-country in India is converted to a poppy-garden! In Harouti, they manage these things better ; and although its old politic ruler makes use of the districts in Malwa, which he rents from the Mahrattas, for the culture of opium, being himself a trader in it, yet I do not believe he permits its demoralizing influence to enter within his proper domain. It is pleasing to see some traces of the legislative wisdom of past days, and old Zalim knows that it is by the more generous productions of the plough that his country must prosper. But our monopoly acted as an encouragement of this vice ; for no sooner was it promulgated

that the *Compani Sahib* was contractor-general for opium than prince and peasant, nay, the very scavengers, dabbled in the speculation. All Malwa was thrown into a ferment; like the Dutch tulip-bubble, the most fraudulent purchases and transfers were effected by men who had not a seer of opium in their possession. The extent to which this must have gone may be imagined when, according to the return, the sales, in the first year of our monopoly, exceeded *one million* sterling, in which I rather think we *gained a loss* of some £40,000! It is to be hoped the subject is now better understood, and that the Legislature at home will perceive that a perseverence in this pernicious traffic is consistent neither with our honour, our interest, nor with humanity.

If the facts I have collected are confirmed on enquiry, the late measure of Government,* in whatever motives originating, will only augment the mischief. Even admitting their expediency in protecting our Patna monopoly, and their justice as affecting the native governments (the contractors and cultivators of the drug), still other measures might have been devised, equally efficacious in themselves, and less pregnant with evil consequences.

CHAPTER V.

Dhareswar.—Ruttunqurh Kheyri.—Colony of Charuns.—Little Attoa.—Inscription at Paragurh.—Doongur Sing.—Seo Sing.—Law of adoption.—Kala Megh.—Omedpoora and its chief.—Singolli.—Temple of Bhavani.—Tablet of Rana Mokul.—Traditionary tales of the Haras.—Aloo Hara of Bumaoda.—Dangermow.—Singular effects produced by the sun on the atmosphere of the Pathar.

Dhareswar, January 14th, six miles; therm. 46° at 5 A. M.— FROM Kuneroh to Dhareswar there is a gradual descent, perhaps equal to one-third of the angle of ascent of the table-land. For half the distance the surface is a fine rich soil, but the last half is strewed with fragments of the rock. Dhareswar is beautifully situated at the lowest point

* It is to be borne in mind, that this was written on the spot, in January, A. D. 1820.

of descent, with a clear stream, planted with fine timber to the south. The Bhomia rights are enjoyed by some Cuchwaha Rajpoots, who pay a share of the crops to Kuneroh. Passed a few small hamlets in the grey of the morning, and several herd of elk-deer, who walked away from us with great deliberation; but the surface was too stony to try our horses' mettle.

15th: *Ruttungurh Kheyri*, distance nine miles.—The road over a bare rock, skirting a stream flowing on its surface. Two miles from Dhareswar is the boundary of Kuneroh, and the *chourasi* (eighty-four townships) of Kheyri; the descent still graduating to Kheyri, which is probably not above one hundred feet higher than the external plains of Mewar. The road was over loose stones with much jungle, but here and there some fine patches of rich black soil. We kept company with the Dhareswar *nulla* all the way, which is well-wooded in the course, and presented a pretty fall at one point of our journey. Passed several hamlets, and a colony of Charuns, whom I found to be some of my friends of Murlah. They had not forgotten their privilege; but as the ladies were only the matrons of the colony, there would have been no amusement in captivity; so I dropped five Rupees into the brazen *kullas*, and passed on. The cavalcade of the Komasdar of Kheyri was also at hand, consisting of about two hundred horse and foot, having left his castle on the peak to greet and conduct me to my tents. He is a relation of old Lallaji Bellal, and intelligent and polite. Our tents were pitched near the town, to which the Pundit conducted us; after which act of civility, in the character of the *locum tenens* of my friend Lallaji, and his sovereign Sindia (in whose camp I sojourned twelve long years), he took his leave, inviting me to the castle; but as it contained nothing antique, I would not give cause for jealousy to his prince by accepting his invitation, and civilly declined.

The *Chourasi*, or eighty-four [townships] of Ruttungurh Kheyri, was in S. 1828 (A. D. 1772) assigned to Madaji Sindia, to pay off a war-contribution; and until S. 1832, its revenues were regularly accounted for. It was then made over to Berji Tap, the son-in-law of Sindia, and has ever since remained alienated from Mewar. The treason of the chief of Beygoo, one of the sixteen nobles of the Rana, lost this jewel in his crown, for he seized upon the *Chourasi*, which adjoined his own estate, situated on the skirt of this alpine region. To expel him the Rana called on Sindia, who not only took the *Chourasi*, but Beygoo itself, which was heavily fined, and forty of its best villages, or half his fief, were mortgaged to pay the mulct. The landscape from these heights is very fine; the

Pundit, from his aerial abode, can look down on Kheyri, and exclaim with Selkirk:

"I am monarch of all I survey."

but I would dispute his right with all my heart, if I could do so with success.

Little Attoa.—Distance eight miles, thermometer at daybreak 40°, with a cutting wind, straight from the north, which we keenly felt as our party ascended the heights of Ruttungurh. The altitude of this second *steppe* in the plateau is under four hundred feet, although the winding ascent made it by the perambulator five furlongs. The fort is erected on projection of the mountain, and the works are in pretty good order. They had been adding fresh ones on the accessible side, which the general state of security has put a stop to. In fact, it could not hold out twenty-four hours against a couple of mortars, the whole interior being commanded from a height within easy range. I asked my old guide if the castle had ever stood a storm; his reply was in the negative; "she is still a *komari* (a virgin), and all forts are termed *komaris*, until they stand an assault." We had a superb view from the summit, which is greatly above the level of Kuneroh, whose boundary line was distinct. The stream from Dhareswar was traced gliding through its embankments of black rock, covered with luxuriant young crops, and studded with mango and mowah trees. It is a singular fact, that the higher we ascended, the less mischief had been inflicted on the crops, although the sugar-cane looked prematurely ripe. The wheat fields were luxuriant, but the barley shewed in their grizzly beards here and there an evidence of having suffered. I also noted that invariably all the low branches of the mowah trees were injured, the leaves shrivelled and dried up, while the superior ones were not affected. The field-peas (*butloc*) sown with the barley were more or less injured, but not nearly so much as at Kuneroh.

The road was execrable, if road it could be termed, which for many miles was formed for me by the kindness of the Pundit, who cut a path through the otherwise impenetrable jungle, the abode of elks and tigers, sufficient to pass my baggage. This route is never passed by troops; but I had curiosity to indulge, not comfort. About four miles from the castle, we ascended another moderate elevation to the village of Oomur, whence we saw Paragurh on the left, and learning that it contained an inscription, I despatched one of my Pundits to copy it. A mile further brought us to the extremity of the ridge serving as a landmark to the *Chourasi* of Kheyri. From it we viewed another *steppe*, that we shall ascend the day after to-morrow

from which I am told the Pathar gradually shelves to the banks of the Chumbul, the termination of our journey. As we passed the village of Omedpoora (*Hopetown*), a sub-infeudation of Beygoo, held by the uncle of its chief, we were greeted by the Thakoor, accompanied by two of his kinsmen. They were all well-mounted, lance in hand, and attired in their quilted tunics and deer-skin doublet, of itself no contemptible armour. They conveyed their chief's compliments, and having accompanied me to my tents, took leave.

Choota, or little Attoa, is also held by a sub-vassal of the same clan, the Meghawuts of Beygoo; his name Doongur Sing, 'the mountain-lion,' now with me, and who long enjoyed the pre-eminent distinction of being chief retriever of the Pathar. With our party he has the familiar appellation of Roderic Dhu, and without boasting of his past exploits, he never dreams of their being coupled with dishonour. Although he scoured the country far and near to bring blackmail to his mountain-retreat, it was from the Mahrattas chiefly that his wants were supplied; and he required but the power, to have attained the same measure of celebrity as his ancestor the 'Black-cloud' (*Kala-megh*) of Beygoo. Still, his name was long the bugbear of this region, and the words *Doongnr Sing aya*! 'the mountain-lion is at hand!' were sufficient to scare the peaceful occupants of the surrounding country from their property, or to arm them for its defence. With the 'Southron' he had just cause of quarrel, since, but for him, he would have been lord of Nuddowae and its twenty-four villages, of which his grandfather was despoiled at the same time that this alpine region was wrested by Sindia from his sovereign. This *tuppa*, however, fell to Holcar; but the father of Doongur, lance in hand, gave the conqueror no rest, until he granted him a lease in perpetuity of four of the villages of his patrimony, two of which were under Holcar's own seal, and two under that of the renter. About twenty years ago, the latter having been resumed, Seo Sing took up his lance again, and initiated the mountain-lion, his son, in the *lex talionis*. He flung away the scabbard, sent his family for security to the Raja of Sahpoora, and gave his mind up to vengeance. The father and son, and many other brave spirits with the same cause of revenge, carried their incursions into the very heart of Malwa, bringing back the spoils to his den at little Attoa. But though his hand was now raised against every man, he forgot not his peculiar feud (*ber*), and his patrimony of Nuddowae yielded little to the Mahratta. But Seo Sing was surrounded by foes, who leagued to circumvent him, and one day, while driving many a goodly buffalo to his shelter, he was suddenly beset

by a body of horse placed in ambush by the Bhow. But both were superbly mounted, and they led them a chase through Mandelgurh, and were within the very verge of security, when, as Seo Sing put his mare to the *nulla*, she played him false and fell, and ere she recovered herself the long lance of the Mahratta was through the rider. Young Doongur was more fortunate, and defying his pursuers to clear the rivulet, bound up the body of his father in his scarf, ascended the familiar path, and burnt it at midnight, amongst the family altars of Nuddowae. But far from destroying, this only increased the appetite for vengeance, which has lasted till these days of peace; and, had every chieftain of Mewar acted like Doongur, the Mahratta would have had fewer of their fields to batten on to-day. His frank, but energetic answer, when the envoy mentioned the deep complaints urged against him by the present manager of Nuddowae, was "I must have bread!" and this they had snatched from him. But Holcar's government, which looks not to the misery inflicted, carries loud complaints to the resident authorities, who can only decide on the principle of possession, and the abstract view of Doongur's course of life. For myself, I do not hesitate to avow, that my regard for the chiefs of Mewar is in the ratio of their retaliation on their 'Southron' foe; and entering deeply into all their great and powerful grounds for resentment, I warmly espoused the cause of the 'mountain-lion;' and as the case (through Mr. Gerald Wellesley) was left by Holcar's government to my arbitration, I secured to the chief a part of his patrimony under their joint seal, and left him to turn his lance into a ploughshare, until fresh causes for just aggression may arise. This settlement gave me another proof of the inalienable right in land granted by the *ryat* cultivator, and its superiority over that granted by the sovereign. There were certain rights in the soil (*bhom*) which Doongur's ancestors had thus obtained, in the township of Muddowae, to which he attached a higher value than to the place itself. Doongur's story affords a curious instance of the laws of adoption superseding, if not the rank, the fortune resulting from birth-right. Seo Sing and Doulut Sing, both sub-vassals of Beygoo, were brothers; the former had Nuddowae, the latter Rawurdo. But Doulut Sing, having no issue, adopted Salim Sing, the younger brother of Doongur, who has thus become lord of Rawurdo, of nearly four thousand rupees' annual rent; while Doongur's chief place is little Attoa, and the *bhom* of Nuddowae. Salim Sing is now in high favour with his chief of Beygoo, to whom he is *foujdar*, or leader of the vassals. In personal appearance he has greatly the anvantage of Doon-

gur; Salim is tall and very handsome, bold in speech and of gentlemanly deportment; Doongur is compact in form, of dark complexion, rugged in feature, and bluntness itself in phrase, but perfectly good-humoured, frank, and unreserved; and as he rode by my side, he amused me with many anecdotes connected with the scenery around.

Singolli, February 17th, eight and a half miles, thermometer 40°.—This town is chief of a *tuppa* or subdivision, containing fifty-two villages, of the district of Antri, a term applied to a defile, or tract surrounded by mountains. The Antri of Mewar is fertilized by the Bhamuni, which finds its way through a singular diversity of country, after two considerable falls, to the Chumbul, and is about thirty miles in length, reckoning from Beechore to the summit of the steppe of the plateau, by about ten miles in breadth, producing the most luxuriant crops of wheat, barley, gram, sugar-cane, and poppy; and having spread over its surface, one hundred villages and hamlets.

From Beechore, the pass opening from the plains of Mewar, to the highest peak of this alpine Pathar, the *Kala Megh*, or 'black cloud,' of Beygoo bore sway. From him sprung another of the numerous clans of Mewar, who assumed the patronymic Meghawut. These clans and tribes multiply, for Kala Megh and his ancestors were recognized as a branch of the Sangawut, one of the early subdivisions of the Chondawut, the chief clan of Mewar. The descendant of the 'black cloud,' whose castle of Beygoo is near the entrance to Antri, could not now muster above a hundred and fifty men at arms throughout the Pathar; to which he might add as many more of foreign Rajpoots, as the Hara and Gor, holding lands for service. The head of the Meghawuts has not above twenty villages in his fief of Beygoo, though these might yield twenty-five thousand rupees annually, if cultivated; the rest is still in the hands of the Mahrattas, as a mortgage contracted nearly forty years ago, and which has been liquidated ten times over: they include, in this, even a third of the produce of his own place of residence, and the town itself is never free from these intruders, who are continually causing disturbances. Unhappily for Mewar, the grand principle of the campaign and its political results "that of excluding the Mahrattas from the west bank of the Chumbul," was forgotten in our sncceses, or all the alienated lands of Mewar as far as the Malwa frontier would have reverted to the Rana. The hamlets on the Pathar consists of huts with low mud walls, and tiled roofs: even Omedpoora, though inhabited by the uncle of the chief, is no better than the rest, and his house is one which the poorest peasant in

England would not occupy. Yet steeped in poverty, its chieftain, accompanied by his son, nephew, and fifteen more of his kin and clan, came "for the purpose of doing himself his lord paramount of Beygoo, and the British Agent, honour." The mountain-chief of Omedpoora affords a fine example, that noble bearing may be independent of the trappings of rank: high descent and proper self-respect appeared in every feature and action. Dressed in a homely suit of *amowah*, or russet green, with a turban of the same (the favourite hunting costume of the Rajpoot); over all the corselet of the skin of the elk, slain by himself; with his bright lance in hand, and mounted on a good strong horse, whose accoutrements like his master's were plain but neat, behold the vassal of Omedpoora equipped for the chase or foray. The rest of his party followed him on foot, gay and unconcerned as the wild-deer of the Pathar; ignorant of luxury, except a little *uml-pani* when they go to Beygoo; and whose entire wants, including food, raiment, gunpowder, and tobacco, can be amply supplied by about £8 a year each! The party accompanied me to my tents, and having presented brilliant scarlet turbans and scarfs, with some English gunpowder, to the chief, his son, and nephew, we parted mutually pleased at the rencontre.

The descent to Singolli is very gentle, nor are we above eighty feet below the level of Oomur, the highest point of the Pathar, which I rejoice to have visited, but lament the want of my barometers. Singolli, in such a tract as this, may be entitled a town, having fifteen hundred inhabited dwellings encompassed by a strong wall. The pundit is indebted to his own good management, and the insecurity around him for this numerous population. In the centre of the town, the dingy walls of a castle built by Aloo Hara strike the eye, from the contrast with the new works added by the Pundit; it has a deep ditch, with a *fausee braye* and parapet. The circumvallation measures a mile and three-quarters. About a mile to the northwest are the remains of a temple to Vijyaseni Bhavani, the Pallas of the Rajpoots. I found a tablet recording the piety of the lord paramount of the Pathar, in a perpetual gift of lights for the altar. It runs thus: "Samvat 1477 (A. D. 1421), the 2nd of Asoj, being Friday (*Brigwar**), Maharaja Sri

* A name of *Sukracharya*, the Regent of the planet Venus. The 'star of eve' is always called *Sukra*, but presents a most unpoetic idea to the mind, when we learn that this star, the most beautiful of the heavenly host, is named after an immoral one-eyed male divinity, who lost his other orb in an undignified personal collision, from an assault upon *Tara* (*the* star) the wife of a brother-god. Sukra-acharya, notwithstanding, holds the office of *guru*, or spiritual adviser, to the whole celestial body—we

Mokul-ji, in order to furnish lights (*iote wasta*) for *Vijyaseni Bhavani-ji*, has granted one *beega* and a half of land. Whosoever shall set aside this offering, the goddess will overtake him." This is a memorial of the celebrated Rana Mokul of Mewar, whose tragical death by assassination has been recorded in the annals of that state. * Mokul was one of the most celebrated of this race ; and he defeated, in a pitched battle at Raipoor, a grandson of the emperor of Delhi. He was the father of *Lal-Bae* called 'the Ruby of Mewar,' regarding whom we have related a little scandal from the chronicle of the Bhattis : but the bard of the Kheechies, who says that prince Dheeraj espoused her in spite of the insult of the desert chief, had no cause to doubt the lustre of this gem.

The Pathar resounds with the traditionary tales of the Haras, who, at a very early period, established themselves in this alpine region, on which they erected twelve castles for its protection, all of them still to be traced existing or in ruins ; and although they assumed the title of "lords of the Pathar," they acknowledged the supremacy of the Ranas of Mewar, whom they obeyed as liege-lords at this very time. Of these twelve castles, Ruttungurh is the only one not entirely dismantled ; though even the ruins of another, Dilwargurh, have been the cause of a bloody feud between the Meghawut

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may add *ex uno disce omnes* : and assuredly the Hindu who takes mythological biography of his gods *au pied de la lettre*, cannot much strengthen his morality thereby. The classical Hindu of these days values it as he ought, looking upon it as a pretty astronomical fable, akin to the voyage of the Argonauts ; but the bulk enter the temple of the "thirty-three millions of gods" with the same firmness of belief as did the old Roman his Pantheon. The first step, and a grand one, has been made to destroy this fabric of Polytheism, and to turn the mind of the Hindu to the perception of his own purer creed, adoration of 'the one, Omniscient, omnipotent, and eternal God.' Ram Mohon Roy has made this step, who "has become a law unto himself," and a precursor, it is to be hoped, of benefit to his race. In the practical effects of Christianity, he is a Christian, though still a devout Brahmin, adoring the Creator alone, and exercising an extended charity, with a spirit of meekness, toleration, and benevolence, added to manly resistance of all that savours of oppression, which stamps him as a man chosen for great purposes. To these moral, he added mental qualifications of the highest order : clear and rapid perception, vigorous comprehension, immense industry of research, and perfect self-possession ; having, moreover, a classical knowledge, not of our language only, but of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Persisn, Arabic, and the 'mother-tongue,' or *langue-mere* of all, the Sanskrit.

* By means of this simple tablet, we detect an anachronism in the chronicle. It is stated in the first volume, that Koombho succeeded his father Rana Mokul in S. 1454, or two years anterior to the date of the grant of lights for the goddess. Such checks upon Rajpoot chronology are aways falling in the way of those who will read as they run.

of Beygoo and the Suktawut of Gwalior, also in the Pathar. That of Paranuggur, or Parolli, lays a short distance from thence, but the most famous of all is Bumaoda, placed upon the western crest of the plateau, and overlooking the whole plain of Mewar. Although some centuries have elapsed since the Haras were expelled from this table-land, the name of Aloo of Bumaoda still lives, and is familiar even to the savage Bhil, who, like the beasts, subsists upon the wild fruits of the jungles. It is my intention to return by another route across the Pathar, and to visit the site of Aloo's dwelling ; meanwhile I will give one of the many tales related of him by my guide, as I traversed the scenes of his glory.

Aloo Hara, one day, returning homeward from the chase, was accosted by a Charun, who, having bestowed his blessing upon him, would accept of nothing in exchange but the turban from his head. Strange as was the desire, he preferred compliance to incurring the *viserwa*, or 'vituperation of the bard ;' who, placing Aloo's turban on his own head, bade him 'live a thousand years,' and departed. The Charun immediately bent his steps to Mundore, the capital of Maroo ; and as he was ushered into the presence of its prince and pronounced the *byrd* of the Rahtores, he took off his turban with the left hand, and performed his salutation with the right. The unusual act made the prince demand the cause, when in reply he was told "that the turban of Aloo Hara should bend to none on earth." Such reverence to an obscure chief of the mountains of Mewar enraged the King of the Desert, who unceremoniously kicked the turban out of doors. Aloo, who had forgotten the strange request, was tranquilly occupied in his pastime, when his *quondam* friend again accosted him, his head bare, the insulted turban under his arm, and loudly demanding vengeance on the Rahtore, whose conduct he related. Aloo was vexed, and upbraided the Charun for having wantonly provoked this indignity towards him. "Did I not tell you to ask land, or cattle, or money, yet nothing would please you but this rag ; and my head must answer for the insult to a vile piece of cloth : for nothing appertaining to Aloo Hara shall be insulted with impunity even by the *Thakoor* of Mewar." Aloo forthwith convened his clan, and soon five hundred "sons of one father" were assembled within the walls of Bumaoda, ready to follow wheresoever he led. He explained to them the desperate nature of the enterprize, from which none could expect to return ; and he prepared the fatal *johur* for all those who determined to die with him. This first step to vengeance being over, the day of departure was fixed ; but previous to this he was anxious to ensure the safety of his

nephew, who, on failure of direct issue, was the adopted heir of Bumaoda. He accordingly locked him up in the inner keep of the castle, within seven gates, each of which had a lock, and furnishing him with provisions, departed.

The Prince of Mundore was aware he had entailed a feud ; but so little did he regard what this mountain-chief might do, that he proclaimed "all the lands over which the Hara should march to be in *dan* (gift) to the Brahmins." But Aloo, who despised not the aid of stratagem, disguised his little troop as horse-merchants, and placing their arms and caparisons in covered carriages, and their steeds in long strings, the hostile caravan reached the capital unsuspected. The party took rest for the night ; but with the dawn they saddled, and the *nakarras* of the Hara awoke the Rahtore prince from his slumber ; starting up, he demanded who was the audacious mortal that dared to strike his drum at the gates of Mundore? The answer was,—"Aloo Hara of Bumaoda !"

The mother (probably a Chohani) of the king of Maroo now asked her son, "how he meant to fulfil his vaunt of giving to the Brahmins all the lands that the Hara passed over?" but he had the resolution to abide by his pledge, and the magnanimity not to take advantage of his antagonist's position ; and to his formal challenge, conveyed by beat of *nakarra*, he proposed that single combats should take place, man for man. Aloo accepted it, and thanked him for his courtesy, remarking to his kinsmen, "At least we shall have five hundred lives to appease our revenge !"

The lists were prepared ; five hundred of the "chosen sons of Seoji" were marshalled before their prince to try the manhood of the Haras ; and now, on either side, a champion had stepped forth to commence this mortal strife, when a stripling rushed in, his horse panting for breath, and demanded to engage a gigantic Rahtore. The champions depressed their lances, and the pause of astonishment was first broken by the exclamation of the Hara chieftain, as he thus addressed the youth : "Oh ! headstrong and disobedient, art thou come hither to extinguish the race of Aloo Hara ?"—"Let it perish, uncle (*kaka*), if, when you are in peril, I am not with you !" replied the adopted heir of Bumaoda. The veteran Rahtore smiled at the impetuous valour of the youthful Hara, who advanced with his sword ready for the encounter. His example was followed by his gallant antagonist, and courtesy was exhausted on either side to yield the first blow ; till, at length, Aloo's nephew accepted it ; and it required no second, for he clove the Rahtore in twain. Another took his place—he shared the same fate ; a third, a fourth, and in like manner

twenty-five, fell under the young hero's sword. But he bore "a charmed life;" the queen of armies (*Vijyaseni*), whose statue guards the entrance of Bumaoda, had herself enfranchised the youth from the seven-fold gates in which his uncle had incarcerated him, and having made him invulnerable except in one spot (the neck), sent him forth to aid his uncle, and gain fresh glory for the race of which she was the guardian. But the vulnerable point was at length touched, and Aloo saw the child of his love and his adoption stretched upon the earth. The queen-mother of the Rahtores, who witnessed the conflict, dreaded a repetition of such valour, from men in whom desire of life was extinct; and she commanded that the contest should cease, and reparation be made to the lord of the Pathar, by giving him in marriage a daughter of Mundore. Aloo's honour was redeemed; he accepted the offer, and with his bride repaired to the desolate Bumaoda. The fruit of this marriage was a daughter; but destiny had decreed that the race of Aloo Hara should perish. When she had attained the age of marriage, she was betrothed. Bumaoda was once more the scene of joy, and Aloo went to the temple and invited the goddess to the wedding. All was merriment; and amongst the crowd of mendicants who besieged the door of hospitality was a decrepit old woman, who came to the threshold of the palace, and desired the guard to "tell Aloo Hara she had come to the feast, and demanded to see him;" but the guard, mocking her, desired her to be gone, and "not to stand between the wind and him:" she repeated her request, saying that "she had come by special invitation." But all was in vain; she was driven forth with scorn. Uttering a deep curse, she departed, and the race of Aloo Hara was extinct. It was Vijyaseni herself, who was thus repulsed from the house of which she was protectress!

A good moral is here inculcated upon the Rajpoot, who, in the fatal example of Aloo Hara, sees the danger of violating the laws of wide-extended hospitality: besides, there was no hour too sacred, no person too mean, for such claims upon the ruler. For the present, we shall take leave of Aloo Hara, and the "Mother of Victory" of the *Pathar*, whose shrine I hope to visit on my return from Haravati; when we shall learn what part of her panoply she parted with to protect the gallant heir of Bumaoda.

January 18th, Dangermow, eight miles; thermometer 48°.—A choice of three routes presented itself to us this morning. To the left lay the celebrated Mynal, once the capital of Oopermal; on the right, but out of the direct line, was the castle of Bhynsror, scarcely less celebrated; and straight

before us the pole-star and Kotah, the point to which I was journeying. I cut the knot of perplexity by deviating from the direct line, to descend the table-land to Bhynsror, and without crossing the Chumbul, nearly retraced my steps, along the left bank, to Kotah, leaving Mynal for my return to Oodipoor. Our route lay through the *antri*, or valley, whose northern boundary we had reached, and between it and the Bhamuni. The tract was barren but covered with jungle, with a few patches of soil lodged amidst the hollows or otherwise bare rock, over whose black surface several rills had cut a low bed, all falling into the Bhamuni. One of these had a name which we need not translate, *Rani bor-ca-Khal*, and which serves as a boundary between the lands of the Meghawuts of Antri and the Suktawuts of Bhynsror.

Dangermow-Borao, is a small *putta* of twelve villages, yielding fifteen thousand rupees of annual rent; but it is now partitioned,—six villages to each of the towns above-mentioned. They are Suktawut allotments, and the elder, Sukt Sing, has just returned from court, where he had been to have the sword of investiture (*tulwar bandai*) girt on him as the lord of Borao. Bishen Sing of Dangermow is at Kotah, where he enjoys the confidence of Zalim Sing and is commandant of cavalry. He has erected a castle on the very summit of the third *steppe* of the Pathar, whose dazzling white walls contrast powerfully with the black and bleak rock on which it stands, and render it a conspicuous object. The Suktawuts of the Pathar are of the Bansi family, itself of the second grade of nobles of Mewar; and the rank of both the chiefs of Dangermow and Borao was the third, or that termed *gole*; but now, having each a *putta* (at least nominally) of above five thousand rupees yearly rent, they are lifted into the *bateesa*, or amongst the 'thirty-two' of the second class.

The Bhamuni, whose course will carry us to its close at Bhynsror, flows under the walls of both Dangermow and Borao, and is the cause not only of great fertility but of diversity, in this singular alpine region. The weather has again undergone a very sensible change, and is extremely trying to those, who, like myself, are affected by a pulmonary complaint, and who are obliged to brave the mists of the mountain-top long before the sun is risen. On the second, at daybreak, the thermometer stood at 60°, and only three days after, at 27°; again, it rose to 40° and for several days stood at this point, and 75° at mid-day. The day before we ascended the Pathar it rose to 54°, and 94° at noon; and on reaching the summit, 60° and 90°; again it falls to 40°, and we now shiver with cold. The density of the atmosphere has been particularly annoying both yester-

day and to-day. Clouds of mist rolled along the surface of the mountain, which, when the sun cleared the horizon, and shot about 'spear-high' in the heavens, produced the most fantastic effects. The orb was clear and the sky brilliant ; but the masses of mist, though merely a thin vapour and close to the spectator, exhibited singular and almost kaleidoscopic changes. There was scarcely a figure that the sun did not assume ; the upper half appearing orbicular, the lower elliptical : in a second, this was reversed. Sometimes it was wholly elliptical, with a perfect change of the axis, the transverse and conjugate changing places—a loaf, a bowl, and at one instant a scallop-shell, then 'round as my shield,' and again a segment of a circle, and thus alternating until its ascension dissipated the medium of this beautiful illusion, the more perfect from the sky being cloudless. The mists disappeared from the mountain long before this phantasmagoria finished.

CHAPTER VI.

Bhynsrorgurh.—Cairn of a Rajpoot.—Ragonath Sing of Bhynsror.—Castle of Bhynsror.—Passage forced by the Chumbul through the Plateau.—Origin and etymology of Bhynsror.—Charuns, the carriers of Rajwarra.—The young chief of Mehwo becomes the champion of Mewar.—Avenges the Rana's feud with Jessulmeer, and obtains Bhynsror.—Tragical death of his Thakoorani, niece of the Rana.—He is banished.—The Pramar chiefs of Bhynsror.—Cause of their expulsion.—Lall Sing Chondawut obtains Bhynsror.—Assassinates his friend, the Rana's uncle.—Maun Sing, his son, succeeds.—Is taken prisoner.—Singular escape.—Reflection on the policy of the British government towards these people.—Antiquities and inscriptions at Bhynsror.—Dabi.—View from the pass at Nasairah.—Rajpoot cairns.—Tomb of a bard.—Sentiments of the people on the effects of our interference.—Their gratitude.—Cairn of a Bhatti chief.—Kurripoor.—Depopulated state of the country.—Inscription at Santra.—Bhil temple.—Ruins.—The Holi festival.—Kotah, its appearance.

February 19th, Bhynsrorgurh, ten miles, four furlongs ; thermometer 51° ; atmosphere dense and oppressive, and roads execrable, through a deep forest ; but for the hatchets of my friends, my baggage never could have been got on. We passed

several hamlets, consisting of a dozen or more huts, the first of which I find belongs to my young friend Morji Goorah, himself a vassal of the Pramar of Bijolli (one of the sixteen Omras of Mewar), and holding a few *beegas* of *bhom*, as his *vat* or share of the *bapota* (patrimony) of Borao. We have elsewhere given a copy of the tenure on which Morji holds a village in the fief of Bijolli. At seven miles from Dangermow, we came to a small shrine of an Islamite saint, who buried himself alive. It is an elevated point, from whence is a wild but lovely prospect. There is a *coond*, or 'fountain,' planted with trees, close to the shrine, which attracts a weekly *mela* or 'fair', attended by all classes, who cannot help attributing some virtue to a spot where a saint, though a Mooslem, thus expiated his sins. In descending, we heard the roaring of mighty waters, and soon came upon the Bhamuni, forming a fine cascade of about fifty feet in height; its furious course during the monsoon is apparent from the weeds it has left on the trees, at least twenty feet above its present level. The fall of the country is rapid, even from this lower spot, to the bed of the Chumbul. Oopermal must have a considerable elevation above the table-land of Janapa, where the Chumbul and other streams have their fountains; but of all this we shall by and by form a more correct opinion. We passed the cairn of a Rajpoot who fell defending his post against the Meenas of the Kairar, a tract on the banks of the Bunas, filled with this banditti, in one of their last irruptions which disturbed the peace of this region. Each traveller adds a stone, and gave my mite to swell the heap.

The *putta* of Bhynsror is held by Ragonath Sing, one of the sixteen great lords of Mewar, having the very ancient title of Rawut, peculiar to Rajpootana, and the diminutive of Rao. Bhynsror is one of the best fiefs of Mewar, and the lands attached to it are said to be capable of yielding one lakh of annual revenue, equal to £50,000 in the dearest countries of Europe; and when I add that a cavalier can support himself, his steed, &c. on £50, its relative value will at once be understood. He has also a toll upon the ferries of the Chumbul, though not content therewith, he levied until lately a percentage on all merchandize, besides impositions on travellers of whatever description, under the name of *kote murimut*, or 'repairs of the castle:' were we, however, to judge by its dilapidated condition, we should say his exactions were very light, or the funds were misapplied. This is the sole passage of the Chumbul for a great extent, and all the commerce of higher Malwa, Harouti, and Mewar, passes through this domain. The class of *bunjarris* (traders) termed Vishnue, long established at the city of Poorh in Mewar, frequent no

other route in their journey from the salt-lakes of the desert to Malwa or Boondelkhund. Their *tanda* or caravan consists of six thousand bullocks, and they never make less than two, and often three, trips in the year. The duty of the *raj* is five rupees for each hundred head thus laden ; but the feudatory, not content with his imposition of "castle repairs" and "bhom" as lord of the manor, has added a hundred and fifty per cent, to the regular transit duty of the state, which is divided into two items ; *viz*, three rupees and a half for the ferry, and as much for *bolai*, or safe escort through his territory. But as Harouti always afforded protection (which could be said of no other region of independent India), the *ghat* of the Chumbul was much frequented, in spite of these heavy drawbacks to industry. My friend, the Rawut, has, however, found it expedient to remove all these *war-taxes*, retaining only that portion which has been attached to the frontier post, for protection ; and a portion of the ferry-rate granted to this fief nearly two centuries ago. Instead of about fifteen per cent, as heretofore levied, including that of the crown, it amounts to less than one-half, and the revenue has been quadrupled!

The castle of Bhynsror is most romantically situated upon the extreme point of a ridge, on an almost isolated rib of the Pathar, from which we have descended. To the east, its abrupt cliff overhangs the placid expanse of the Chumbul, its height above which is about two hundred feet: the level of the river in the monsoon is marked at full thirty feet above its present elevation. The Bhamuni bounds Bhynsror on the west, and by the rapidity of its fall has completely scarped the rock, even to the angle of confluence within which is placed the castle, to whose security a smaller intermediate stream not a little contributes.

On the north alone is it accessible, and there the hill is scarped; but this scarp, which is about three hundred yards distant, forms a good cover, and a few shells thence played upon the castle would soon compel it to surrender. The rock is a soft, loose, blue schistose slate, which would not retard the miner. The approach from the river, here about five hundred yards wide, would be destruction. It is never fordable, and its translucent sea-green waters are now full forty feet in depth. When in the periodical rains it accumulates at its source, and is fed during its passage by many minor streams from the Vindhya and this *oberland*, its velocity is overwhelming ; it rises above the opposing bank, and laying the whole tract to the base of the table-land of Harouti under water, sweeps away in its irresistible course even the rocks. Speculation might here be exhausted in vain attempts to explain how nature could overcome this

formidable obstacle to her operations, and how the stream could effect its passage through this adamantine barrier. The channel cut in the rock is as clean as if performed by the chisel, and standing on the summit of the cliff, which is from three hundred to seven hundred feet in height, one discerns in imagination the marks of union: to use the words of our last great bard, on the Rhone,

> "Heights which appear as lovers who have parted
> "In hate, whose mining depths so intervene,
> "That they can meet no more, though broken-hearted."

I shall by and by, I trust, obtain a more correct knowledge of the comparative elevation of this *plateau*, and the crest of the Vindhya whence issues the Chumbul; but although this stream is, of course, much below the level of its source, yet there is little doubt that the summit of this chasm (*oopermal*) is, as its name indicates, the 'highest land' of Malwa. I say this after making myself acquainted with the general depression of Malwa to this point, in which we are aided by the course of the stream. Under Bhynsror, the current is never very gentle; but both above and below there are rapids, if not falls, of thirty to fifty feet in descent. That above the stream is termed the *Chooli*, because full of whirlpools and addies, which have given a sacred character to it, like the Nerbudda, at 'the whirlpools of the great god,' *Chooli, Maheswar.* A multitude of the round stones taken out of these vortices, when they have been rounded by attrition into a perfectly orbicular form, only require consecration and a little red paint to be converted into the representatives of *Bhiroo*, the god of war, very properly styled the elder born of Siva, the destroyer. This is about two miles up the stream; there is another at Kotrah, about three miles down, with several successive rapids. There is a fall in the vicinity of Rampoora, and another about five coss north of it, at Choraitagurh, where the river first penetrates the plateau. There, I understand, it is not above seventy yards in breadth, confined between cliffs perfectly perpendicular. There is also said to be another fall or rapid intermediate between Rampoora and its source in the peak of Janapa, in the neighbourhood of Oneil. If these are all the falls, though only amounting to rapids, we may form a tolerable idea of the difference of level between the base of the Oopermal and the highland of the Vindhya whence the Chumbul issues; and still we shall see that there are points where the perpendicular cliffs must be some hundred feet above the peak of Janapa; if so, this chasm was never formed by water.

Mewar still extends east of the river, and the greater part of the estate of Bhynsror is on the opposite side. A small

stream, called the Kurb-ca-Khal, divides the lands of the Haras from those of the Seesodias, and there is a *beejuk-marka*, or landmark inscription, at the Shesa *tallao*, put up centuries ago. To this line, and between it and the Chumbul, is the *putta* of Koondal; and farther south towards Rampoora, is that of Puchail, both containing twenty-four villages attached to Bhynsror. All that tract farther inland in Upper Malwa, termed Malki-des, in which are the towns of Chychut and Sukeit, was in old times included geographically in Mewar; it is yet possessed by the Suktawuts, though subject of Kotah.

Tradition has preserved the etymology of Bhynsror, and dates its erection from the second century of the era of Vicrama, though others make it antecedent even to him. Be that as it may, it adds a fact of some importance, *viz.* that the Charuns, or bards, were then, as now, the privileged carriers of Rajwarra, and that this was one of their great lines of communication. Bhynsror, therefore, instead of being the work of some mighty conqueror, owes its existence to the joint efforts of Bhynsa Sah, the merchant, and Rora, a Charun and Bunjarri, to protect their *tandas* (caravans) from the lawless mountaineers, when compelled to make a long halt during the periodical rains. How many lines of heroes possessed it before the Haras established themselves among its ruins is unknown, though the "universal Pramar" is mentioned. Its subsequent change of masters, and their names and history, are matters of less doubt; since the altars of the Dodeah, the Pramar, the Rahtore, the Suktawut, the Chondawut,

> "—who sought and found, by dangerous roads,
> "A path to perpetuity of fame;"

are still visible. Of the Dodeah name we have already preserved one wreck, though whether the 'rocket of the moon' was of the family who dwelt upon the whirlpools of the Chumbul, we must leave to conjecture. Not so of his successor, the Rahtore, who was a scion of the house of Mehwo, on the Salt River of the desert, from which, though he was but a vassal of Mundore, the Rana scorned not to take a wife boasting the pure blood of the kings of Canouj. A younger brother accompanied her to the court of Cheetore. Soon after, the Rawul of Jessulmeer dared to put an affront upon the Rana, the acknowledged head of the Rajpoot race! The chivalry of Mewar was assembled, and the *beera* of vengeance held up, which the stripling heir of Mehwo, darting forward, obtained. Although but fifteen years of age, entreaties were lost upon him to induce him to renounce the enterprize, which in all probability some border-feud of his paternal house and the Bhattis, as well as *swamdherma*, or fealty, to his sovereign and kinsman, may have prompted. His only

request was that he might be aided by two of his intimate friends, and five hundred horse of his own selection. How he passed the desert, or how he gained admittance to the chief of the Bhatti tribe, is not stated; suffice it to say, that he brought the Rawul's head and placed it at the feet of the sovereign of Cheetore; for which service he had a grant of Saloombra; and subsequently (fiefs in those days not being *amovible*) he was removed to Bhynsror. The young Rahtore continued to rise in favour: he was already, by courtesy and marriage the *bhanaij*, or nephew, of his sovereign, who for this action bestowed upon him a young princess of his own blood; an honour which in the end proved fatal. One day, the *thakoor* (chief) was enjoying himself in his baronial hall of Bhynsror, in the midst of his little court, with a *nautch*, when a fatal curiosity, perhaps instigated by jealousy, induced his Rani to peep out from the lattice above. Offended at this violation of decorum, he said aloud to an attendant, "tell the *thakoorani*, if she is eager to come abroad, she may do so, and I will retire." The lady disputed the justice of the reprimand, asserting that her lord had been mistaken, and tried to shift the reproach to one of her damsels; but failing to convince him, she precipitated herself from the battlements into the whirlpools beneath: the spot where she fell into the Chumbul still retains the name of *Ranighata*. When it was reported to the Rana that a false accusation had caused the suicide of his niece, the sentence of banishment from Mewar was pronounced against the Rahtore; which was afterwards commuted, out of a regard for his former service, to the sequestration of Bhynsror; and he had the small fief of Neemrie and its twenty dependent hamlets, situated upon the *Pathar*, and not far from Bhynsror, bestowed upon him.

Beejy Sing, the descendant of the hero of this tale, has just been to see me; a shrewd and stalwart knight, not a whit degenerated by being transplanted from the Looni to the Chumbul; for, though surrounded by Mahratta depredators, by means of the fastnesses in which he dwells, and with the aid of his good lance, with which he repays them in kind, he has preserved his little estate in times so fatal to independence. Had I not entered deeply into the history of the past, I might have been led away by the disadvantageous reports given of these brave men, who were classed with the common freebooters of the hills, and pointed out as meriting similar chastisement; since these associations, both for their own security and retaliation on the vagabond Mahrattas, who usurped or destroyed their birthright, gave a colour to the complaints against them.

The Pramar (*vulg.* Puar) succeeded the Rahtore in the fief of Bhynsror. How long the former held it is uncertain; but the mode in which the last vassal chieftain lost it and his life together, affords another trait of national manners. Here again the fair, whose influence over the lords of Rajpootana we have elsewhere mentioned, was the cause of the catastrophe. The Pramar had espoused the daughter of his neighbour chieftain of Beygoo, and they lived happily until a game at *pacheesi*, somewhat resembling chess, caused a dispute, in which he spoke slightingly of her family, an affront never to be pardoned by a Rajpootni; and the next day she wrote to her father. The messenger had not left his presence with the reply, before the *nakarra* beat the assembly for the *kher*. The descendants of the 'black-cloud' (*Kala-megh*) obeyed the summons, and the hamlets on the Bhamuni, or the Pathar, poured forth their warriors at the sound of the tocsin of Beygoo. When the cause of quarrel was explained, it came home to every bosom, and they forthwith marched to avenge it. Their road lay through the forest of Antri; but when arrived within a few coss of Bhynsror, they divided their band, and while the chief took the more circuitous route of the pass, the heir of Beygoo followed the course of the Bhamuni, took the Pramar by surprise, and had slain him in single combat ere his father joined him. The insult to the Meghawuts being avenged, the Pramars were about to retaliate; but seeing the honour of her house thus dearly maintained, affection succeeded to resentment, and the Rajpootni determined to expiate her folly with her life. The funeral pile was erected close to the junction of the Bhamuni and Chumbul, and she ascended with the body of her lord, her own father setting fire to it. I encamped close to the altars recording the event.

This feud changed the law of succession in the Beygoo estate. The gallantry of the young Meghawut consoled the old chief for the tragical event which lost him a daughter; and in a full council of 'the sons of Kala-megh,' the rights of primogeniture were set aside in favour of the valorous youth, and the lord paramount (the Rana) confirmed the decision. The subordinate fief of Jathanoh, which formerly comprehended the present district of Jawud, was settled on the elder son, whose descendant, Tej Sing, still holds a share of it, besides the title of Rawut. Both estates have alike suffered from the Mahrattas, equally with others of Mewar.

The successor of the Pramar was a Chondawut, of the branch of Kishenawut, and a younger son of Saloombra; and it would be well for Lall Sing had he sought no higher distinction than that to which his birth entitled him. But Lalji Rawut

was a beacon in the annals of crime, and is still held out as an example to those who would barter a good name here, and the hope of the life to come, for the evanescent gifts of fortune. He purchased the honours of Bhynsror by shedding the blood of his bosom friend, the uncle of his sovereign.

Maharaja Nathji was one of the sons of Rana Singram Sing, and brother to the reigning prince Jaggut Sing, on whose death, doubts of the legitimacy of his successor Raj Sing being raised, Nathji aspired to the dignity; but his projects failed by the death of Raj Sing. He left a posthumous child, whose history, and the civil wars engendered by his uncle Ursi, who took possession of the *gadi*, have been fully detailed. Ursi, who was assuredly a usurper, if the pretender was a lawful son of Rana Raj, had suspicions regarding his own uncle Nathji, who had once shown a predilection for the supreme power; but the moment he heard that his nephew fancied he was plotting against him, he renounced ambition, and sought to make his peace with heaven; amusing himself with poetry, in which he had some skill, and by cultivating his melons in the bed of the Bunas, which ran under the walls of his castle, Bagore. The fervour of his devotions, and the love and respect which his qualifications as a man and a Rajpoot obtained him, now caused his ruin. In the coldest nights, accompanied by a single attendant, he was accustomed to repair to the lake. and thence convey water to sprinkle the statue of his tutelary divinity, the 'god of all mankind,' (*Juggernath*). It was reported to the Rana that, by means of these ascetic devotions, he was endeavouring to enlist the gods in his traitorous designs, and, determined to ascertain the truth, Ursi, with a confidential friend, disguised himself, and repaired to the steps of the temple. Nathji soon appeared with his brazen vessel of water, and as he passed, the prince, revealing himself, thus addressed him: "Why all this devotion, this excess of sanctity? if it be the throne you covet, uncle, it is yours;" to which Ursi, in no wise thrown off his guard, replied with much urbanity, "You are my child, and I consider my devotions as acceptable to the deity, from their giving me such a chief, for my prayers are for your prosperity." This unaffected sincerity reassured the Rana; but the chiefs of Deogurh, Bheendir, and other clans being dissatisfied with the harsh and uncompromising temper of their sovereign, endeavoured to check his ebullitions by pointing to the Maharaja as a refuge against his tyranny.

To be released from such a restraint, Ursi at last resolved on assassinating his uncle; but his valour and giant strength made the attempt a service of danger, and he therefore employ-

ed one who, under the cloak of friendship, could use the poniard without risk.' Lall Sing was the man, the bosom friend of the Maharaja, who, besides exchanging turbans with him, had pledged his friendship at the altar; a man who knew every secret of his heart, and that there was no treason in it. It was midnight, when a voice broke in upon his devotions, calling on him from the portico by name. No other could have taken this liberty, and the reply, "Come in, brother Lalji; what brings you here at such an hour?" had scarcely passed the lips of Nathji, when, as he made the last prostration to the image, he received the dagger of his friend in his neck, and the emblem of Siva was covered with his blood! For this service, the assassin was rewarded with the fief of Bhynsror, and a seat amongst the sixteen barons of Mewar; but as the number cannot be increased, the rights of the Suktawut chief of Bansi were cancelled: thus adding one crime to another, which however worked out its own reward, and at once avenged the murder of Nathji, and laid Mewar in ruins, causing fresh streams of the blood which had already so copiously flowed from the civil wars arising out of the hostility of these rival clans, the Suktawuts and Chondawuts.

Lalji did not long enjoy his honours; his crime of "triple dye" was ever present to his mind, and generated a loathsome, incurable disease; for even in these lands, where such occurrences are too frequent, "the still small voice" is heard: worms consumed the traitor while living, and his memory is blasted now that he is dead; while that of Nathji is sanctified, as a spirit gentle, valorous, and devout.

Maun Sing, the son of this man of blood, succeeded to the honours of Bhynsror, and was a soldier of no common stamp. At the battle of Oojein, where the Rana of Mewar made the last grand stand for independence, Maun was badly wounded, made captive, and brought in the train of the conquering Mahratta, when he laid siege to Oodipoor. As he was recovering from his wounds, his friends attempted to effect his liberation through that notorious class called the *Baoris*, and contrived to acquaint him with the plot. The wounded chief was consoling himself for his captivity by that great panacea for *ennui*, a nautch, and applauding the fine voice of a songstress of Oojein as she warbled a *tuppa of the Punjab*, when a significant sign was made by a stranger. He instantly exclaimed that his wounds had broken out afresh, staggered towards his pallet, and throwing down the light, left all in confusion and darkness, which favoured the *Baori's* design; who, while one of his friends took possession of the pallet, wrapped the sick chief in a *chadur* (sheet), threw him on his back, and carried him

through the camp of the besiegers to the city. The Rana, rejoiced at his liberation, commanded a salute to be fired, and the first intelligence the Mahratta leader had of his prisoner's escape, was in answer to the question as to the cause of such rejoicing: they then found one of the vassal substitutes of Maun still occupying the bed, but the sequel does not mention how such fidelity was repaid. The cenotaph *(chetri)* of this brave son of an unworthy sire is at the *Tribeni*, or point of confluence of the *three* streams, the Chumbul, the Bhamuni, and the Khal; and from its light and elegant construction, adds greatly to the picturesque effect of the scenery. The present chief, Raghunath Sing, who succeeded Maun, has well maintained his independence throughout these perilous times. Bapoo Sindia, whose name will long be remembered as one of the scourges of these realms, tried his skill upon Bhynsror, where the remains of his trenches, to the north-west of the town, are still conspicuous; but he was met with sortie after sortie, while the hill-tribes were nightly let loose upon him, until he was forced to make a precipitate retreat.

I cannot conclude the annals of this family without a passing remark on the great moral change effected since the power of Britain has penetrated into these singular abodes. It was my habit to attend on any of the chieftains who honoured me by an invitation to their family *fetes*, such as their *salgiras*, or 'birthdays;' and on these occasions, I merged the Agent of the British government entirely in the friend, and went without ceremony or parade. Amongst my numerous *pagri budul bhae*, or 'adopted brothers' (as well as sisters), was the Maharaja Sheodan Sing, the grandson and possessor of the honours and estates of Nathji, who still enjoys the domain of Bagore, and from whom I used ro receive a share of its melons, which he cultivates with the same ardour as his grandsire. The 'annual knot' (*salgira*) of my friend was celebrated on the terraced roof of his palace, overhanging the lake of Oodipoor, and I was by his side listening, in the intervals of the song, to some of his extemporaneous poetical effusions (on which my friend placed rather too high a value) when amongst the congratulatory names called aloud by the herald, I was surprised to hear, "*Maharaja Salamut, Rawut Raghunath Sing-ji-ca moojra leejo!*" or, "health to the Maharaja, and let him receive the compliments of Rawut Raghunath Sing:" the grandson of the murderer come to pay his respects to the grandson of the murdered, and to press with his knee the *gadi* on which he sat! With justice may we repeat their powerful metaphor, on such anomalies in the annals of their feuds,—*bhir aur bakri eki thali sa pia*, 'the wolf and the goat drink from the same platter.'

We might thus, by a little attention to the past history and habits of these singularly interesting races, confer signal moral benefits upon them; for it must be evident that the germs of many excellent qualities require only the sunshine of kindness to ripen into goodly fruit; and for the sake of our own welfare, as well as that of humanity, let not the protecting power, in the exercise of patronage, send amongst them men, who are not embued with feelings which will lead them to understand, to appreciate, and to administer fitting counsel, or correction where necessary. The remembrance of these injuries is stil fresh, and it requires but the return of anarchy again to unsheath the poniard and drug the cup; but if we consult their real good, the recollection will gradually grow fainter.

Before, however, we altogether quit the wilds of the Chumbul, we must record that Bhynsror had been visited by another man of blood, the renowned Alla-o-din, in whose epithets of *khooni*, or 'the sanguinary;' and *Secunder Sani*, or 'the second Alexander,' by which history has given him perpetuity of infamy, we recognize the devastating and ferocious Ghilji king, who assailed every Hindu prince in India. Obedient to the letter of the law, he had determined to leave not one stone upon another of the temples or palaces of Bhynsror. Everywhere we searched for memorials of the *Hoon*, whose name is also connected with the foundation of Bhynsror; of the Pramar, or the Dodeah; but in vain. The vestiges of those ages had disappeared, or been built up in the more modern fortifications. Two such inscriptions we indeed discovered, reversed and applied as common building materials in the walls around the town: one was dated S. 1179 (A. D. 1123), but being in the old ornamented Jain character, would have required time and labour to decypher. The other is also anterior to Alla, and the ornaments in this are decidedly Jain: its purport is as follows: "on the *purb* (full moon) of Seoratri (the birth-day of Siva), Maha Rae'an Derae Rae Sing Deo bestowed, in the name of Rameshwar, the village of Tuttagurh in *poon* (religious gift). Those who maintain the grant will enjoy the fruits resulting therefrom: or, in the words of the original:

"*Jissa jissa jidhu bhomi,*
" *Tissa tissa, tidhu phullung.*"

"Samvat 1302 (A.D, 1246)." This form of *sasun*, or religious charity, is peculiar, and styled *sasun Udyadit*, which proves that the Pramar, of whom this is a memorial, was a feudatory of the prince of Dhar, whose era has been fixed. These discoveries stimulated our research, and my revered friend and *guru*, who is now deeply embued with antiquarian enthusiasm, vainly offered a large reward for permission to dig for the image of Parswanath,

his great pontiff, of whose shrine he has no doubt the first inscription is a memorial. when about to leave this place (indeed our baggage had gone on), we were informed of some celebrated temples across the river at a place called Barolli, anciently Dholpoor. The shrine is dedicated to Guteswara Mahadeva, with a *lingam* revolving in the *yoni*, the wonder of those who venture amongst its almost impervious and unfrequented woods to worship. As I could not go myself, I despatched the *guru* to hunt for inscriptions and bring me an account of it.

Dabi, 20th January, eleven miles ; thermometer 48°.—Reascended the third *steppe* of our miniature Alp, at the Nasairah pass (*ghat*), the foot of which was exactly five miles from Bhynsror, and three and a half furlongs more carried us to its summit, which is of easy ascent, though the pathway was rugged, lying between high peaks on either side. This alone will give a tolerable idea of the height of the Pathar above the level of the river. Majestic trees cover the hill from the base to its summit, through which we could never have found a passage for the baggage without the axe. Besides some noble tamarind (*imli*) trees, there was the lofty *semul*, or cotton-trees; the knarled *sakoo*, which looks like a leper amongst its healthy brethren; the *taindoo*, or ebony-tree, now in full fruit, and the useful *dho*, besides many others of less magnitude. The landscape from the summit was grand: we looked down upon the *Chirmitti* (*vulg*. Chumbul) and the castle of Raghunath; while the eye commanded a long sweep of the black Bhamuni gliding through the vale of Antri to its termination at the tombs of the Suktawuts. The road to Dabi was very fair for such a tract, and when within four miles of our tents, we crossed a stream said to have its fountain at Mynal, which must consequently be one of the highest points of Oopermal. This rill afforded another means of estimating the height of our position, for besides the general fall to the brink of the chasm, it precipitates itself in a fine cascade of three hundred feet. Neither time nor place admitted of our following this rill to its termination, about six miles distant, through a rugged woody tract. From the summit of the pass of Nasairah, we had a peep at the tomb of a Mooslem saint, whence the ground gradually shelved to the end of our journey at Kotah.

Dabi is the line of demarcation between Mewar and Boondi, being itself in the latter state, in the district of Loecha—dreary enough! It produces, however, rice and *mukhi*, or Indian corn, and some good patches of wheat. We passed the *cairns*, composed of loose stones, of several Rajpoots slain in defending their cattle against the Meenas of the Kairar. I was particularly struck with that of a Charun bard, to whose memory they have set

up a *pallia*, or tomb-stone, on which is his effigy, his lance at rest, and shield extended, who most likely fell defending his *tanda*. This tract was grievously oppressed by the banditti who dwell amidst the ravines of the Bunas, on the western declivity of the plateau. "Who durst," said my guide, as we stopped at these *tumuli*, "have passed the Pathar eighteen months ago? they (the Meenas) would have killed you for the cakes you had about you ; now you may carry gold. These green fields would have been shared, perhaps reaped altogether, by them ; but now, though there in no superfluity, there is 'play for the teeth,' and we can put our turban under our heads at night without the fear of missing it in the morning. *Atul Raj* ! may your sovereignty last for ever !" This is the universal language of men who have never known peaceful days, who have been nurtured amidst the elements of discord and rapine, and who, consequently, can appreciate the change, albeit they were not mere spectators. "We must retaliate," said a sturdy Chohan, one of Morji's vassals, who, with five besides himself, insisted on conducting me to Bhynsror, and would only leave me when I would not let them go beyond the frontier. I was much amused with the reply of one of them whom I stopped with the *argumentum ad verecundiam*, as he began a long harangue about five buffaloes carried off by the Thakoor of Neemrie, and begged my aid for their recovery. I said it was too far back ; and added, laughing, "Come, Thakoor, confess ; did you never balance the account elsewhere?"—"Oh Maharaja, I have lost many, and taken many, but *Ram—dohae !* if I have touched a blade of grass since your *raj*, I am no Rajpoot." I found he was a Hara, and complimented him on his affinity with Aloo, the lord of Bumaoda, which tickled his vanity not a little. In vain I begged them to return, after escorting me so many miles. To all my solicitations the Chohan replied, "You have brought us comfort, and this is *mun ca chakrie*, 'service of the heart.' I accepted it as such, and we "whiled the gait" with sketches of the times gone by. Each foot of the country was familiar to them. At one of the *cairns*, in the midst of the wood, they all paused for a second ; it was raised over the brother of the Bhatti Thakoor, and each, as he passed, added a stone to this monumental heap. I watched, to discern whether the same feeling was produced in them which the act created in me ; but if it existed, it was not betrayed. They were too familiar with the reality to feel the romance of the scene ; yet it was one altogether not ill-suited to the painter.

Kurripoor, 21st February, 9½ miles—Encamped in the glen of Kurripoora, confined and wild. Thermometer, 51°

but a fine, clear, bracing atmosphere. Our route lay through a tremendous jungle. Half-way, crossed the ridge, the altitude of which made up for the descent to Dabi, but from whence we again descended to Kurripoora. There were many hamlets in this almost impervious forest ; but all were desolate, and the only trace of population was in the altars of those who had defended to the death their dreary abodes against the ruthless Meena of the Kairar, which we shall visit on our return.

About a mile after we had commenced our march this morning, we observed the township of Sontra on our right, which is always conjoined to Dabi, to designate the *tuppa* of Dabi-Sontra, a sub-division of Loecha. Being informed by a scout that it contained inscriptions, I requested my *guru* and one of my Brahmins to go there. The search afforded a new proof of the universality of the Pramar sway, and of the conquests of another "Lord of the world and the faith," Alla-o-din, the second Alexander. The Yati found several altars having inscriptions, and many *pallias*, from three of which, placed in juxta-position, he copied the following incriptions:—

"Samvat 1422 (A. D. 1366). Pardi, Teza, and his son, Deola Pardi, from the fear of shame, for the gods, Brahmins, their cattle, and their wives, sold their lives."

"S. 1446 (A. D. 1390). In the month of Asar (*badi ekum*): Monday, in the castle of Sontra (*sutrawan doorg*), the Pramar Ooda, Kula, Bhoona, for their kine, wives, Brahmins, along with the putra Chonda, sold their existence."

"S. 1466 (A. D. 1410) the 1st Asar, and Monday, at Sontragram, Roogha, the Chaora, in defence of the gods, his wife, and the Brahmins, sold his life."

The following was copied from a *coond*, or fountain excavated in the rock :—

"S. 1370 (A. D. 1314), the 16th of Asar (*sudi ekum*), he, whose renown is unequalled, the king, the lord of men, Maharaja Adheraj, Sri Alla-o-din, with his army of three thousand elephants, ten lakhs of horse, war-chariots and foot without number, conquering from Sambhur in the north, Malwa, Kurnat, Kanorh, Jhalore, Jessulmeer, Deogir, Tylung, even to the shores of the ocean, and Chandrapoori in the east ; victorious over all the kings of the earth, and by whom Sutrawan Doorg, with its twelve townships, have been wrested from the Pramar Maunsi ; by whose son, Beelaji, whose birth-place (*oot-pat*) is Sri Dhar, this fountain was excavated. Written and also engraved by Sydeva the stone-cutter (*sootradhar*)."

Beneath the surface of the fountain was another inscription, but there was no time to bale out the water, which some

future traveller over the Pathar may accomplish. Sontra, or as classically written, Sutroo-doorg. "The inaccessible to the foe," was one of the castles of the Pramar, no doubt dependent on Cheetore when under the Mori dynasty; and this was only one of the subdivisions of Central India, which were all under Pramar dominion, from the Nerbudda to the Jumna: an assertion proved by inscriptions and traditions. We shall hear more of this at Mynal and Bijolli on our return over Oopermal, which I resolve to be thoroughly acquainted with.

Kotah, *February 22d*, eleven miles to the banks of the Chumbul. Although not a cloud was to be seen, the sun was invisible till more than spear-high, owing to a thick vapoury mist, accompanied by a cold piercing wind from the north-west. The descent was gradual all the way to the river, but the angle may be estimated from the fact that the pinnacle (*kullus*) of the palace, though one hundred and twenty feet above the level of the Chumbul, was not visible until within five miles of the bank. The barren tract we passed over is all in Boondi, until we approach kotah, where the lands of Nandta intervene, the personal domain of the regent Zalim Sing, and the only territory belonging to Kotah west of the Chumbul. Kurripoora, as well as all this region, is inhabited by Bhils, of which race a very intelligent individual acted this morning as our guide. He says it is called by them *Baba ca noond*, and that they were the sovereigns of it until dispossessed by the Rajpoots. We may credit them, for it is only fit for Bhils or their brethren of the forest, the wild beasts. But I rejoiced at having seen it, though I have no wish to retrace my steps over this part of my journey. Half way, we passed a roofless shed of loose stones, containing the divinity of the Bhils: it is in the midst of a grove of thorny tangled brushwood, whose boughs were here and there decorated with shreds of various coloured cloth, offerings of the traveller to the forest divinity for protection against evil spirits, by which I suppose the Bhils themselves are meant.*

We must not omit (though we have quitted the Pathar) to notice the 'Maypoles' erected at the entrance of every village in the happy *vassant* or spring, whose concluding festival, the Holi or Saturnalia, is just over. This year the season has been most ungenial, and has produced sorrow rather than gladness. Every pole has a bundle of hay or straw tied at the top, and some have a cross stick arms and a flag flying; but in many parts of the Pathar, the more symbolic plough was substituted, to the goddess of fruition, and served the

* The same practice is described by Park as existing in Africa.

double purpose of a *Spring*-pole, and frightening the deer from nibbling the young corn.

The appearance of Kotah is very imposing, and impresses the mind with a more lively notion of wealth and activity than most cities in India. A strong wall with bastions runs parallel to, and at no great distance from, the river, at the southern extremity of which is the palace (placed within a castle separated from the town), whose cupolas and slender minarets give to it an air of light elegance. The scene is crowded with objects animate and inanimate. Between the river and the city are masses of people plying various trades; but the eye dwells upon the terminating bastion to the north, which is a little fort of itself, and commands the country on both banks. But we shall have more to say regarding this during our halt, which is likely to be of same continuance.

CHAPTER VII.

Unhealthiness of the season at Kotah.—Eventful character of the period of the author's residence there.—The cuckoo.—Description of the encampment.—Cenotaphs of the Haras.—Severe tax upon the curiosity of travellers in Kotah.—General insalubrity of Kotah.—Wells infected.—Productive of fever.—Taking leave of the Maharao and Regent.—The Regent's sorrow.—Cross the Chumbul.—Restive elephant.—Kunarie.—Regent's patrimonial estate.—Nandta.—Author's reception by Madhu Sing.—Rajpoot music.—The Punjabi tuppa.—*Scene of the early recreations of Zalim Sing.—Talera.—Noagong.—Approach of the Rajah of Boondi.—splendour of the* cortege.—*Boondi.—The castellated palace, or* Boondi camahl.—*Visit to the Rajah.—Illness of our party.—Quit Boondi.—Cenotaphs in the village of Sitoor.—The tutelary deity, Asapurna.—Temple of Bhavani.—Banks of the Maij.—Thanoh.—Inscriptions.—Jehajpoor.—Respectable suite of the Bussie chief.—Singular illness of the Author.*

Nandta, September 10*th*, 1821.—A DAY of deliverance, which had been looked forward to by all of us as a new era in our existence. The last four months of our residence at Kotah was a continued struggle against cholera and deadly fever: never in the memory of man was such a season known. This is not a state of mind or body fit for recording passing events;

and although the period of the last six months—from my arrival at Kotah in February last, to my leaving it this morning—has been one of the most eventful of my life, it has left fewer traces of these events upon my mind for notice in my journal than if I had been less occupied. The reader may be referred, for an abstract of these occurrences, to Chapter Sixth, which will make him sufficiently acquainted with the people amongst whom we have been living. To try back for the less important events which furnish the thread of the Personal Narrative, would be vain, suffering, whilst this journal is written, under fever and ague, and all my friends and servants in a similar plight. Though we more than once changed our ground of encampment, sickness still followed us. We got through the hot winds tolerably until the dog-days of June; but, although I had experienced every vicissitude of temperature in every part of India, I never felt any thing to be compared with the few days of June at Kotah.

It was shortly after we had shifted the camp from the low paddy-fields to the embankment of the Kishore *sagur*, or 'lake,' immediately east of the city, the sky became of that transparent blue which dazzles the eye to look at. Throughout the day and night, there was not a zephyr even to stir a leaf, but the repose and stillness of death. The thermometer was 104° in the tent, and the agitation of the *punkha* produced only a more suffocating air, from which I have fled, with a sensation bordering on madness, to the gardens at the base of the embankment of the lake. But the shade even of the tamarind or cool plantain was still less supportable. The feathered tribe, with their beaks opened, their wings flapping or hanging listlessly down, and panting for breath, like ourselves, sought in vain a cool retreat. The horses stood with heads drooping before their untasted provender. Amidst this universal stagnation of life, the only sound which broke upon the horrid stillness, was the note of the cuckoo; it was the first time I had ever heard it in India, and its cheerful sound, together with the associations it awakened, produced a delightful relief from torments which could not long be endured. We invariably remarked that the bird opened his note at the period of greatest heat, about two o'clock in the day, and continued during intervals for about an hour, when he changed his quarters and quitted us. I afterwards became more familiar with this bird, and every day in the hot weather at Oodipoor, when I resided in one of the villas in the valley, I not only heard but frequently saw it.*

* In almost every respect like a sparrow-hawk, perhaps a little more elongated and elegant in form; and the beak I think was straight.

The reader can easily conceive the scene of our encampment: it was at the north-eastern angle of the lake, having in front that little fairy islet with its light Saracenic summer abode. Gardens fringed the base of the embankment, which was bordered with lofty trees; the extended and gigantic circumvallation, over the parapets of which peeped the spires and domes of temples or mosques, breaking the uniformity, and occasionally even shewing the distant and elevated land beyond the Chumbul. We had also close to us a spot sacred to the *manes* of the many heroes of this noble family.—I frequented the cenotaphs of the Haras, which, if less magnificent than those of Marwar or Mewar, or even of the head of their line of Boondi, may vie with them all in the recollections they conjure up of patriotism and fealty, and of the deadly rancour attendant on civil strife. This cluster of monuments approaches near to the city wall, but is immediately under the dam of the lake, and being enveloped in foliage, almost escapes observation. I was rejoiced to see the good order in which they were maintained, which was another of the anomalies in the Regent's character: for what can so much keep alive the proud spirit of the Haras as these trophies of their sires? But whatever the motive of the act, it is a tribute to virtue; nor could I resist an exclamation of respect to the veteran Regent, who is raising a monument to the prince, which, if it survive to distant time, will afford room to some future traveller to say, that with Maharao Omed Sing, Kotah appears to have attained the summit of its power. Nor should I deny myself the praise of having something to do with this harmless piece of vanity; for I procured for the Regent free permission from the Rana of Mewar to take from the marble quarry at Kankerowli whatever suited his purpose, without price or duty: a request he was too proud to make himself since their ancient quarrel. We had also the range of Madhu Sing's magnificent gardens, of many acres in extent, abounding in exotic flowers and fruits, with parterres of rose-trees, each of many roods of land. But what were all these luxuries conjoined with cholera morbus, and *tup-tezerra*, 'tertian fever,' and every other fever around us? But even these physical ills were nothing compared to the moral evils which it was my duty to find remedies for or to mitigate; and they were never adverted to in the many despatches addressed during our residence in this *petit enfer*, to supreme authority.

The enthusiast may imagine how delightful travelling must be amongst such interesting races; to visit the ruins of ancient greatness, and to read their history in their monuments; to march along the margin of such streams as the Chumbul

or the Bhamuni ; to be escorted by these gallant men, to be the object of their courtesy and friendship, and to benefit the condition of the dependent class ; but the price of this enjoyment was so high that few would voluntarily pay it, namely, a perpetuity of ill-health. Fortunately, however, for ourselves and our country, if these offices are neither sinecures nor beds of roses, we do not make them beds of thorns ; there is a heart-stirring excitation amidst such scenes, which keeps the powers of mind and body alert : a feeling which is fortunately more contagious than cholera, and communicable to all around. How admirably was this feeling exemplified this morning ! Could my readers but have beheld the soldiers of my escort and other establishments, as they were ferried over the Chumbul, he would have taken them for ghosts making the *trajet* of the Styx ; there was not one of them who had not been in the gripe of pestilential fever or ague. Some of them, had had cholera, and half of them had enlarged spleens. Yet, although their muskets were too heavy for them, there were neither splenetic looks nor peevish expressions. It was as delightful as it was wonderful to see the alacrity, even of the bed-ridden, to leave their ills behind them east of the Chumbul.

Scarcely any place can be more unhealthy than Kotah during the monsoon. With the rise of the Chumbul, whose waters filtrate through the fissures of the rock, the wells are filled with mineral poison and the essence of decomposed vegetation. All those in the low ground at our first encampment were overflowed from this cause ; and the surface of each was covered with an oily pellicle of metallic lustre, whose colours were prismatic, varying, with position or reflection, from shades of a pigeon's breast (which it most resembled), to every tint of blue blending with gold. It is the same at Oodipoor during the periodical rains, and with similar results, intermittent and tertian fevers, from which, as I said, not a man, European or native, escaped. They are very obstinate, and though not often fatal, are difficult to extirpate, yielding only to calomel, which perhaps generates a train of ills.

The last few days of our stay were passed in the ceremonials of leave-taking. On the 5th, in company with the Regent, I paid my last visit to the Maharao, who with his brothers returned my farewell visit the day following ; and on the 8th and 9th the same formalities were observed with the Regent. The man who had passed through such scenes as the reader has perused, now at the very verge of existence, could not repress his sorrow. His orbless eyes were filled with tears, and as I pressed his palsied hands which were extended over

me, the power of utterance entirely deserted him. I would expunge this, if I did not know that vanity has no share in relating what I consider to be a virtue in the Regent. I have endeavoured to paint his character, and could not omit this trait. I felt he had a regard for me, from a multitude of kind expressions, but of their full value was always doubtful till this day.

I did not get down to the point of embarkation for some hours after my suite, having been detained by the irresistible hold of ague and fever, though I started before the hot-fit had left me. The Regent had prepared the grand barge, which soon landed me on the opposite bank; but *Futteh Bahadoor*, my elephant, seemed to prefer his present quarters to Oodipoor: after his *howda*, pad and other gear, had been taken off and put into the boat, he plunged into the Chumbul with delight, diving in the deepest water, and making a water-spout of his proboscis. He had got a third of the way across, when a new female elephant, less accustomed to these crossings, turned back, and Futteh Bahadoor, regardless of his master, was so gallant as to go after her. In vain the *mahout* (driver) used his *fursi*, digging it into his head behind the ear; this only exasperated the animal, and he made one or two desperate efforts to shake off his pigmy driver. Fortunately (being too weak to mount a horse), I found a baggage-elephant just beginning to be loaded; I put my *howda* upon her, and the 'victorious warrior' suffered the indignity of carrying a load.

We passed the town of Kunarie, belonging to Raj Golaub Sing, Jhala, a relation of the Regent, and one of the Omras of Kotah. It is a thriving comfortable place, and the pinnacled mahl of the Raj gave to it an air of dignity as well as of the picturesque. Our route to Nandta was over a rich and highly-cultivated plain, studded with mango-groves; which do not surprise us, since we know it is the family estate of the Regent. The patrimonial abode is, therefore, much cherished, and is the frequent residence of his son Madhu Sing, by whom I was met half way between Kunarie, and conducted to the family dwelling.

Nandta is a fine specimen of a Rajpoot baronial residence. We entered through a gate-way, at the top of which was the *nobut-khaneh*, or saloon for the band, into an extensive court having colonnaded piazzas all round, in which the vassals were ranged. In the centre of this area was a pavilion, apart from the palace, surrounded by orangeries and odoriferous flowers, with a *jet-deau* in the middle, whence little canals conducted the water and kept up a perpetual verdure. Under the arcade

of this pavilion, amidst a thousand welcomes, thundering of cannon, trumpets, and all sorts of sounds, we took our seats; and scarcely had congratulations passed and the area was cleared of our escorts, when, to the tabor and *saringi*, the sweet notes of a Punjabi *tuppa* saluted our ears. There is a plaintive simplicity, in this music, which denotes originality, and even without a knowledge of the language, conveys a sentiment to the most fastidious, when warbled in the impassioned manner which some of these syrens possess. While the Mahratta delights in the dissonant *drooput*, which requires a rapidity of utterance quite surprising, the Rajpoot reposes in his *tuppa*, which conjoined with his opium, creates a paradise. Here we sat, amidst the orange-groves of Nandta, the *jet-deau* throwing a mist between us and the groupe, whose dark tresses, antelope-eyes, and syren-notes, were all thrown away upon the Frank, for my teeth were beating time from the ague-fit.

It was in this very area, now filled with the youth and beauty of Kotah, that the Regent exhibited his wrestlers; and it was from the very seat I occupied, that Sri-ji of Boondi challenged these ruffians to the encounter related in the annals. Having sat a quarter of an hour, in obedience to the laws of etiquette, and in courtesy to the son of the Regent, who had come thus far to escort me, we took leave and hastened to get a cup of tea.

Talera, September 11th.—Two miles north-west of Nandta we passed the boundary of Regent's estate and the Boondi territory. The roads were good, over a well-cultivated and well-wooded plain, the cotton particularly thriving. Talera is a large village on the margin of a fine clear stream, its banks delightfully wooded, abounding in fish, which even tempted my invalid friends to try their luck. Talera is in the *jageer* of the vakeel who attends me on the part of the Boondi Raja, but is still a heap of ruins, and being on the high road, is open to parties of troops.

Noagong, February 12th.—The road very fair, though a little winding, to avoid some deep ravines. The land rich, well-watered, and too much wooded; but man is wanting to cultivate the fertile waste. The encamping ground afforded not a single tree to screen us from a scorching sun. We passed two cenotaphs, where Rajpoots had fallen; but there was no inscription, and no one could reveal their history.

Boondi, September 13th.—The country and roads, as usual, flat, with an apparent descent from Talera to the base of the Boondi range, whose craggy and unequal summits shewed it could be no buttress to the table-land with which it unites.

The general direction of the range is east-north-east, though there are diverging ridges, the course of which it is impossible to delineate.

As we neared the capital of the Haras, clouds of dust, gradually obscuring the atmosphere, were the first signal of the Raja's approach : soon the sound of drums, the clangor of trumpets, and tramping of steeds, became audible, and at length the *Sandniaswars*, or camel-messengers announced the Raja's presence. He was on horseback. Instantly I dismounted from my elephant, and although too weak to contend with the fire of my steed Javadia, it would have been an unpardonable sin against etiquette to have remained elevated above the prince. All Javadia's warlike propensities were awakened at the stir of this splendid retinue, from which ever and anon some dashing young Hara issued, "witching the world with noble horsemanship ;" and as, in all the various evolutions of the *manege*, there was not a steed in Rajwarra that could surpass mine, to my vast inconvenience and no small danger, he determined on this occasion to shew them off. In one of his furious bounds, he had his fore-feet on the broken parapet of a reservoir, and as I turned him short, he threw up his head, which came in contact with mine, and made my *Chabookswar* exclaim, "*Alimudat* ! " " the help of Ali ! " and a few more bounds brought me in contact with my friend, the Rao Raja, when we dismounted and embraced. After going through the same ceremony with the principal chiefs, he again gave me three fraternal hugs to prove the strength of his friendship, as he said, with blunt sincerity, "this is your home, which you have come to at last." With other affectionate welcomes, he took leave and preceded me. His retinue was striking, but not so much from tinsel ornament, as from the joyous feeling which pervaded every part of it. As my friend twirled his lance in the midst of about eight hundred cavaliers and fifteen hundred foot, I thought of the deeds his ancestors had performed, when leading such a *gole*, to maintain their reputation for fealty. It recalled his words on the formation of the treaty, when the generosity of Britain again restored his country to independence. "What can I say, in return for the restoration of my home ? My ancestors were renowned in the times of the kings, in whose service many lost their lives ; and the time may come when I may evince what I feel, if my services should be required : for myself, my chiefs, are all yours !" I would pledge my existence that performance would not have lagged behind his promise. We allowed a quarter of an hour to elapse, in order to avoid the clouds of dust which a Rajpoot alone can breathe without inconvenience ;

and accompanied by my worthy and dignified old friend, the Maharaja Bikramajeet, we proceeded to our tents, placed upon the bank of a tank beyond the town.

The *coup d'œil* of the castellated palace of Boondi, from whichever side you approach it, is perhaps the most striking in India ; but it would require a drawing on a much larger scale than is here given, to comprehend either its picturesque beauties or its grandeur. Throughout Rajwarra, which boasts many fine palaces, the "Boondi-ca-mahl" is allowed to possess the first rank ; for which it is indebted to situation, not less than to the splendid additions which it has continually received : for it is an aggregate of palaces, each having the name of its founder ; and yet the whole so well harmonizes, and the character of the architecture is so uniform, that its breaks or fantasies appear only to arise from the peculiarity of the position, and serve to diversify its beauties. The Chutter-mahl or that built by Raja Chuttersal, is the most extensive and most modern addition. It has two noble halls, supported by double ranges of columns of serpentine from his own native quarries, in which the vassals are ranged, and through whose ranks you must pass before you reach the state apartments ; the view from which is grand. Gardens are intermingled with palaces raised on gigantic terraces. In one of these I was received by the Raja, on my visit the next day. Whoever has seen the palace of Boondi, can easily picture to himself the hanging-gardens of Semiramis. After winding up the zigzag road, I passed by these halls, through a vista of the vassals, whose contented manly looks delighted me, to the inner palace ; when, having conversed on the affairs of his country for some time, the Raja led the way to one of the terraces, where I was surprised to find a grand court assembled, under the shade of immense trees, trelissed vines, and a fine marble reservoir of water. The chiefs and retainers, to the number of at least a hundred, were drawn up in lines, at the head of which was the throne. The prospect was fine, both for near and distant views, as it includes the lakes called the Jeit Sagur and Prem-Sagur, with the gardens on their margins, and in the distance the city of Kotah, and both banks of the Chumbul ; and beyond these successive terraces and mahls, to the summit of the hill, is seen the cupola of the *Dhabhac's* tomb, through the deep foliage, rising above the battlements of Tarragurh. This terrace is on a grand bastion, which commands the south-east gorge of the valley leading to the city ; and yet, such is the immense mass of building, that from the town one has no idea of its size.

It were vain to attempt a description of Boondi, even

were I inclined. It was the traitor of Kurwar who raised the walls of Tarragurh, and it was Raja Boodh Sing who surrounded the city with walls, of which Omed Sing used to say "they were not required against an equal foe, and no defence against a superior,—and only retarded reconquest if driven out of Boondi, whose best defence was its hills."

September 21st.—Partly by business, partly by sickness, we were compelled to halt here a week. Our friend, the doctor, who had been ailing for some time, grew gradually worse, and at length gave himself up. Cary found him destroying his papers and making his will, and came over deeply affected. I left my bed to reason with my friend, who refused all nourishment, and was sinking fast; but as much from depression of spirits as disease. In vain I used the common arguments to rouse him from his lethargy; I then tried, as the last resort, to excite his anger, and reviled him for giving way, telling him to teach by example as well as precept. By this course, I raised a tinge of blood in my poor friend's cheek, and what was better, got a tumbler of warm jelly down his throat; and appointing the butler, Kali Khan, who was a favourite and had great influence, to keep rousing and feeding him, I left him. No sooner was *he* a little mended, than Cary took to his bed, and nothing could rouse him. But, as time passed, it was necessary to get on; and with litters furnished by the Raja we commenced our journey.

Banks of the Maij River, September 26th, distance ten miles.—I this day quitted my hospitable friend, the Rao Raja. As I left my tent, I found the Maharaja of Thanoh, with the Dublana contingent (*zabta*), amounting to a hundred horse, appointed to escort me to the frontier. Our route lay through the *Banda-ca-nal*, 'the valley of Banda,' whose gorge near the capital is not above four hundred yards in breadth, but gradually expands until we reach Sitoor, about two miles distant. On both sides of this defile are numerous gardens, and the small temples and cenotaphs which crown the heights, in many places well-wooded, produce a most picturesque effect. All these cenotaphs are perfectly classical in form, being simple domes supported by slender columns; that of Sooja Bae is peculiarly graceful. As we reached Sitoor, the valley closed our last view of the fairy palace of the Haras, rearing its domes and gilded spires half-way up the mountain, the *kangras* of Tarragurh encircling it as a diadem, whilst the isolated hill of Meeraji, at the foot of which was the old city, terminates the prospect, and makes Boondi appear as if entirely shut in by rocks. Sitoor is a sacred spot in the history of the Haras, and here is enshrined their tutelary divinity, fair

Hope (*Asapurna*), who has never entirely deserted them, from the saca of Asi, Gowalcoond, and Aser, to the present hour; and though the enchantress has often exchanged her attributes for those of *Kalima*, the faith of her votaries has survived every metamorphosis. A high antiquity is ascribed to Sitoor, which they assert is mentioned in the sacred books; if so, it is not in connection with the Haras. The chief temple is dedicated to Bhavani, of whom Asapurna is an emanation. There is nothing striking in the structure, but it is hallowed by the multitude of sacrificial altars to the *manes* of the Haras who have 'fallen in the faith of the Chetri.' There were no inscriptions, but abundance of lazy drones of Brahmins enjoying their ease under the wide-spreading burr and peepul trees, ready, when well paid, to prepare their incantations to Bhavani, either for good or for evil: it is chiefly for the latter purpose, that Sitoor-ca-Bhavani is celebrated. We continued our journey to Nogong, a tolerable village, but there being no good encamping ground, our tents were pitched a mile farther on, upon the banks of the Maij, whose turbid waters were flowing with great velocity from the accumulated mountain-rills which fall into it during the equinoctial rains.

Thanoh, September 27th.—This is the seat of Maharaja Sawunt Sing, the eldest son of my friend Maharaja Bikramajeet of Kheenee. He affords another instance in which the laws of adoption have given the son precedence of the father, who, while he receives homage in one capacity, must pay it in another, for young Sawunt was raised from the junior to the elder branch of Thanoh. The castle of Sawunt Sing, which guards the western frontier, is small, but of solid masonry, erected on the crest of a low hill. There are only six villages besides Thanoh forming his fief, which is burthened with the service of twenty-five horse. In Boondi, 'a knight's fee,' or what should equip one cavalier, is two hundred and fifty rupees of rent. In the afternoon, the Maharaja brought his son and heir to visit me, a fine little fellow six years of age, who with his sword buckled by his side and miniature shield on his back, galloped his little steed over hill and dale, like a true Rajpoot. I procured several inscriptions, but none above three hundred years old.

Jehajpoor, September 28th.—At daybreak, I again found the Maharaja at the head of his troop, ready to escort me to the frontier. In vain I urged that he had superabundantly performed all the duties of hospitality; "such were his orders," and he must obey them." I well knew the laws of the Medes were not more peremptory than those of Bishen Sing; so we jogged on, beguiling the time in conversation regarding the

semi-barbarous race of tract I was about to enter, the Meenas of Jehajpoor and the Kirar or fastnesses of Bunas, for ages the terror of the country, and who had studded the plains with cenotaphs of the Haras, fallen in defending their goods and chattels against their inroads. The fortress of Jehajpoor was not visible until we entered the pass, and indeed had nearly cleared it, for it is erected on a hill detached from the range but on its eastern face, and completely guards this important point of ingress to Mewar. This district is termed *Chouxasi*, or consisting of eighty-four townships, a favourite territorial sub-division: nor is there any number intermediate between this and three hundred and sixty. Jehajpoor, however, actually contains above a hundred townships, besides numerous *poorwas*, or 'hamlets.' The population consists entirely of the indigenous Meenas, who could turn out four thousand *kumptas*, or 'bowmen,' whose aid or enmity were not to be despised, as has been well demonstrated to Zalim Sing, who held the district during fifteen years. Throughout the whole of this extensive territory, which consists as much of land on the plains as in the hills, the Meena is the sole proprietor, nor has the Rana any property but the two tanks of Bood Lohari, and these were wrested from the Meenas by Zalim Sing during his tenure.*

I was met at the frontier by the *tynati* of Jehajpoor, headed by the old chief of Bussie and his grandson Urjoon, of whom we have spoken in the journey to Kotah. It was a very respectable troop of cavalry, and though their appointments were not equal to my Hara escort, it was satisfactory to see assembled, merely at one post, a body which the Rana two years ago could not have collected round his own person, either for parade or defence: as a beginning, therefore, it is good. Received also the civil manager, Sobharam, the nephew of the minister, a very good man, but without the skill to manage

* The indigenous Meena affords here an excellent practical illustration of Menu's axiom, that "the right in the soil belongs to him who first cleared and tilled the land." The Rajpoot conqueror claims and receives the tribute of the soil, but were he to attempt to enforce more, he would soon be brought to his senses by one of their various modes of self-defence —incendiarism, self-immolation, or abandonment of the lands in a body. We have mystified a very simple subject by basing our arguments on the arrangements of the Mahomedan conqueror. If we mean to follow his example, whose doctrine was the law of the sword, let us do it, but we must not confound might with right: consult custom and tradition throughout India, where traces of originality yet exist, and it will invariably appear that the right in the soil is in the cultivator, who maintains even in exile the *huk bapota-ca-bhom*, in as decided a manner as any freeholder in England. But Colonel Briggs has settled this point, to those who are not blinded by prejudice.

such a tract. He was accompanied by several of the Meena *naiques*, or chiefs. There is much that is interesting here, both as matter of duty and of history ; we shall therefore halt for a few days, and rest our wearied invalids.

CHAPTER VIII.

Extraordinary attack of illness in the author.—Suspicion of poison.—Journey to Mandelgurh.—The Kirar.—*Tranquil state of the country.—The Meenas subsiding into peaceful subjects.—Scenery in the route.—*Sahsun, *or ecclesiastical lands.— Castle of Amergurh.— Kachowra.— Its ancient importance.—Our true policy with regard to the feudatories in these parts.—Damnioh.—Manpoora.—Signs of reviving prosperity.—Arrival at Mandelgurh.—The* Duserra.—*Sickness of the party left behind.—Assembly of the Bhomias and Patels.—Description of Mandelgurh.—Rebuilt by one of the Takshac race.—Legend of Mandelgurh.—Genealogical tablet of stone.—Pedigrees of the tribes.—Mandelgurh granted to the Rahtores by Arungzeb.—Recovered by the Rana.—Taxes imposed.—Lavish grants.—Bageet.—The author rejoins his party.—Birslabas.—Akolah.—Desolation of the country.—Inscriptions.—Hamirgurh.—Scoroh.—Superb landscape.—Mirage.—Testimony of gratitude from the elders of Poorh.—Thriving state of Morowlee.—Rasmy.—Antiquities.—Curious law.—Jassmoh.—Waste country.—Inscriptions.—Copper mines.—Sunwar.— Triveni, or point of junction of three rivers.—Temple of Parswanath.—Deserted state of the country.—Kurairah.—Mowlee.—Barren country.—Hunting seat of Nahra-Muggra.—Heights of Toos and Mairta.—End of second journey.*

Jehajpoor, October 1st.—My journalizing had nearly terminated yesterday. Duncan and Cary being still confined to their beds, my relative, Captain Waugh, sat down with me to dinner ; but fever and ague having destroyed all appetite on my part, I was a mere spectator. I had, however, fancied a cake of *mukhi* flour, but had not eaten two mouthfuls before I experienced extraordinary sensations ; my head seemed

expanding to an enormous size, as if it alone would have filled the tent ; my tongue and lips felt tight and swollen, and although I underwent no alarm, nor suffered the slightest loss of sense, I deemed it the prelude to one of those violent attacks, which have assailed me for several years past, and brought me to the verge of death. I begged Captain Waugh to leave me ; but he had scarcely gone before a constriction of the throat came on, and I thought all was over. I rose up, however, and grasped the tent-pole, when my relative re-entered with the surgeon. I beckoned them not to disturb my thoughts, instead of which they thrust some ether and compounds down my throat, which operated with magical celerity. I vomited violently ; the constriction ceased ; I sunk on my pallet, and about two in the morning I awoke, bathed in perspiration, and without a remnant of disease. It was difficult to account for this result : the medical oracle fancied I had been poisoned, but I was loth to admit it. If the fact were so, the poison must have been contained in the cake, and as it would have been too a great risk to retain the person who prepared it, the baker was discharged It was fortunate that the symptoms were such as to induce Captain Waugh to describe them so fully, and it was still more fortunate for me that the doctor was not able to go out with his fishing-rod, for the whole transaction did not last five minutes. This is about the fourth time I have been "upon the brink" (*canari poncha*) since I entered Mewar.

Kujoori, October 2nd.—Left my sick friends this morning to nurse each other, and having an important duty to perform at Mandelgurh, which is out of the direct route, appointed a rendezvous where I shall meet them when this work is over. I was for the first time compelled to shut myself up in my *palki* ; incessant fever and ague for the last two months have disorganized a frame which has had to struggle with many of these attacks. We are now in what is termed the *Kirar*, for so the tract is named on both banks of the Bunas to the verge of the plateau ; and my journey was through a little nation of robbers by birth and porfession : but their *kumptas* (bows) were unstrung, and their arrows rusting in the quiver. Well may our empire in the east be called one of opinion, when a solitary individual of Britain, escorted by a few of Skinner's horse, may journey through the valley of Kujoori, where, three short years ago, every crag would have concealed an ambush prepared to plunder him ! At present, I could by signal have collected four thousand bowmen around me, to protect or to plunder ; though the Meenas, finding that their rights are respected, are subsiding into regular tax-paying subjects, and call out with

their betters "*Utul Raj !*" ("May your sway be everlasting!") We had a grand convocation of the Meena *Naiques*, and, in the Rana's name, I distributed crimson turbans and scarfs; for as through our mediation the Rana had just recovered the district of Jehajgurh, he charged me with its settlement. I found these Meenas true children of nature, who for the first time seemed to feel they were received within the pale of society, instead of being considered as out-casts. "The heart must leap kindly back to kindness," is a sentiment as powerfully felt by the semi-barbarians of the Kirar as by the more civilized habitants of other climes.

Our route was through a very narrow valley, little susceptible of cultivation, though a few patches were visible near the hamlets, scattered here and there. The scene was wild, and the cool morning air imparted vigour to my exhausted frame. The slopes of the valley in many places are covered with trees to the very summit of the mountains, on which the *koorkeroo* or wild cock was crowing his matins, and we were in momentary expectation of seeing some bears, fit associates of the Meenas, in their early promenades. As we approached Kujoori, the valley widened, so as to admit of its being termed a township of fifty-two thousand beegas which afforded another proof of ancestral wisdom, for it was in *sahsun*, or grant to the Brahmins: but the outlaws of the Kirar, though they sacrifice a tithe of their plunder to 'our Lady of the Pass' (*Ghatta Rani*), have little consideration for the idlers of the plains. This feeling is not confined to the Meenas; for the Bhomia Rajpoots, despising all the anathemas of the Church, have seized on the best lands of Kujoori. But only a small portion of the *bawuna* (fifty-two thousand), about seventeen thousand English acres, is arable.

Kachola, or *Kachowra, October 3rd.*—Execrable roads! Our route continued through the same valley, occasionally expanding to the westward. Half-way, we passed the baronial castle of Amergurh, whose chief, Rawut Dulleel Sing, is now on duty with his quota at Jehajpoor, but his uncle Pahar Sing, who is a great favourite with our party (by whom he is known as 'the mountain-lion'), came to meet and conduct me to the castle. But I was too unwell, or should on many accounts have desired to visit this somewhat celebrated abode of one of the Babas (*infants*) of Mewar, whose feud I maintained for him against his potent neighbour of Shahpoora, which has elsewhere been related.* It is quite unassailable, being built on an isolated rock, and, except by a circuitous path on one side, there is no

*See Vol. I, p. 186.

passage through the dense jungle that surrounds it: a mode of fortifying recommended by Menu, but which, if universally followed in this land so studded with fortresses, would waste no small portion of the sovereignty. I was quite satisfied with this view of the castle of Dulleel, and enjoyed from the point of descent a noble prospect. In the foreground is the cenotaph of Rana Ursi, in the centre of the valley, which extended and gradually opened towards Mandelgurh, whose blue ridge was distinctly visible in the distance. The hills to the right were broken abruptly into masses, and as far as the eye could stretch on every side, were disordered heaps of gigantic rocks. To reclaim this district, the largest in Mewar, I am now intent, having convoked all the Bhomias and Patels of its three hundred and sixty townships at the chief city, Mandelgurh. My friend, Pahar Sing, as *locum tenens* of his uncle, expended powder on the occasion; and must have charged his *patereroes* to the muzzle. Pahar-ji joined me on his *Panch-Kalian* (so they term a horse with four white legs and a white nose), and determined to escort me to Mandelgurh; a service, as he said, not only due from his family, but in accordance with the commands of his sovereign the Rana, of whom Pahar was a faithful, zealous, and valiant supporter during his adversity. The Bhomias of Mandelgurh, in fact, generally deserve the praise of having maintained this stronghold without either command or assistance throughout the whole period of his misfortunes.

Kachowra is a township rated at six thousand rupees of annual revenue in the rent-roll of Mewar, but is now an inconsiderable village. In former times, it must have been a place of importance, for all around, to a considerable distance, the ground is strewed with fragments of sculpture of a superior character, and one spot is evidently the site of the cenotaphs of the family. The town had stood on the western bank of an immense lake, which through neglect is now a swamp; and, half-way up the hill, are disclosed, amidst the brushwood of the *dho*, the ruins of a temple: but tradition has perished with the population, who were subjected at once to the curse of constant foreign invasion and the inroads of the Meenas of the Kirar. Thus a soil, whose richness is apparent from the luxuriance of its meadows, is in a state of entire desolation. Kachowra forms the *putta* of Shahpoora in this district, whose chief has to serve two masters, for he is a tributary of Ajmeer for Shahpoora, itself a fief of Mewar, and holds an estate of about forty thousand rupees of annual rent in Mandelgurh, which has been two years under sequestration for his refusal to attend the summons to Oodipoor, and for his barbarous murder of the

chief of Amergurh.* This is a state of things which ought not to exist. When we freed these countries from the Mahrattas, we should have renounced the petty tributes imposed upon the surrounding chiefs *not within* the limits of the district of Ajmeer, and the retention of which is the source of irritating discussions with these princes through the feudatories. Presuming on this external influence, the Shahpoora Raja set his sovereign's warrant at defiance, and styled himself a subject of Ajmeer; nor was it until he found he was bound by a double tie of duty, that he deigned to appear at the capital. The resumption of the estate in Mandelgurh alone overcame the inertness of the chief of Shahpoora; he has already too much in the *Chourasi*, or eighty-four townships of Shahpoora, for such a subject as he is, who prefers a foreign master to his legitimate lord. I would recommend that the Rahtore chiefs of Marwar, beyond the Aravalli hills, now tributary to Ajmeer, and who consequently only look to that state, should be replaced under their proper head: the sacrifice is of no moment to us, and to them it will be a boon.

Damnioh, 9th October.—I was detained at Kachowra by a violent accession of fever and ague, as well as spleen, increased no doubt by the unhealthiness of the position amidst swamps and jungle. This is a fine healthy spot, where I should like to convene the *Bhomias* and ryats, to endeavour to remove the reproach of so beautiful a land remaining waste. Damnioh, which is in the sequestrated *putta* of Shahpoora, is a town of two thousand houses; a universal ruin!

Manpoora, 15th.—After a week's halt, reached this spot, about a mile south-west of the town, and on the bank of the Bunas. The entire population of Manpoora turned out to receive me; the damsels with their brazen vessels of water on their heads; but the song of the Suhailea had ceased to charm and my ague made me too ill even to return their kindness. To-day it has abated, and to-morrow, with another respite, I will try to get through the work which brought me here. Mandelgurh is three coss from hence. I was rejoiced to see the signs of reviving prosperity about Manpoora; some fine patches of sugar-cane were refreshing sights.

Mandelgurh, 16th and 17th.—Proceeded up the valley and encamped within half a mile of the city, from which the governor and his *cortege* came to meet and welcome me; but I was too enfeebled to ascend the fort, which was a subject of regret. It is by no means formidable, and may be about four furlongs in length, with a low rampart wall, and bastions encircling the crest of the hill. The governor's residence ap-

* See Vol. I, p. 186.

pears on the west side, at which spot the Regent of Kotah was compelled to abandon his ladders, which they retain as a trophy. This is the festival of the *Duserra,* the day sacred to Rama ; but feasting is lost upon me, for this is the ninth day of abstinence from dinner. Captain Waugh rejoined me yesterday, looking very ill, and giving a poor account of my friends, especially Cary, who is sinking rapidly. He left them encamped at Bageet, the point of rendezvous in the Bunas where I shall join them to-morrow. He found me on my *charpae* (pallet), with some threescore leeches (which I had got from Mandelgurh) on my left side,* while I was attending to and noting down the oral reports of the Bhomias and Patels of the district, who filled my tent, many remaining in groups outside. I notwithstanding got through the work to my satisfaction, and have obtained a thorough insight into the agricultural details of this fine tract, which I may touch upon, if I am able, the first halt.

Mandelgurh was rebuilt by a chief of the Balnote tribe, one of the ramifications of the Solanki or Chalook race, which furnished a splendid dynasty of kings to Anhulwarra (Nehrwalla) Patun, who ruled over the western maritime provinces of India from the tenth to the fourteenth century. They were of the great Takshac or Ophite race, which, with three other tribes, became converts to Brahminism. The Balnote of Mandelgurh was a branch of the family which occupied Tonk-Thoda on the Bunas, recognized in their traditional poems as Takshac, or, in the dialect, Takitpoora, 'city of the takshac, or snake.'† Although tradition asserts that the Solanki of Thoda migrated from Patun during the religious wars in the twelfth century, it is more probable that the branch fixed itself here during their progress from the north in search of settlements ; for, their genealogical creed assigns Lokote, in the Punjab, as the cradle of their power. It is indeed a curious fact, amounting to demonstration of the Indo-Scythic origin of the Agnicula races

* Enlargement of the spleen appears an invariable accompaniment of protracted fever and ague, arising from such causes as afflicted us. I could feel the spleen at the very pit of the stomach, as hard as a stone. The bleeding reduced it, as it did generally in my case ; for the leeches were enormous, and must have each drained half an ounce of blood ; but I had only the choice of them or the actual cautery, which was strongly recommended by my native friends : of two evils I chose what appeared to me the least.

† Tonk-Thoda is well worth visiting. The artist might fill a portfolio with architectural and picturesque sketches. Moreover, topazes of a good quality are found in its hills. The sacred cave of Gokurna, celebrated in the history of the great Chohan king, Beesildeo of Ajmeer, is also worth notice.

that they all lay claim to this northern origin, in spite of their entrance into the world through the medium of fire (*agni*): in fact, the glorious egotism of the Brahmin is never more conspicuous than when he asserts the superiority of the Chohans over the more ancient races of Surya and Soma; that "these were born of woman, but they were made by Brahmins:" a proof of conversion which requires no comment. In spite of this fabled birth at the fountain-head, the Anhulcoond of Aboo, tradition negatives the assumed pedigree of the Brahmins, and brings them all from the north. Be this as it may, the branch which fixed itself at Mandelgurh gave its name to the tract, which is still recognized by some as Balnote. The first possession the founder had, was Larpoora, a town of great antiquity. He had in his service a Bhil, named Mandoo, who, while guarding the sugar-cane from the wild hog, came upon one sound asleep. To ensure his arrow piercing the animal, he began to sharpen it upon a stone; and, to his astonishment, found it transmuted to gold. He repaired to his master, who returned with Mandoo, and found the stone, with the hog still asleep beside it; but no sooner had he seized upon his prize, than *Baraha* disappeared. With the possession of the *paris-putter*, the 'philosopher's stone,' he raised the walls of Mandelgurh, which was so named after the fortunate Bhil. By an act of injustice to one of his subjects, he forfeited Mandelgurh to a descendant. This subject was a Jogi, who had a mare of such extraordinary speed as to be able to run down an antelope. Whether the Balnote prince thought the sport unsuitable to an ascetic we are not told; but he forcibly took away the mare. The Jogi complained to the king, who sent a force and expelled the Balnote from Mandelgurh, and his descendants are petty Bhomias at Jawul and Kachrode, retaining, though mere peasants, the distinctive title of Rao. The numerous stories of this kind, common throughout Rajwarra, accounting for the foundation of many ancient places, may merely record in this manner, the discovery of mineral wealth; from the acquisition and the loss of which the legendary moralist has constructed his tale.

I discovered in the remains of a marble *bawari*, or reservoir, at Kachowra, two large tablets, containing the pedigree of the Solanki family, which will require time to decipher. Tradition, however, is busy with the name of Raja Bheem, and his son Burrun of Anhulwarra, from whom many tribes branched off; and although, from the first, only royal houses were founded, the other claims a greater celebrity from originating a heterogeneous breed, which descended into the third and fourth great classes, the *Vaisya* and *Sudrā*. From him

the Bhagairwal Mahajins, who became converts to the Jain faith, claim descent, as well as the Goojurs of Sonte-Katorioh; the *Soonars*, or goldsmiths, of Bunkun; the Bhil communities of Oguna-Panora (or Mewar); and likewise those of Mow-Maidana, in Kotah. Whether from Burrun and his degenerate offspring originated the name of *burrun-sunkur*, applied to the mixed classes, I am not informed. The Bhagairwal is one of the "twelve and a half (*sari bara nyat*) castes of Mahajins," or mercantile tribes, subdivided into innumerable families, the greater portion of whom profess the Jain creed, and nearly all are of Rajpoot ancestry: an important fact in the pedigree of this considerable part of the population. The lineal descendant of the Thoda Rao still resides at Bussie in a small village; and two other branches, who held large possessions at Thodri and Jehajpoor retain the villages of Mircheakhaira and Butwarro, both in Cheetore; they have preserved the title of Rao amidst all the revolutions that have deprived them of their estates; nor would any prince of Rajwarra deem himself degraded by their alliance. Such is the virtue of pedigree in these regions. I should imagine that the Balnotes held of the Ranas of Mewar, as Mandelgurh has been an integral portion of that state during the most flourishing period of the Anhulwarra dynasty, although the inscription of Cheetore savours of conquest; in which case we have at once a solution of the question, and proof that the Balnote was inducted into Mandelgurh by his superior, Komarpal.

In S. 1755 (A. D. 1699), the tyrant Arungzeb granted Mandelgurh to the Rahtore chief of Pisangun, named Doodaji, who subdivided it into allotments for his brethren, leaving no revenue for the duties of the civil administration and repairs of the castle. To remedy this, he imposed a tax, called *daotra* or *dasotra*, or 'tenth' of the net value of each harvest, upon his Bhomia brethren. When the Rana succeeded in expelling the royal garrison, he found it a work of some difficulty to get rid of the Rahtore feudatories; and he gave them regular *puttas* for their estates, subject to the payment of *dasotra*; but as he found it led to interference, in the inspection of crops, and to fluctuation and appeals in bad seasons, he commuted the tax for service of one horseman and one foot-soldier for each five hundred rupees of rent, and a certain small sum annually to mark their tributary condition.

In these times of turbulence, other impositions were laid on the Bhomias of his own kindred, the Ranawuts, Kanawuts, and Suktawuts who established their rights with their swords when the district was subjected to the emperor. In the same manner as with the Rahtores, the Rana confirmed their acquisitions

on the payment of certain fines called *bhom-burrur*, which were either *burzkar* and *trisola*, or 'annual' and 'triennial;' the first being levied from the holders of single villages, the latter from those who had more than one. Thus, Amergurh was fixed at two thousand five hundred rupees; Amuldoh, fifteen hundred; Teentoro, thirteen hundred; Jhoonjralo, fourteen hundred, &c. triennially, having obtained their lands by main force. They also, when Mandelgurh was threatened, would repair with their vassals and defend it during *ten days* at their own expense, after which they received rations from the state. There were various other fines collected from the Bhomia vassalage, such as *loasma*, or for the support of the *Nakarchis* (kettle-drummers), the mace, standard, and even the torch-bearers attached to each garrison. There was also *khur-lakur*, for wood and forage, which has been elsewhere explained; *hal-burra*, or 'plough-tax,' and *ghasmali*, or 'pasturage,' the rates of which are graduated, and vary in amount with the power of enforcing their collections. But owing to these circumstances, the best land in Mandelgurh belongs to the Bhomia chieftains.

It was about this time, in the reign of Juggut Sing II., that Omed Sing of Shahpoora had the grant of seventy-three villages in Mandelgurh, one-fifth of the whole district, subject only to the fine of three thousand two hundred and fifty rupees annually for *ghasmali*, with five hundred more to the deputy governor, and two hundred to the *Choudhri*, or territorial head of the district. In this lavish manner were estates disposed of. This family continued to hold it until S. 1843, when the minister Somji, in order to obtain his support during the Chondawut rebellion, gave him a formal acquittance for this service, and in addition to these lands, the two subordinate fiefs of Dangermow and Borwah on the Plateau and the rich estate of Ageoncha on the Khari; in return for which, he exacted a stipulation to serve with four hundred horse: a contract fulfilled only by one chief of the family, who fell leading his contingent at the battle of Oojein. His descendants seem to have claimed immunity on the score of his service; and the present incumbent is a madman. Great changes, however, have recently been made in the condition of the Bhomias, and these desultory fines have all merged into a duty more accordant with the character of the Rajpoot: service in the garrisons of Mandelgurh and Jehajpoor, and a fixed annual sum from those who are too poor to command even a single horse.

Bageet, 18th, eight miles.—A large village on the west of our own stream, the Bairis, coming from the Oodisagur. Our road lay over a rich soil, as usual overgrown with grass. Here

I rejoined my sick friends, all very ill; the Doctor better, but Cary in a very precarious condition.

Birslabas, 19th. – The route over the most fertile plains of Mewar; but one continuous mass of jungle and rank grass. The Maharaja came out to meet me, a courteous, polished Rajpoot. He is of the Ranawut clan, descended from Rana Umra Sing, and the elder branch of the Shahpoora family. Both his father and grandfather fell defending the cause of Shah Jehan against the usurper Arungzeb, which lost him his birthright; but he has five villages left attached to Birslabas. Encamped near the altars of his heroic ancestors.

Ambah, 21st, six and a half miles.—The route over a scene of desolation; fine fields, fruitful of grass and ruins. Sent one of my Brahmins to the town of Akolah, two coss distant, and had several inscriptions copied; they were all immunities or grants of privileges to the printers of that town, thence called *Cheepa-ca-Akolah,* to distinguish it from another of the same name. I halted at Birslabas, received several visits, and held interesting conversations with the Maharaja; but fever and ague leave the mind in a sorry state. I can pay no attention to barometer or perambulator; of the latter Baboo Mohes keeps a diary, and on his intelligence I can depend.

Hamirgurh, 22nd.—This town belongs to Beerumdeo, Ranawut, the son of Dheeruj Sing, who was the chief adviser of the Saloombra princes in the rebellion of S. 1843, during which he obtained it. The present chief is an oaf, always intoxicated; and as he did not discharge the *baoris,* or professional thieves in his service, on the return of these days of peace, he was deprived of two towns amounting to seven thousand rupees' annual rent. He ought, indeed, by the treaty of A. D. 1818, to have lost Hamirgurh, but he contrived by various indirect means to elude it, and to retain this, one of the most thriving places in Mewar. It contains about eight hundred inhabited houses, tenanted chiefly by manufacturers of chintz and *dopattis,* or 'scarfs,' such as are worn by all the Rajpootnis. It was a fine lake, filled with a variety of wild duck, which live unmolested amidst the *sangara* and *lotos.* The more ancient name of this place is Bakrole, as I found by two incriptions, which again furnish specimens of sumptuary legislation.

Seanoh, 23rd, eight miles and three furlongs.—We are now in the very heart of Mewar, plains extending as far as the eye can reach. Traces of incipient prosperity are visible, but it will require years to repair the mischief of the last quarter of a century. Passed through Ojhanoh, Amlee, Nereoh—all surrendered in consequence of the treaty of 1818: the last-

mentioned, together with Seanoh, from the "Red Riever," as we have nicknamed the chieftain of Bhadaisir. The prospect from this ground is superb: the Oodipoor hills in the distance; those of Poorh and Goorlah, with their cupolas, on our right; the fantastic peak of Burruk rising insulated from the plain. We are now approaching a place of rest, which we shall much require; though I fear Cary's will be one of perpetuity. Saw a beautiful Mirage (*see-kote*) this morning, the certain harbinger of the cold season. The ridge of Poorh underwent a thousand transformations, and the pinnacle of Burruk was crowned with a multitude of spires. There is not a more delightful relaxation than to watch the changes of these evanescent objects, emblems of our own ephemeral condition. This was the first really cold morning. The *punchaet*, or elders of Poorh, with several of the most respectable inhabitants to the number of fifty, came all this way to see me, and testify their happiness and gratitude. Is there another nook in the earth where such a principle is professed, much less acted on? Hear their spokesman's reply to my question, "why did they take the trouble to come so far from home?" I give it *verbatim*: "Our town had not two hundred inhabited dwellings when you came amongst us; now there are twelve hundred: the Rana is our sovereign, but you are to us next to *Purmeswar* (the Almighty); our fields are thriving, trade is reviving, and we have not been molested even for the wedding-portion.* We are happy, and we have come to tell you so; and what is five coss, or five hundred, to what you have done for us?" All very true, my friends, if you think so. After a little wholesome advice to keep party feuds from the good town of Poorh, they took leave, to return their ten miles on foot.

Since the town council left me, I have been kept until half-past seven by the Baba of Mungrope, and the Thakoor of Rawurdoh, whose son I redeemed from captivity in the fortress of Ajmeer. Worn out; but what is to be done? It is impossible to deny one's self to chiefs who have also come miles from the best motives. Now for coffee and the *charpae*.

Rasmy, 23rd October.—The direct or usual route is thirteen and a half miles, but as I made a circuit by Morowlee, it was fifteen. Had I taken the common route, I should have followed the Bunas the whole way; as it was, for the last half I skirted its low banks, its limpid stream flowing gently to the north-east. Found the cultivation considerably increased

* When the Rana was about celebrating simultaneously the marriage of two daughters and a grand-daughter to the princes of Jessulmeer, Bikaneer, and Kishengurh, his subjects were called on for the "tenth."

compared with last year; but it is still a desert, overgrown with grass and brushwood, in which these little cultivated oases are "few and far between." Morowlee was thriving in the midst of ruin, with fifty-seven ploughs at work; there were but twelve when I entered Mewar. Rasmy has also seventy families instead of the twenty I found; and in a few years I hope to see them greatly increased. We had some delicious trout from the Bunas, some of them equal to what we caught last year at Pahona, the largest of which weighed seventy-three rupees, or about two pounds, and near seventeen inches long by nine in girth. My friend Tom David Steuart was more successful than we were in getting them to rise at the fly; in revenge we took them, unsportsmanlike, in a net. This appears to be the season for eating them.

Rasmy is a place of considerable interest, and tradition is at work to establish its antiquity, connecting it with the name of Raja Chund; but whether the Pramar of Chundravati, or the Chohan of Abhanair, I cannot learn. There were vestiges of past days; but even in these regions, where to a certain extent they respect antiquity, I find the ruined temples are despoiled, and appropriated to modern fabrics. Amongst the groves of Rasmy I found some fragments of patriarchal legislation, prohibiting "the ladies from carrying away under their *ghagra* (petticoats) any portion of the *sad*, or village-feast!" I also discovered a tablet raised by the collective inhabitants of Rasmy, which well illustrates the truth, that they had always some resort against oppression. It runs as follows: "Written by the merchants, bankers, printers, and assembled *punchaet* of Rasmy—Whereas the collector of town-duties oppressed the merchant by name Pakur, and exacted exorbitant duties on grain and *reza* (unbleached cloth), for which he abandoned the place; but the government officer having forsworn all such conduct for the future, and prevailed on him to return, and having taken the god to witness—we, the assembled *punch*, have set up this stone to record it. Asar the 3rd, S. 1819."

Fourteen years have elapsed since I first put my foot in Mewar, as a subaltern of the Resident's* escort, when it passed through Rasmy. Since that period, my whole thoughts have been occupied with her history and that of her neighbours.

Jassmoh, 24th; distance fourteen miles, but not above twelve direct.—This in past times was a township of celebrity, and in the heart of the finest soil in India, with water at hand; but it had not a single habitation when we entered the country;

* My esteemed friend, Mr. Græme Mercer of Mævisbank.

now, it has eighty families. Our way for fourteen miles was through one wide waste of untrodden plain ; the Bunas continued our companion half-way, when *she* departed for Guloond to our right. Saw many inscriptions, of which we shall give an account hereafter. Passed the copper-mines of Dureeba ; but they are filled with water, and the miners are all dead.

Sunwar, 25th ; distance twelve and a half miles by the direct route through Loneroh ; but I made a circuit to visit the celebrated field of battle between Rawul Samarsi, of Cheetore, and Bhola Bheem, of Anhulwarra Patun, recorded by the bard Chund in his *Rasa.* This magnificent plain, like all the rest of this once garden of Mewar, is overgrown with the *kesoola* or *plas,* and lofty rank grass ; and the sole circumstance by which it is known, is the site. The bard describes the battle as having occurred in *Khet Kuraira*, or field of Kuraira, and that the Solanki, on his defeat, retreated across the river, meaning the Bairis, which is a few miles to the south. A little way from hence is the *Sungum*, or point of junction of the Bairis and Bunas, which, with a third small stream forms, a *triveni* ; at their point of confluence there is an altar to Mahadeo.

At Kuraira there is a temple of some celebrity, dedicated to the twenty-third of the Jain apostles, Parswanath. I found several inscriptions recording its foundation in S. 11..., and several from 1300 to 1350. We must supply the figures wanting in the first. The priests are poor and ignorant ; but they are transcribing its history, and such as it is it shall be given. The temple is imposing, and though evidently erected in the decline of the arts, may be considered a good specimen for the twelfth century. It consists of two domes, supported by numerous massive columns of a species of porphyry, of close texture, excessively hard, and taking a fine polish. The capitals of the columns are filled with Jain figures of their pontiffs. The domes are of nearly equal diameters, about thirty feet each, and about forty in height ; under the further one is sanctum of Parswa, and the other within the votaries. There is a splendid colonnaded vestibule at the entrance, richly sculptured, which gives a very grand appearance to the whole edifice ; but it stands in the midst of desolation. Even thirty years ago, these plains were covered with crops of *joar*, in which an elephant would have been lost ; now there is scarcely the trace of a footpath, and with some difficulty did I make way in my *palki* (for I am unable to mount my horse) through the high grass which completely overtopped it, and the *babool* trees, the thorns of which annoyed us. Kuraira, which formerly contained six hundred houses, has now only sixty ; and

more than half of these have been built since we came amongst them. The damsels of Kuraira came out to welcome me with the 'song of joy,' and bringing water. The distance is seven miles from Rasmy to Kuraira, and nine thence to Sunwar. The latter belongs to one of the infants (*babas*) of Mewar, the Maharaja Dowlet Sing, now Killehdar or commandant of Komulmer. This chief town of the estate of my friend the Maharaja is but small, and in no flourishing condition. There is a small fort, in which he contrived to maintain himself against the savage bands who long prowled over the country.—Transcribed an inscription, and found it to be the abolition of a monopoly of tobacco, dated S. 1826.

Maowlee, 26th; seven and a half miles.—As usual all was barren between Sunwar and Maowlee; though at each are the traces of reviving industry. This was formerly a considerable town and rated in the books at seven thousand rupees' annual rent; but now it yields not seven hundred. Its population consists of about eighty families of all classes, half of which have been recalled from their long exile in Malwa and Candeish, and have already given a new aspect to Maowlee in its sugar-canes. Her highness' steward, however, is not one of the faithful. There is a very fine *bawari*, or reservoir, of course marble, constructed by *Baeji Raj*, 'the royal mother' of the present Rana and his sister, in whose appanage it is.—An inscription, dated S. 1737, recorded an ordinance in favour of the Jains, that "the oil-mill of Maowlee should not work on the four rainy months;" in order to lessen the destruction of animal life.

Heights of Toos and Mairta, 27th; fourteen miles and a half.—At length there is an end to disastrous journey; and from this ground I stir not again, till I start for *Samoodra* (the sea), to embark for the land of my sires. Our route, as usual, over desolate fields, doubly striking as we passed the hunting-seats of Nahra-Muggra, or 'tiger-mount'. Bajraj, the royal steed, who seemed instinctively to know he was at the end of the journey, was unwilling to quit the path and his companions, when I urged him to pick his way amidst the ruined palace of the Ranas, where, without metaphor, "the owl stands sentinel;" and which was crumbling into and choking up the Bhamuni, whose monotonous murmur over those impediments increased the melancholy sensations which arose on beholding such a scene. Every year is aiding its rapid decay, and vegetation fixing itself everywhere, rends its walls asunder. The range of stabling for thirty horses, all of stone, even to the mangers, is one extensive ruin. It was on this spot, according to the chronicles, that the sage Harit bestowed the enchanted blade upon

the great sire of the Seesodias, eleven centuries ago ; but they have run their career, and the problem remains to be solved, whether they have to commence a new course, or proceed in the same ratio of decay as the palace of the tiger-mount. The walls around this royal preserve no longer serve to keep the game from prowling where they please. A noble boar crossed our path, but have no pursuers ; 'our blood was cold' ; we wanted rest. As we approached our old ground, my neighbours of Mairta and villages adjacent poured out to welcome our return, preceded by the *dholi* of Toos and his huge kettle-drum, and the fair, bearing their *lootas* or brazen vessels with water, chaunted the usual strain of welcome. I dropped a piece of silver into each as I passed, and hastened to rest my wearied limbs.

Poor Cary will never march again ! Life is almost extinct, and all of us are but the ghosts of what we were.

CHAPTER IX.

The author obliged to take a journey to Boondi.—Cause of the journey.—Sudden death of the Rao Raja, who left his son to the author's care.—The cholera morbus, or murri.*—Its ravages.—Curious expedient to exclude it from Kotah and Boondi.—Bad weather.—Death of the author's elephant.—Pohona.—Bhilwarra.—Gratifying reception of the author.—State of the town contrasted with its former condition.—Projects for its further improvement.—Reflections on its rise.—Jehajpoor.—Difficulties of the road.—Arrival at Boondi.—The aspect of the court.—Interview with the young Rao Raja.—Attentions paid to the author.*

Oodipoor, July, 1821.—When I concluded the narrative of my journey in October last year, I had no expectation that I should ever put my foot in the stirrup again, except *en route* to Bombay, in order to embark for Old England ; but '*honhar*' ! as my Rajpoot friends exclaim, with a sigh, when an invincible destiny opposes their intentions. I had only awaited the termination of the monsoon to remove the wreck of a once robust frame to a more genial clime ; and now it will remain to be proved whether my worthy friend Duncan's prophecy—"you must die, if you stay here six months more"—will be fulfilled. Poor Cary lies entombed on the heights of Mairta ; the doctor himself is just going off to the Cape, half-dead from the Kotah

fever ; and, as if that were not enough, the *narooa*, or Guinea-worm, has blanched his cheek and made him a cripple. My cousin, Captain Waugh, is at Kotah, depressed by a continuance of the same *malaria*, and in a few days I again start *solus*, in the midst of the monsoon, for Harouti.

A few days ago I received an express from Boondi, announcing the sudden death of my estimable friend, the Rao Raja, who in his last moments nominated me guardian of his infant son, and charged me to watch over his welfare and that of Boondi. The more formal letter of the minister was accompanied by one for the Rani, mother of the young prince, from whom also, or in his name, I had a few lines, both seconding the bequest of the dying prince, and reminding me of the dangers of a minority, and the elements by which they were surrounded. The appeal was irresistible, and the equipage was ordered out for immediate departure to Mairta, and thence to Maowlee, twenty-five miles distant, where I should join them.

The Raja fell a victim to *murri*, the emphatic appellation of cholera, which has now been wasting these regions since 1817. They might well say that, if at this important period in their history, we destroyed the demon of rapine, which had so long preyed upon their repose, we had in lieu of it, introduced *death* amongst them for such is the interpretation of *murri*.* It was in our armies that this disease first appeared in northern India ; and although for some time we flattered ourselves that it was only the intemperate, the ill-fed, or ill-clothed, that fell victims to it, we soon discovered that *murri* was no respector of persons, and that the prince and the peasant, the European and the native, the robust and the weak, the well-fed and the abstinent, were alike subject to her influence. I can number four intimate friends, my brother officers, who were snatched away in the very prime of life by this disease ; and in the states under my political control, it assailed in two instances, the palace : the Oodipoor prince recovered, but the Boondi Rao's time was come. He conducted himself most heroically, and in the midst of the most dreadful torture with which the human frame can be afflicted, he never lost his self-possession, but in every interval of suffering, conversed upon the affairs of his little dominion, giving the fullest instructions for the future with composure. He particularly desired that none of his wives should mount the pyre with his corpse : and that as soon as he ceased to breathe, I should be invited to Boondi ; for that "he

* From the Sanscrit *mri*, 'to die.

left *Lalji* (an endearing epithet to children) in my lap." It was only during our last journey through Boondi, that I was amused with my friend's expedient to keep "death" out of his capital, and which I omitted to mention, as likewise the old Regent's mode of getting rid of this unwelcome visitor in Kotah; nor should they be separated. Having assembled the Brahmins, astrologers, and those versed, in incantations, a grand rite was got up, sacrifice made, and a solemn decree of *desvatto*, or banishment, was pronounced against *murri*. Accordingly, an equipage was prepared for her, decorated with funeral emblems, painted black and drawn by a double team of black oxen; bags of grain, also black, were put into the vehicle, that the lady might not go forth without food, and driven by a man in sable vestments, followed by the yells of the populace. *Murri* was deported across the Chumbul, with the commands of the priest that she should never set foot again in Kotah. No sooner did my deceased friend hear of her expulsion from that capital, and being placed *en chemin* for Boondi, than the wise men of this city were called on to provide means to keep her from entering therein. Accordingly, all the water of the Ganges at hand was in requisition, an earthen vessel was placed over the southern portal, from which the sacred water was continually dripping, and against which no evil could prevail. Whether my friend's supply of the holy water failed, or *murri* disregarded such opposition, she reached his palace.*

* I have in other parts of my work touched upon this terrific scourge, from which it will be seen that it is well known throughout India under the same appellation; and it is not one of the least curious results of my endeavour to prove that the Hindus had historical documents, that by their means I am enabled to trace this disease ravaging India nearly two centuries ago. It is thus described in the Annals of Marwar: "This, the *saca* (putting a garrison to the sword) of Sojut, was when S. 1737 ended, and S. 1738, or A. D. 1681-2, commenced when the sword and *murri* (pestilence) united to clear the land." Orme, in his fragments, mentions a similar disease in A. D. 1684, raging in the peninsula of India, and sweeping off five hundred daily in the imperial camp of Goa; and again, in the Annals of Mewar, it is described in the most frightful colours, as ravaging that country twenty years before, or in S. 1717 (A. D. 1661); so that in the space of twenty years, we have it described in the peninsula, in the desert of India, and in the plains of Central India; and what will appear not the least singular part of the history of this distemper, so analogous to the present date, about the intermediate time of these extreme periods, that is about A. D. 1669, a similar disease was raging in England. I have no doubt that other traces of the disorder may appear in the chronicles of their bards or in Mahomedan writers, judging from these incidental notices, which might never have attracted attention had not *Murri* come to our own doors. I have had many patients dying about me, but no man ever dreamed of contagion; to propagate which opinion, and scare us from all the sympathies of life,

Pownah or Pohona, July 25th.—Yesterday was a day of disaster: I left the capital amidst torrents of rain, and between Mairta and Maowlee found my best elephant lying dead; the long and sudden march, and too heavy a load, have destroyed the fine animal. It was rather ominous to lose the emblem of wisdom in the outset of this journey. We passed a most uncomfortable day, and still more uncomfortable night, for a strong gale forced up the tent-pins from the clay soil, and brought down the tent over my ears. I had an escape from the pole, part of which I propped under the fly to keep me from suffocation. Around me were nothing but yells of distress, half laughable, half serious; horses loose, and camels roaring in discordant gutturals. We were glad long before dawn to pack up our chattels, thoroughly soaked, and consequently double weight, and begin moving for Pohona, where we are promised a little repose. I have taken this route as it is the last occasion I shall have to visit the work of my own hands, the mart of Bhilwarra. Pohona is or was a place of some value; but the Brahmins, through the influence of the Rana's sister, had got it by means of a forged grant, and abided by the privileges of their order. But fortunately they abused the right of sanctuary, in giving protection to a thief and assassin from interested motives; consequently, the penalty of resumption was incurred, and we hope to suffer no other ill-effects than Chand Bae's displeasure.

Bhilwarra, July 26th.—Varuna, the *Jupiter pluvialis* of the Hindu, has been most complaisant, and for two days has stopped up all the "bottles of heaven," and I made my triumphal entry into our good town of Bhilwarra, one of those days which are peculiarly splendid in the monsoon, when the sun deigns to emerge from behind the clouds.

My reception was quite Asiatic; the entire population, headed by chief merchants, and preceded by the damsels with the *Kullus*, advanced full a mile to meet and conduct me to a town which, a few years ago, had not one inhabited dwelling. I passed through the main street, surrounded by its wealthy occupants, who had suspended over the projecting awnings the most costly silks, brocades, and other finery, to do honour to one whom they esteemed their benefactor and having conduct-

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without proof absolutely demonstrative, is, to say the least, highly censurable. There is enough of self of this land of *ultra* civilization, without drawing a *Cordon sanitaire* round every individual. The Oodipoor prince was the first person seized with the disease in that capital: a proof to me, against all the faculty, that to other causes than personal communication its influence must be ascribed. I will not repeat the treatment in this case which may deserve notice, though prescribed by the uninitiated.

ed me to my tent, left me to breakfast, and returned in the afternoon. As the tent would not contain a tenth of the visitors, I had its walls removed, and all were welcome to enter who could. Every moment I expected to see it fall upon us, as there were hundreds of hands at each rope, swaying it in every direction, in their eagerness to see what was going on within between the *saheb* and the *punchaet* of both sects, Oswal and Mahesri or Jain and Vishnuve. We talked over many plans for the future benefit of the town; of further reducing the duties, and giving additional freedom to the transit-trade. I offered, in the Rana's name, to expend the next two years' income on a circumvallation for the protection of the towns, which, for many good reasons, they refused; and principally, that it would be a check on that very freedom it was my desire they should enjoy, as it would prevent uninterrupted ingress and egress. I, however, sent for the chiefs, to whom, with their quotas, was confided the duty of guarding this town, and before the assembled groups explained the necessity of preventing any complaints from want of due vigilance, and told them they were to be in lieu of walls to Bhilwarra. My good friends having no inclination to retire, I sent for the presents I intended for the heads of the sectarian merchants, with the *utr-pan* (that most convenient mode of hinting to a friend that you are tired of him), and they departed with a thousand blessings, and prayers for the perpetuity of our *raj*.

Bhilwarra is perhaps the most conspicuous instance in all India of the change which our predominant influence has effected in four short years; and to many it must appear almost miraculous, that, within that period, a great commercial mart should be established, and three thousand houses, twelve hundred of which are those of merchants or artizans, be made habitable, the principal street being entirely rebuilt; that goods of all countries should be found there; bills of exchange to any amount, and on any city in India, obtained, and that all should be systematically organized, as if it had been the silent growth of ages. To me it afforded another convincing proof, in addition to the many I have had, of the tenacity and indestructibility of the institutions in these regions, and that very little skill is requisite to evoke order and prosperity out of confusion and distress. I have no hesitation in saying that, were it not now time to withdraw from interference in the internal concerns of Mewar, the machine of government having been once more put into action, with proper management this place might become the chief mart of Rajpootana, and ten thousand houses would soon find inhabitants: such are its local capabilities as an entrepot.

But while I indulge this belief, I should at the same time fear that the rigid impartiality, which has prevented the quarrels of the sectarian traders from affecting the general weal, would be lost sight of in the apathy and intrigue which are by no means banished from the councils of the capital.

I bade a last farewell to Bhilwarra and its inhabitants, with prayers for the welfare of both.

Bhilwarra, 28th.—Though pressed for time, and the weather had again become bad, I could not resist the kind entreaties of the people of Bhilwarra that I would halt one more day amongst them; and albeit neither my health nor occupations admitted of my being the *lion* to the good traders of the city without inconvenience, the slight personal sacrifice was amply repaid by the more intimate acquaintance I gained with men belonging to every region of Rajwarra.

Jehajpoor, 29th.—This was a long march in a torrent of rain, the country flooded, and roads cut up; and although I have not incommoded myself with much baggage, the little I have is in a wreched plight. The crockery-bearer fell with his load, and smashed the contents.—Passed over the encamping-ground of last year, and bestowed a transient thought upon the scene enacted there. I was equally near 'the brink' this spring. The Rana had stopped the *nakarra*, and many a rupee's worth of *kesur* (saffron) was promised to the divinities both of the Jains and Vishnuvis for my recovery. My kinsman, Captain Waugh, was admitted, after many days' exclusion, to take a last adieu; but I told the doctor I was sure he was wrong; and here I am, bound for the same scenes of misery from which I so lately escaped, and under which several of my establishment, besides poor Cary, have succumbed.

Boondi, 30th.—Another fatiguing march brought us to the conclusion of our journey; and notwithstanding a deluge of rain, we were met three miles from the city by the minister and the principal chiefs, with whom an interchange of *bugul-geeri* (embracing) took place in spite of the raging elements. All proceeded to announce our approach, but my faithful old friend, the Maharaja Bikramajeet, whose plain and downright honesty in all that appertains to his master's house has won my warmest regard. He rode by my side, and told me of the changes that had taken place, of the dangers of the young Ram Sing from the interested views of those who affected the semblance of devotion; "but," observed the veteran, "you know us all, and will trust no individual with too much authority." He could speak thus without fear of being misunderstood, for no persuasion would have induced him to enter into their cabals, or compromise his trust of watching over the

personal safety of his infant prince; though without any ostensible post or character save that proud title—which was ascribed to him by all parties—'the loyal Bikramajeet.'

The beauties of the scenery passed unheeded, and have already been sufficiently described, though there is novelty in every point of view from which the fairy palace is seen; and as it burst upon us this morning, a momentary gleam, passing over its gilded pinnacles, displayed its varied outline, which as rapidly immerged into the gloom that hung over it, according well with the character of its inmates. As it was my policy to demonstrate, by the rapidity of my movements (which had brought me in six days at such a season from Oodipoor to Boondi), how much the British government had at heart the welfare of its young prince, I hastened to the palace in my travelling costume, to pay my respects, wishing to get over the formal visit of condolence on the loss the prince had sustained.

I found the young chief and his brother, Gopal Sing, surrounded by a most respectable court, though as I passed along the line of retainers occupying each side of the long colonnaded *bara-durri*, I could perceive looks of deep anxiety and expectation blended with those of welcome. Notwithstanding the forms of mourning must destory much of the sympathy with grief, there is something in the settled composure of feature of an assembly like this, convened to receive the condolence of a stranger who felt for the loss in which he was called to sympathize, that fixes the mind. Although I was familiar with the rite of *matim*, which, since the days of "David, who sent to comfort Hanum, son of the king of the children of Ammon, when his father died," is generally one of 'the mockeries of woe,' its ordinary character was changed on this occasion, when we met to deplore the loss of the chief of all the Haras.

I expressed the feelings which the late event had excited in me, in which, I observed, the most noble the governor-general would participate; adding that it was a consolation to find so much promise in his successor, during whose minority his lordship would be in the place of a father to him in all that concerned his welfare; and that in thus speedily fulfilling the obligation of public duty and friendship to the will of his deceased parent, I but evinced the deep interest my government had in the rising prosperity of Boondi; that, thank God, the time was past when a minority could endanger his welfare, as it would only redouble the anxiety and vigilance of my government; with much more to the same purport, which it is unnecessary to repeat. The young prince replied with great propriety, of manner and speech, concluding thus: "My father

left me in your lap; he confided my well-being to your hands." After a few remarks to the chiefs, I repaired to the residence prepared for me at no great distance from the palace. Here I found all my wants supplied and my comforts most carefully studied, and scarcely had I changed my garments, when a sumptuous dinner was announced, sent by the queen-mother, who in order to do more honour had ordered a Brahmin to precede it, sprinkling the road with holy-water to prevent the approach of evil!

CHAPTER X.

Ceremony of Raj-tilac, *or inauguration.—Personal qualities of the Rao Raja and his brothers.—The installation.—The* tilac *first made by the author, as representative of the British government.—Ceremonies.—Message from the queen-mother.—Balwant Rao of Goterah.—The Bohora, or chief minister.—Power and disposition of these two officers.—Arrangements made by the author.—interview and conversation with the Rani.—Literary and historical researches of the author.—Revenues of Boondi.—Its prospects.—Departure for Kotah.—Condition of the junior branches of the Haras.—Rowtah.—Grand hunts in Harouti.*

August the 5th.—The ceremony of *Raj-tilac*, or inauguration of the young Rao Raja, had been postponed as soon as the Rani-mother heard of my intention to come to Boondi, and as the joyous "third of Sawun," *Sawun-ca-teej*, was at hand, it was fixed for the day following that festival. As the interval between the display of grief and the expression of joy is short in these states, it would have been inauspicious to mingle aught of gloom with this most celebrated of all the festivals of the Haras, in which the whole city partakes. The queen-mother sent a message to request that I would accompany her son in the procession of the *teej*, with which invitation I most willingly complied; and she also informed me that it was the custom of Rajwarra, for the nearest of kin, or some neighbouring prince, on such occasions, to entreat the mourner, at the termination of the twelve days of *matim*, to dispense with its emblems. Accordingly, I prepared a coloured dress, with a turban and a jewelled *sirpesh*, which I sent, with a request that the prince would "put aside the white turban." In compliance with this, he appeared in these vestments in public, and I accompanied

him to the ancient palace in old Boondi, where all public festivities are still held.

The young prince of the Haras is named Ram Sing, after one of the invincibles of this race, who sealed his loyalty with his life on the field of Dholpoor. He is now in his eleventh year, fair, and with a lively, intelligent cast of face, and a sedateness of demeanour which, at his age, is only to be seen in the east. Gopal Sing, his brother, by a different mother, is a few months younger, very intelligent, and in person slight, fair, and somewhat marked with the small-pox. There is a third boy, about four, who, although illegitimate, was brought up with equal regard, but now he will have no consideration.

The cavalcade was numerous and imposing; the chief, and their retainers well-mounted, their equipments all new for the occasion, and the inhabitants in their best apparel, created a spectacle which was quite exhilarating, and which Boondi had not witnessed for a century: indeed, I should hardly have supposed it possible that four years could have produced such a change in the general appearance or numbers of the population. After remaining a few minutes, I took leave, that I might impose no restraint on the mirth which the day produces.*

The next day was appointed for the installation. Captain Waugh, who had been sent from Oodipoor to Kotah in December last, when the troubles of that state broke out afresh, joined me this day in order to be present at the ceremony, though he was in wretched health from the peculiar insalubrity of Kotah at this time of the year. We proceeded to the Rajmahl, where all the sons of Dewa-Bango have been anointed. Every avenue through which we passed was crowded with well-dressed people, who gave us hearty cheers of congratulation as we went along, and seemed to participate in the feeling evinced towards their young prince by the representative of the protecting power. The courts below and around the palace were in like manner filled with the Hara retainers, who rent the air with *Jy! Jy!* as we dismounted. There was a very full assemblage within, where the young Raja was undergoing purification by the priests; but we found his brother the Maharaja Gopal Sing, Bulwunt Sing of Goterah, the first noble of Boondi, the chiefs of Kaprain and Thana, old Bikramajeet, and likewise the venerable chief of Doogarie (son of Sriji), grand-uncle of the young prince, who had witnessed all the revolutions which the country had undergone, and could appreciate the existing repose. It was gratifying to hear this ancient, who could remember both periods of prosperity, thank

* See the description of the *Teej*, Vol. 1, p. 603.

Parmeshwar that he had lived to see the restoration of his country's independence. In this manner we had some interesting conversation, while sacrifice and purification were going on in the adjoining apartment. When this was over, I was instructed to bring the young Raja forth and lead him to a temporary 'cushion of state,' when a new round of religious ceremonies took place, terminating with his re-election of the family Purohit and Beas, by marking their foreheads with the *tilac*: which ordination entitled them to put the *unction* upon the prince's, denoting the "divine right" by which he was in future to rule the Haras. The young prince went through a multitude of propitiatory rites with singular accuracy and self-possession; and when they were over, the assembly rose. I was then requested to conduct him to the *gadi*, placed in an elevated balcony overlooking the external court and a great part of the town; and it being too high for the young prince to reach, I raised him to it. The officiating priest now brought the vessel containing the unction, composed of sandal-wood powder and aromatic oils, into which I dipped the middle finger of my right hand, and made the *tilac* on his forehead. I then girt him with the sword, and congratulated him in the name of my government, declaring aloud, that all might hear, that the British government would never cease to feel a deep interest in all that concerned the welfare of Boondi and the young prince's family Shouts of approbation burst from the immense crowds who thronged the palace, all in their gayest attire, while every valley re-echoed the sound of the cannon from the citadel of Tarragurh. I then put on the jewels, consisting of *sirpesh*, or aigrette, which I bound round his turban, a necklace of pearls, and bracelets, with twenty-one *shields* (the tray of a Rajpoot) of shawls, brocades, and fine clothes. An elephant and two handsome horses, richly caparisoned, the one having silver, the other silver-gilt ornaments, with embroidered velvet saddle-cloths, were then led into the centre of the court under the balcony, a *khelat* befitting the dignity both of the giver and the receiver. Having gone through this form, in which I was prompted by my old friend the Maharaja Bikramajeet, and paid my individual congratulations as the friend of his father and his personal guardian, I withdrew to make room for the chiefs, heads of clans, to perform the like round of ceremonies: for in making the *tilac*, they at the same time acknowledge his accession and their own homage and fealty. I was joined by Gopal Sing, the prince's brother, who artlessly told me that he had no protector but myself; and the chiefs, as they returned from the ceremony, came and congratulated

me on the part I had taken in a rite which so nearly touched them all; individually presenting their *nuzzurs* to me as the representative of the paramount power. I then made my salutation to the prince and the assembly of the Haras, and returned. The Rao Raja afterwards proceeded with the cavalcade to all the shrines in this city and Sitoor, to make his offerings.

The next day, I received a message from the queen-mother with her blessing (*asees*), intimating her surprise that I had yet sent no special deputation to her, to comfort her under her affliction, and to give a pledge for her own and her child's protection; and that although on this point she could feel no distrust, a direct communication would be satisfactory. In reply, I urged that it was from delicacy alone I had erred, and that I only awaited the intimation that it would be agreeable, though she would see the embarrassment attending such a step, more especially as I never employed my own servants when I could command the services of the ministers; and that as I feared to give umbrage by selecting any one of them, if she would receive the four, I would send with them a confidential servant, the *akbarnuvees* or news-writer, as the bearer of my message. Her anxiety was not without good grounds: the elements of disorder, though subdued, were not crushed, and she dreaded the ambition and turbulence of the senior noble, Bulwunt Rao of Goterah, who had proved a thorn in the side of the late Raja throughout his life. This audacious but gallant Rajpoot, about twelve years before, had stormed and taken Nynwa, one of the chief castles of Boondi, in the face of day, and defeated with great slaughter many attempts to retake it, still holding it in spite of his prince, and trusting to his own party and the Mahrattas for support. In fact, but for the change in his relations, he neither would have obeyed a summons to the Presence, nor dared to appear uninvited; and even now his appearance excited no less alarm than surprise. "Bulwunt Sing at Boondi!" was repeated by many of the surrounding chiefs, as one of the anomalous signs of the times; for to have heard that a lion from their jungles had gone to congratulate the Raja, would have caused less wonder and infinitely less apprehension. The Rani was not satisfied, nor had her late lord been, with the chief minister, the Bohora, Simbhoo Ram, who, only a few days before the Raja's death had expressed great unwillingness, when called on, to produce his acount of the finances. It was chiefly with a view to guard against these individuals, that the deceased Rao Raja had nominated the British Agent as the guardian of his son and the state during his minority,

and the queen-mother besought me to see his wishes faithfully executed. Fortunately, there were some men, who could be depended on, especially Govind Ram, who had attended the agent as vakeel : a simple-minded man, full of integrity and good intentions, though no match for the Bohora in ability or intrigue. There was also the *dhabhae*, or foster-brother of the late prince, who held the important office of killehdar of Tarragurh, and who, like all his class, is devotion personified. There was likewise Chanderbhan Naique, who, from a low condition, had risen to favour and power, and being quick obedient, and faithful, was always held as a check over the Bohora. There were also two eunuchs of the palace, servants entirely confidential, and with a very good notion of the general affairs of the state.

Such were the materials at my disposal, and they were ample for all the concerns of this little state. Conformably to the will of the late prince, and the injunctions of the queen-mother, the Agent entirely reformed the functions of these officers, prohibited the revenues of the state from being confounded with the mercantile concerns of the minister, requiring them henceforth to be deposited at the *kishen-bindar*, or treasury in the palace, providing a system of checks, as well on the receipts as the expenditure, and making all the four jointly and severally answerable ; yet he made no material innovations, and displaced or displeased no one ; though in raising those who were noted throughout the country for their integrity, he confirmed their good intentions and afforded them scope, while his measures were viewed with general satisfaction. After these arrangements, the greatest anxiety of the queen was for the absence of Bulwunt Rao ; and, as it was in vain to argue against her fears, she requested that, when the ceremonies of installation were over, the chiefs might be dismissed to their estates, and that I would take the opportunity, at the next *durbar*, to point out to them the exact line of their duties, and the necessity of observance of the customs of past days ; all of which was courteously done.

Although the festival of the *Rakhi* was not until the end of the month, the mother of the young prince sent me by the hands of the *bhut*, or family priest, the bracelet of adoption as her brother, which made my young ward henceforth my *bhanaij*, or nephew. With this mark of regard, she also expressed, through the ministers, a wish that I would pay her a visit at the palace, as she had many points to discuss regarding Lalji's welfare, which could only be satisfactorily argued *viva voce*. Of course I assented ; and, accompanied by the Bohora and the confidential eunuchs of the *rawula*, I had a

conversation of about three hours with my adopted sister; a curtain being between us. Her language was sensible and forcible, and she evinced a thorough knowledge of all the routine of government and the views of parties, which she described with great clearness and precision. She especially approved of the distribution of duties, and said, with these checks, and the deep interest I felt for all that concerned the honour of Boondi, her mind was quite at ease; nor had she anything left to desire. She added that she relied implicitly on my friendship for the deceased, whose regard for me was great. I took the liberty of adverting to many topics for her own guidance; counselling her to shun the error of communicating with or receiving reports from interested or ignorant advisers; and above all, to shun forming parties, and ruling, according to their usual policy, by division; I suggested that the object would be best attained by never intimating her wishes but when the four ministers were together; and urged her to exercise her own sound judgment, and banish all anxiety for her son's welfare, by always recalling to mind what my government had done for the interests of Boondi. During a great part of this conversation, the Bohora had retired, so that her tongue was unrestrained. With *utr-pan* and her blessing (*asees*) sent by one of her damsels, she dismissed me with the oft-repeated remark, "Forget not that Lalji is now in your lap."

I retired with my conductors, highly gratified with this interesting conversation, and impressed with respect for her capacity and views. This Rani, as I have elsewhere mentioned, is of the Rahtore tribe, and of the house of Kishengurh in Marwar; she is the youngest of the late Rao Raja's four widowed queens, but takes the chief rank, as mother and guardian of the minor prince.

I remained at Boondi till the middle of August; when, having given a right tone and direction to its government, I left it with the admonition that I should consider myself authorized, not as the agent of government so much as the executor of their late lord's wishes, and with the concurrent assent of the regent-queen, to watch over the prince's welfare until the age of sixteen, when Rajpoot minority ceases; and advertised them, that they must not be surprised if I called upon them every year to inform me of the annual surplus revenue they had set aside for accumulation until his majority. I reminded the Bohora, in the words of his own beautiful metaphor, when, at the period of the treaty, my government restored its long-alienated lands, "again will our lakes overflow; once more will the lotus shew its face on the waters." Nor had he forgotten this emblematic phraseology, and with his coadjutors

promised his most strenuous efforts.* During the few remaining days of my stay, I had continual messages from the young prince, by the "Gold stick," or *dhabhae*, which were invariably addressed to me as "the *Mamoo Saheb*," or uncle. He sent me specimens of his hand-writing, both in *Devanagari* and Persian, in which last, however, he had not got further than the alphabet; and he used to ride and *karowli* his horse within sight of my tents, and always expressed anxiety to know what the "Mamoo" thought of his horsemanship. I was soon after called upon by the queen-mother for my congratulations on Lalji having slain his first boar, an event that had summoned all the Haras to make their offerings; a ceremony which will recall a distinction received by the Macedonian youths, on a similar occasion, who were not admitted to public discussions until they had slain a wild boar.

Whilst partaking in these national amusements, and affording all the political aid I could, my leisure time was employed in extracting from old chronicles or living records what might serve to develop the past history of the family; in frequent visits to the cenotaphs of the family, or other remarkable spots, and in dispersing my emissaries for inscriptions in every direction. This was the most singular part of my conduct to the Boondi court; they could not conceive why I should take an interest in such a pursuit.

The fiscal revenues of Boondi do not yet exceed three lakhs of rupees; and it will be some time before the entire revenues, both fiscal and feudal, will produce more than five; and out of the crown domain, eighty thousand rupees annually are paid to the British government, on account of the lands Sindia held in that state, and which he relinquished by the treaty of A. D. 1818. Notwithstanding his circumscribed means, the late Rao Raja put every branch of his government on a most respectable footing. He could muster seven hundred household and Puttaet horse; and, including his garrisons, his corps of *golandaz*, and little park (*jinsi*) of twelve guns, about two thousand seven hundred paid infantry; in all between three and four thousand men. For the queens, the officers of government, and the pay of the garrisons, estates were assigned, which yielded sufficient for the purpose. A continuation of tranquillity is all that is required, and Boondi will again take its proper station in Rajwarra.

Camp, Rowtah, November 19th.—On the 14th of August, I departed for Kotah, and found the junior branches of the Haras far from enjoying the repose of Boondi. But on these subjects we will not touch here, further than to remark, that the last three months have been the most harassing of my

existence :* civil war, deaths of friends and relatives, cholera raging, and all of us worn out with perpetual attacks of fever, ague, anxiety, and fatigue.

Rowtah, the spot on which I encamped, is hallowed by recollections the most inspiriting. It was on this very ground I took up my position throughout the campaign of 1817-18, in the very centre of movements of all the armies, friendly and hostile.†

* For an account of these transactions, *vide* Chap. XI, Annals of Kotah.

† It was from this ground I detached thirty-two firelocks of my guard, supported by two hundred of the Regent's men, with two camel swivels, to beat up a portion of the main Pindarri horde, when broken by our armies. But my little band out marched the auxiliaries, and when they came upon the foe, they found a camp of 1,500 instead of 500 men ; but nothing daunted, and the surprise being complete, they poured in sixty rounds before the day broke, and cleared their camp. Then, each mounting a marauder's horse and driving a laden camel before him, they returned within the twenty-four hours, having marched sixty miles, and slain more than four times their numbers. Nothing so clearly illustrated the destitution of all moral courage in the freebooters, as their conduct on this occasion ; for at dawn of day, when the smoke cleared away, and they saw the handful of men who had driven them into the Caly Sinde, a body of about four hundred returned to the attack ; but my Sipahis, dismounting, allowed the boldest to approach within pistol-shot before they gave their fire, which sufficed to make the lancers wheel off. The situation recalled the din which announced their return : upon which occasion, going out to welcome them, I saw the regent's camp turn out, and the trees were crowded with spectators, to enjoy the triumphal entry of the gallant little band with the spoils of the spoiler. The prize was sold and divided on the drum-head, and yielded six or eight months' pay to each; but it did not rest here, for Lord Hastings promoted the non-commissioned officers and several of the men, giving to all additional pay for life.

The effect of this exploit was surprising; the country people, who hitherto would as soon have thought of plundering his Satanic majesty as a Pindarri, amassed all the spoils abandoned on their flight, and brought them to the camp of the Regent; who, as he never admitted the spoils of an enemy into his treasury, sent it all to our tents to be at my disposal. But, as I could see no right that we had to it, I proposed that the action should be commemorated by the erection of a bridge, bearing Lord Hastings' name. There were the spoils of every region; many trays of gold necklaces, some of which were strings of Venetian sequins ; coins of all ages (from which I completed a series of the Mogul kings), and five or six thousand head of cattle of every description. The Regent adopted my suggestion : a bridge of fifteen arches was constructed, extending over the river at the breadth of a thousand feet, eastward of Kotah ; and though more solid and useful than remarkable for beauty, will serve to perpetuate as *Hasteen-pool*, the name of a gallant soldier and enlightened statesman, who emancipated India from the scourge of the Pindarris. He is now beyond the reach of human praise, and the author may confess that he is proud of having suggested, planned, and watched to its completion, this trophy to his fame.

As we were now in the vicinity of the chief *Rumna* in Harouti, the Raj Rana proposed to exhibit the mode in which they carry on their grand hunts. The site chosen was a large range running into and parallel to the chain which separates Harouti from Malwa. At noon, the hour appointed, accompanied by several officers of the Neemuch force (amongst whom was my old friend Major Price), we proceeded to the *Shikargas*, a hunting seat, erected half-way up the gentle ascent, having terraced roofs and parapets, on which the sportsman lays his gun to massacre the game ; and here we waited some time in anxious expectation, occasionally some deer scudding by. Gradually, the din of the hunters reached us, increasing into tumultuous shouts, with the beating of drums, and all the varieties of discord. Soon various kind of deer galloped wildly past, succeeded by *nilgaes*, *bara-singas*, red and spotted. Some wild-hogs went off snorting, and trotting, and at length, as the hunters approached, a bevy of animals, amongst which some black-snouted hyænas were seen, who made a dead halt when they saw themselves between two fires. There was no tiger, however, in the assemblage, which rather disappointed us, but the still more curious wild-dog was seen by some. A slaughter commenced, the effects of which I judged less at the time, but soon after I got to my tents, I found six camel-loads of deer, of various kinds, deposited. My friend, Major Price, did not much admire this unsportsmanlike mode of dealing with the lords of the forest, and although very well, once in one's life, most would think a boar hunt, spear in hand, preferable. Still it was an exhilarating scene ; the confusion of the animals, their wild dismay at this compulsory association ; the yells, shouts, and din from four battalions of regulars, who, in addition to the ordinary band of huntsmen, formed a chain from the summit of the mountain, across the valley to the opposite heights, and, last not least, the placid Regent himself listening to the tumult he could no longer witness, produced an effect not easily forgotten. This sport is a species of petty war, not altogether free from danger, especially to the rangers ; but I heard of no accidents. We had a round of a *nilgae*, and also tried some steaks, which ate very like coarse beef.

It is asserted that, in one shape or another, these hunting excursions cost the state *two lakhs*, or £20,000 annually. The Regent's regular hunting-establishment consisted of twenty-five carpenters, two hundred *aireas*, or huntsmen, and five hundred occasional rangers. But the *gotes*, or 'feasts,' at the conclusion of these sports, occasioned the chief expense, when some thousands were fed, and rewards and gratuities were bestowed upon those whom the Regent happened to be

pleased with. This was one of the methods he pursued to ingratiate himself with the Haras, and he was eminently successful; the only wonder is, that so good an opportunity should have been neglected of getting rid of one who had so long tyrannized over them.

We here took a temporary leave of the Regent; and we intend to fill up the interval till the return of the Maharao from Mewar, by making a tour through upper Malwa, in which we shall visit the falls of the Chumbul amidst the dense woods of Puchail.

CHAPTER XI.

Pass of Mokundurra.—View from the summit of the pass into Puchail.—Marks set up by the Bunjarris.—Monastery of Atteets, or Jogis.—Their savage aspect.—The author elected a chela.—*The head of the establishment.—His legend of the origin of the epithet* Seesodia.—*The grand temple of Barolli.—Conjecture as to its founder.—Barolli.*

We marched before daybreak through the famed pass of Mokundurra,* and caught a glimpse at the outlet of the fine plains of Malwa. We then turned abruptly to the right, and skirted the range which divides Haravati from Malwa, over a rich champaign tract, in a re-entering angle of the range, which gradually contracted to the point of exit, up the mountains of Puchail.

The sun rose just as we cleared the summit of the pass, and we halted for a few minutes at the tower that guards the ascent, to look upon the valley behind: the landscape was bounded on either side by the ramparts of nature, enclosing numerous villages, until the eye was stopped by the eastern horizon. We proceeded on the terrace of this table-land, of gradual ascent, through a thick forest, when, as we reached the point of descent, the sun cleared the barrier which we had just left, and darting his beams through the foliage, illuminated the castle of Bhynsror, while the new fort of Dangermow,

* *Durra*, a corruption of *Dwar*, 'a barrier, pass, outlet, or portal; and *Mokund*, one of the epithets of Crishna. *Mokundurra* and *Dwarica-nath* are synonimous:—'the pass and portal of the deity.'

appeared as a white speck in the gloom that still enveloped the Pathar.

We descended along a natural causeway, the rock being perfectly bare, without a particle of mould or vegetation. Small pillars, or uninscribed tablets, placed erect in the centre of little heaps of stone, seemed to indicate the scene of murders, when the Bhil lord of the pass exacted his toll from all who traversed his dominion. They proved, however, to be marks placed by the *bunjarris* to guide their *tandas*, or caravans, through the devious tracks of the forest. As we continued to descend, enveloped on all sides by woods and rocks, we lost sight of the towers of Bhynsror, and on reaching the foot of the Pass, the first object we saw was a little monastery of Atteets, founded by the chiefs of Bhynsror: it is called Jhalaca. We passed close to their isolated dwelling, on the terraced roof of which a party of the fraternity were squatted round a fire, enjoying the warmth of the morning sun. Their wild appearance corresponded with the scene around; their matted hair and beard had never known a comb; their bodies were smeared with ashes (*bhaboot*), and a shred of cloth round the loins seemed the sole indication that they belonged to a class possessing human feelings. Their lives are passed in a perpetual routine of adoration of *Chatoorbhooja*, the 'four-armed' divinity, and they subsist on the produce of a few patches of land, with which the chiefs of Bhynsror have endowed this abode of wild ascetics, or with what their patrons or the townspeople and passengers make up to them. The head of the establishment, a little vivacious, but wild-looking being, about sixty years of age, came forth to bestow his blessing, and to beg something for his order. He, however, in the first place, elected me one of his *chelas*, or disciples, by marking my forehead with a *tika* of *bhaboot*, which he took from a platter made of *dhak*-leaves; to which rite of inauguration I submitted with due gravity. The old man proved to be a walking volume of legendary lore; but his conversation became insufferably tedious. Interruption was in vain; he could tell his story only in his own way, and in order to get at a point of local history connected with the sway of the Ranas, I was obliged to begin from the creation of the world, and go through all the theogonies, the combats of the Soors and Asoors, the gods, and Titans of Indian mythology; to bewail with Seeta the loss of her child, her rape by Rawun, and the whole of the wars of Rama waged for her recovery; when, at length, the genealogy of the family commenced, which this strange being traced through all their varying patronymics of Dits, Rics, Gohelote, Aharya, Seesodia; at which last he again diverged, and gave me an episode to

explain the etymology of the distinguishing epithet. I subjoin it, as a specimen of the anchorite's historical lore :—

In these wilds, an ancient Rana of Cheetore had sat down to a *gote* (feast) consisting of the game slain in the chase ; and being very hungry, he hastily swallowed a piece of meat to which a gad-fly adhered. The fly grievously tormented the Rana's stomach, and he sent for a physician. The wise man (*baed*) secretly ordered an attendant to cut off the tip of a cow's ear, as the only means of saving the monarch's life. On obtaining this forbidden morsel, the *baed* folded it in a piece of thin cloth, and attaching a string to it, made the royal patient swallow it. The gad-fly fastened on the bait, and was dragged to light. The physician was rewarded ; but the curious Rana insisted on knowing by what means the cure was effected, and when he heard that a piece of sacred kine had passed his lips, he determined to expiate the enormity in a manner which its heinousness required, and to swallow boiling lead (*seesa*) ! A vessel was put on the fire, and half a *seer* soon melted, when, praying that this involuntary offence might be forgiven, he boldly drank it off ; but lo ! it passed through him like water. From that day, the name of the tribe was changed from Aharya to *Seesodia.* The old Jogi as firmly believed the truth of this absurd tale as he did his own existence, and I allowed him to run on till the temple of Barolli suddenly burst upon my view from amidst the foliage that shrouded it. The transition was grand ; we had for some time been picking our way along the margin of a small stream that had worked itself a bed in the rock over which lay our path, and whose course had been our guide to this object of our pilgrimage. As we neared the sacred fane, still following the stream, we reached a level spot overshadowed by the majestic koroo and amba, which had never known the axe. We instantly dismounted, and by a flight of steps attained the court of the temple. To describe its stupendous and diversified architecture is impossible ; it is the office of the pencil alone, but the labour would be almost endless. Art seems here to have exhausted itself, and we were, perhaps now for the first time, fully impressed with the beauty of Hindu sculpture. The columns, the ceilings, the external roofing, where each stone presents a miniature temple, one rising over another, until crowned by the urnlike *kullus*, distracted our attention. The carving on the capital of each column would require pages of explanation, and the whole, in spite of its high antiquity, is in wonderful preservation. This is attributable mainly to two causes : every stone is chiselled out of the close-grained quartz rock, perhaps the most durable (as it is the most difficult to work) of any ; and in order that

the Islamite should have some excuse for evading their iconoclastic law, they covered the entire temple with the finest marble cement, so adhesive, that it is only where the prevalent winds have beaten upon it that it is altogether worn off, leaving the sculptured edges of the stone as smooth and sharp as if carved only yesterday.

"The grand temple of Barolli is dedicated to Siva, whose emblems are everywhere visible. It stands in an area of about two hundred and fifty yards square, enclosed by a wall built of unshaped stones without cement. Beyond this wall are groves of majestic trees, with many smaller shrines and sacred fountains. The first object that struck my notice, just before entering the area, was a pillar, erect in the earth, with a hooded-snake sculptured around it. The door-way, which is destroyed, must have been very curious, and the remains that choke up the interior are highly interesting. One of these specimens was entire, and unrivalled in taste and beauty. The principal figures are of Siva and his consort, Parbutty, with their attendants. He stands upon the lotus, having the serpent twined as a garland. In his right hand he holds the *dumroo*, or little drum, with which, as the god of war, he inspires the warrior; in his left is the *cupra* formed of a human skull, out of which he drinks the blood of the slain. The other two arms have been broken off: a circumstance which proves that even the Islamite, to whom the act may be ascribed, respected this work of art. The "mountain-born" is on the left of her spouse, standing on the *coorm*, or tortoise, with braided locks, and ear-rings made of the conch-shell. Every limb is in that easy flowing style peculiar to ancient Hindu art, and wanting in modern specimens. Both are covered with beaded ornaments, and have no drapery. The firm, masculine attitude of '*Baba Adam*,' as I have heard a Rajpoot call Mahadeo, contrasts well with the delicate feminine outline of his consort. The serpent and lotus intertwine gracefully over their heads. Above, their is a series of compartments filled with various figures, the most conspicuous of which is the chimerical animal called the *gras*, a kind of horned lion; each compartment being separated by a wreath of flowers, tastefully arranged and distributed. The animal is delineated with an ease not unworthy of the art in Europe. Of the various other figures many are mutilated; one is a hermit playing on a guitar, and above him are a couple of deer in a listening posture. Captain Waugh is engaged on one of the figures, which he agrees with me in pronouncing unrivalled as a specimen of art. There are parts of them, especially the heads, which would not disgrace Canova. They are in high relief, being almost detached

from the slab. In this fragment (about eight feet by three), the chief figures are about three feet.

The centre piece, forming a kind of frieze, is nearly entire, and about twelve feet by three; it is covered with sculpture of the same character, mostly the celestial choristers, with various instruments, celebrating the praises of Siva and Parbutty. Immediately within the door-way, is a small shrine to the 'four-armed;' but the Islamite having likewise deprived him of the supernumerary pair, the Bhil takes him for Devi, of whom they are desperately afraid, and in consequence the forehead of the statue is liberally smeared with vermilion.

On the left, in advance of the main temple, is one about thirty feet high, containing an image of Asht-Mata, or the 'eight-armed mother'; but here the pious Mooslem has robbed the goddess of all her arms, save that with which she grasps her shield, and has also removed her head. She treads firmly on the centaur, Maheswar, whose dissevered head lies at some distance in the area, while the lion of the Hindu Cybele still retains his grasp of his quarters. The Joginis and Apsaras, or 'maids of war' of Rajpoot martial poetry, have been spared.

On the right is the shrine of *Tri-murti*, the triune divinity. Brahma's face, in the centre, has been totally obliterated, as has that of Vishnu, the Preserver; but the Destroyer is uninjured The tiara, which covers the head* of this triple divinity, is also entire, and of perfect workmanship. The skill of the sculptor "can no further go." Groups of snakes adorn the clustering locks on the ample forehead of Siva, which are confined by a bandeau, in the centre of which there is a death's head ornament, hideously exact. Various and singularly elegant devices are wrought in the tiara: in one, two horses couped from the shoulder, passing from a rich centering and surmounted by a death's head: a dissevered arm points to a vulture advancing to seize it, while serpents are wreathed round the neck and hands of the Destroyer, whose half-opened mouth discloses a solitary tooth, and the tongue curled up with a demoniacal expression. The whole is colossal, the figures being six feet and a half high. The relief is very bold, and altogether the group is worthy of having casts made from it.

We now come to the grand temple itself, which is fifty eight feet in height, and in the ancient form peculiar to the temples of Siva. The body of the edifice, in which is the sanctum of the god, and over which rises its pyramidal *sikr*, is

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*This *Tri-murti* is represented with three faces (*murti*) though but one head.

a square of only twenty-one feet; but the addition of the domed vestibule (*munduf*) and portico makes it forty-four by twenty-one. An outline of this by Ghassi, a native artist (who labours at Oodipoor for the same daily pay as a tailor, carpenter, or other artizan), will give a tolerably good notion of its appearance, though none of its beauty. The whole is covered with mythological sculpture, without as well as within, emblematic of the 'great god' (*Mahadeo*), who is the giver, as well as the destroyer, of life. In a niche outside, to the south, he is armed against the Dytes (Titans), the *roond-mala*, or skull-chaplet, reaching to his knees, and in seven of his arms are offensive weapons. His cap is the frustrum of a cone, composed of snakes interlaced, with a fillet of skulls: the *cupra* is in his hand, and the victims are scattered around. On his right is one of the maids of slaughter (*Jogini*) drunk with blood, the cup still at her lip, and her countenance expressive of vacuity; while below, on the left is a female personification of Death, mere skin and bone: a sickle (*koorpi*) in her right hand,* its knob a death's head, completes this group of the attributes of destruction.

To the west is Mahadeo under another form, a beautiful and animated statue, the expression mild, as when he went forth to entice the mountain-nymph, Mera, to his embrace. His tiara is a blaze of finely-executed ornaments, and his snake-wreath, which hangs round him as a garland, has a clasp of two heads of Shesnag (the serpent-king), while Nanda below is listening with placidity to the sound of the *dumroo*. His *cupra*, and *karg*, or skull-cap, and sword, which he is in the attitude of using, are the only accompaniments denoting the god of blood.

The northern compartment is a picture, disgustingly faithful, of death and its attributes, vulgarly known as *Bhooka Mata*, or the personification of famine, lank and bare; her necklace, like her lord's, of skulls. Close by are two mortals in the last stage of existence, so correctly represented as to excite an unpleasant surprise. The outline, I may say, is anatomically correct. The mouth is half-open and distorted, and although the eye is closed in death, an expression of mental anguish seems still to linger upon the features. A beast of prey is approaching the dead body; while, by way of contrast, a male figure, in all the vigour of youth and health, lies prostrate at her feet.

Such is a faint description of the sculptured niches on

* Nowhere else did I ever see this emblem of Time, the counterpart of the scythe with which we furnish him, which is unknown to India.

each of the external faces of the *mindra*, whence the spire rises, simple and solid. In order, however, to be distinctly understood, I shall give some slight ichnographic details. First, is the *mindra* or *cella*, in which is the statue of the god; then the *munduf*, or, in architectural nomenclature, *pronaos*; and third, the portico, with which we shall begin, though it transcends all description.

Like all temples dedicated to Bal-Siva, the vivifier, or 'sun-god,' it faces the east. The portico projects several feet beyond the *munduf*, and has four superb columns in front, of which the outline by Ghassi conveys but a very imperfect idea. Flat fluted pilasters are placed on either side of the entrance to the *munduf*, serving as a support to the internal *torun*, or triumphal arch, and a single column intervenes on each side between the pilasters and the columns in front. The columns are about eighteen feet in height, the proportions are perfect; and though the difference of diameter between the superior and inferior portions of the shaft is less than the Grecian standard, there is no want of elegance of effect, whilst it gives an idea of more grandeur. The frieze is one mass of sculptured figures, generally of human beings, male and female, in pairs; the horned monster termed *Gras*, separating the different pairs. The internal *torun* or triumphal arch, which is invariably attached to all ancient temples of the sun-god, is of that peculiar curvature formed by the junction of two arcs of a circle from different centres, a form of arch well known in Gothic and Saracenic architecture, but which is an essential characteristic of the most ancient Hindu temples. The head of a *gras* crowns its apex, and on the outline is a concatenation of figures armed with daggers, apparently ascending the arch to strike the monster. The roof of the *munduf* (*pronaos*), which in the drawing is not made sufficiently distinct from the main body of the temple, cannot be described: its various parts must be examined with microscopic nicety in order to enter into detail. In the whole of the ornaments there is an exact harmony which I have seen nowhere else; even the miniature elephants are in the finest proportions, and exquisitely carved.

The ceilings both of the portico and *munduf*, are elaborately beautiful: that of the portico, of one single block, could hardly be surpassed. The engraving falls short of the drawing of the ingenious Ghassi, my native artist, who again is but a humble imitator of the original. Of the exterior I shall not attempt further description: it is a grand, a wonderful effort of the *silpi* (architect), one series rising above and surpassing the other, from the base to the urn which surmounts the pinnacle.

The *sanctum* contains the symbol of the god, whose local appellation is *Rori Barolli*, a corruption of *Bál-rori*, from the circumstance of Balnath, the sun-god, being here typified by an orbicular stone termed *rori*, formed by attrition in the *choolis* or whirlpools of the Chumbul, near which the temple stands and to which phenomena it probably owed its foundation. This symbolic *rori* is not fixed, but lies in a groove in the internal ring of the Yoni; and so nicely is it poised, that with a very moderate impulse it will continue revolving while the votary recites a tolerable long hymn to the object of his adoration. The old ascetic, who had long been one of the zealots of Barolli, amongst his other wonders gravely told me, that with the momentum given by his little finger, in former days, he could make it keep on its course much longer than now with the application of all his strength.

Some honest son of commerce thought it but right that the *mindra* (cella) of Bal-rori should be graced by a Parbutty, and he had one made and placed there. But it appeared to have offended the god, and matters soon after went wrong with the Banya: first his wife died, then his son, and at length he became *dewali*, or 'bankrupt.' In truth he deserved punishment for his caricature of the 'mountain-born' Mera, who more resembles a Dutch *burgomestre* than the fair daughter of Syeel.

Fronting the temple of Bal-rori, and apart from it about twenty yards, is another superb edifice, called the *Sengar-chaori*, or nuptial hall.* It is a square (*chaori*) of forty feet, supported by double range of columns on each face, the intercolumniations being quite open; and although those columns want the elegant proportions of the large temple, they are covered with exquisite sculpture, as well as the ceilings. In the centre of the hall is an open space about twelve feet square; and here, according to tradition, the nuptials of *Raja Hoon* with the fair daughter of a Rajpoot prince, of whom he had long been enamoured, were celebrated; to commemorate which event, these magnificent structures were raised: but more of this *Hun* anon. The external roof (or *sikr*, as the Hindu *silpi* terms the various roofs which cover their temples) is the frustrum of a pyramid, and a singular specimen of architectural skill, each stone being a miniature temple, elegantly carved, gradually decreasing in size to the *kullus* or ball, and so admirably fitted to each other, that there has been no room for vegetation to insinuate

* This is not the literal interpretation, but the purport for which it is applied. *Chaori* is the term always appropriated to the place of nuptials: *sengar* means 'ornament.'

itself, and consequently they have sustained no injury from time.

Midway between the nuptial hall and the main temple, there is a low alter, on which the bull, *Nand-iswar*, still kneels before the symbolic representation of its sovereign lord, Iswar. But sadly dishonoured is this courser of the sun-god, whose flowing tail is broken, and of whose head but a fragment remains, though his necklace of alternate skulls and bells proclaims him the charger of Siva.

Around the temple of the 'great-god' (*Maha-deva*) are the shrines of the *dii minores*, of whom Ganesa, the god of wisdom, takes precedence. The shrine of this janitor of Siva is properly placed to the north, equi-distant from the nuptial hall and the chief temple. But the form of wisdom was not spared by the Tatar iconoclast. His single tooth, on which the poet Chund is so lavish of encomium, is broken off; his limbs are dissevered, and he lies prostrate on his back at the base of his pedestal, grasping, even in death, with his right hand, the *ladoos*, or sweetmeat-balls he received at the nuptial feast.

Near the dishonoured fragments of Ganesa, and on the point of losing his equilibrium, is the divine *Nareda*, the preceptor of Parbutty, and the Orpheus of Hindu mythology. In his hands he yet holds the lyre (*vina*), with whose heavenly sounds he has been charming the son of his patroness; but more than one string of the instrument is wanting, and one of the gourds which, united by a sounding board, from the *vina*, is broken off.

To the south are two columns, one erect and the other prostrate, which appear to have been either the commencement of another temple, or, what is more probable from their excelling everything yet described, intended to form a *torun*, having a simple architrave laid across them, which served as a swing for the recreation of the god. Their surface, though they have been exposed for at least one thousand years to the atmosphere, is smooth and little injured; such is the durability of this stone, though it is astonishing how it was worked, or how they got instruments to shape it. There is a *bawari*, or reservoir of water, for the use either of gods or mortals, placed in the centre of the quadrangle, which is strewed with sculptured fragments.

We quit the enclosure of Raja Hoon to visit the fountain (*coond*) of Mahadeo, and the various other curious objects. Having passed through the ruined gate by which we entered, we crossed the black stream, and passing over a fine turf plot, reached the *coond*, which is a square of sixty feet, the water (leading to which are steps) being full to the brim, and the

surface covered with the golden and silver lotus. In the centre of the fountain is a miniature temple to the god who delights in waters; and the dam by which it was once approached being broken, it is now completely isolated. The entrance to the east has two slender and well-proportioned columns, and the whole is conspicuous for simplicity and taste.

"Smaller shrines surround the coond, into one of which I entered, little expecting in a comparatively humble edifice the surprise which awaited me. The temple was a simple, unadorned hall, containing a detached piece of sculpture, representing Narayana floating on the chaotic waters. The god is reclining in a fit of abstraction upon his *shes-seja*, a couch formed of the hydra, or sea-snake, whose many heads expanded from a canopy over that of the sleeping divinity, at whose feet is the benignant Lacshmi, the Hindu Ceres, awaiting the expiration of his periodical repose. A group of marine monsters, half-man, half-fish, support the couch in their arms, their scaly extremities gracefully wreathed, and in the centre of them is a horse, rather too terrestrial to be classical, with a conch-shell and other marine emblems near him. The black ground to this couch rises about two feet above the reclining figure, and is divided horizontally into two compartments, the lower containing a group of six chimerical monsters, each nearly a foot in height, in mutual combat, and in perfect relief. Above is a smaller series, depicting the Avatars, or incarnations of the divinity. On the left, *Coorma*, the tortoise, having quitted his shell, of which he makes a pedestal, denotes the termination of the catastrophe. Another marine monster, half-boar (*Varaha*), half-fish, appears recovering the *Yoni*, the symbol of production, from the alluvion, by his tusk. Next to him is Narsinga, tearing in pieces a tyrannical king, with other allegorical mysteries having no relation to the *ten incarnations*, but being a mythology quite distinct, and which none of the well-informed men around me could interpret: a certain proof of its antiquity.

The position of Narayana was that of repose, one hand supporting his head, under which lay the *gada*, or mace, while in another he held the conch-shell, which when the god assumed the terrestrial form and led the Yadu hosts to battle, was celebrated as *Dekshinaverta*, from having its spiral involutions reversed, or to the right (*dekshin*). The fourth arm was broken off, as were his nether limbs to near the knee. From the *nab* or *naf* (navel), the umbilical cord ascended, terminating in a lotus, whose expanded flower served as a seat for Brahma, the personification of the mind or spirit "moving on the waters" (*Narayana*) of chaos. The beneficent and beautiful Lacshmi, whom all adore, whether as Annapurna (the giver

of food), or in her less amiable character as the consort of the Hindu Plutus, seems to have excited a double portion of the zealot's ire, who have not only visited her face too roughly, but entirely destroyed the emblems of nourishment for her universal progeny. It would be impossible to dwell upon the minuter ornaments, which, both for design and execution, may be pronounced unrivalled in India. The highly imaginative mind of the artist is apparent throughout; he has given a repose to the sleeping deity, which contrasts admirably with the writhing of the serpent upon which he lies, whose folds, more especially under the neck, appear almost real; deception aided by the prophyritic tints of the stone. From the accompaniments of mermaids, conch-shells, sea-horses, &c., we may conclude that a more elegant mythology than that now subsisting has been lost with the art of sculpture. The whole is carved out of a single block of the quartz rock, which has a lustre and polish equal to marble, and is of far greater durability.

The length of this marine couch (*seja*) is nearly eight feet, its breadth two, and its height somewhat more than three: the figure, from the top of this richly wrought tiara, being four feet. I felt a strong inclination to disturb the slumbers of Narayana, and transport him to another clime: in this there would be no sacrilege, for in his present mutilated state, he is looked upon (except as a specimen of art) as no better than a stone.

All round the *coond* the ground is covered with fragments of shrines erected to the inferior divinities. On one piece, which must have belonged to a roof, were sculptured two busts of a male and a female, unexceptionably beautiful. The head dress of the male was a helmet, quite Grecian in design, bound with a simple and elegant fillet: in short, it would require the labour of several artists for six months to do anything like justice to the wonders of Barolli.

There is no chronicle to tell us for whom or by whom this temple was constructed. The legends are unintelligible; for although Raja Hoon is the hero of this region, it is no easy task to account for his connexion with the mythology. If we, however, connect this apparently wild tradition with what is already said regarding his ruling at Bhynsror, and moreover with what has been recorded in the first part of this work, when 'Ungutsi, lord of the Hoons,' was enrolled amongst the eighty-four subordinate princes who defended Cheetore against the first attempt of the Islamite, in the eighth century, the mystery ceases. The name of Hoon is one of frequent occurrence in ancient traditions, and the early inscription at Monghir has already been mentioned, as likewise the still

more important admission of this being one of the thirty-six royal tribes of Rajpoots: and as, in the Cheetore chronicle, they have actually assigned as the proper name of the Hoon prince that (Ungutsi) which designates, according to their historian Deguignes, the grand horde, we can scarcely refuse our belief that "there were Huns" in India in those days. But although Raja Hoon may have patronized the arts, we can hardly imagine he could have furnished any ideas to the artists, who at all events have not produced a single Tatar feature to attest their rule in this region. It is far more probable, if ever Grecian artists visited these regions, that they worked upon Indian designs—an hypothesis which may be still further supported. History informs us of the Grecian auxiliaries sent by Seleucus to the (Puar) monarch of Oojein (Ozene), whose descendants corresponded with Augustus; and I have before suggested the possibility of the temple of Komulmair, which is altogether dissimilar to any remains of Hindu art, being attributable to the same people.

We discovered two inscriptions, as well as the names of many visitors, inscribed on the pavement and walls of the portico, bearing date seven and eight hundred years ago; one was "the son of Jalunsi, from Dhawulnagri;" another, which is in the ornamental *Nagari* of the Jains, is dated the 13th of Cartic (the month sacred to Mars), S. 981, or A. D. 925. Unfortunately it is but a fragment, containing five *slocas* in praise of *Sideswar*, or Mahadeo, as the patron of the ascetic Jogis. Part of a name remains; and although my old Guru will not venture to give a translation without his sybelline volume, the *Vyakurna*, which was left at Oodipoor, there is yet sufficient to prove it to be merely the rhapsody of a Pundit, visiting Rori Barolli, in praise of the 'great god' and of the site.* More time and investigation than I could afford, might make further discoveries; and it would be labour well rewarded, if we could obtain a date for this Augustan age of India. At the same time, it is evident that the whole was not accomplished within one man's existence, nor could the cost be defrayed by one year's revenue of all Rajpootana.

We may add, before we quit this spot, that there are two piles of stones, in the quadrangle of the main temple, raised over the defunct priests of Mahadeo, who, whether Gosens, Sanyasis, or Dadoopantis, always bury their dead.

Barolli is in the tract named Puchail, or the flat between the river Chumbul and the pass, containing twenty-four

* This is deposited in the museum of the Royal Asiatic Society.

villages in the lordship of Bhynsror, lying about three miles west, and highly improving the scene, which would otherwise be one of perfect solitude. According to the local tradition of some of the wild tribes, its more ancient name was Bhadravati, the seat of the Hoons; and the traces of the old city in extensive mounds and ruins are still beheld around the more modern Bhynsror. Tradition adds, that the Chirmitti (the classic name of the Chumbul) had not then ploughed itself a channel in this adamantine bed; but nine centuries could not have effected this operation, although it is not far from the period when Ungutsi, the Hoon, served the Rana of Cheetore.

CHAPTER XII.

The choolis, *or whirlpools of the Chumbul.—Grandeur of the scene.—Description of the falls and rocks of the Chumbul in this part.—The remarkable narrowness of its bed.—The* roris, *or stones found in the whirlpools.—Visit to Gangabheva.—Its magnificient temple and shrines.—The details of their architecture.—The main temple more modern than the shrines around it.—Dilapidation of these fine specimens of art.—Effects of vegetation.—The gigantic* amervela.—*Naoli.*—Takaji-ca-coond, *or fountain of the snake-king.—Fragments of sculpture.—Mausoleum of Jeswunt Rao Holcar.—Holcar's horse.—His elephant.—Bhanpoora.—Tranquillity and prosperity of these parts.—Gurrote.—Traces of king Satul Patul, of the era of the Pandus.—Agates and cornelians.—The caves of Dhoomnar.—Description of the caves and temples.—Explanation of the figures.—Jain symbols on one side of the caves, Brahmin on the other.—Statues of the Jain pontiffs.—Bheem's bazaar.*

December 3rd.—HAVING halted several days at Barolli to admire the works of man, we marched to contemplate the still more stupendous operation of nature—the *choolis*, or 'whirlpools,' of the Chumbul. For three miles we had to hew a path through the forest for our camels and horses; at the end of which, the sound of many waters gradually increased, until we stood on the bleak edge of the river's rocky bed. Our little camp was pitched upon an elevated spot, commanding a view over one of the most striking objects of nature—a scene bold

beyond the power of description. Behind us was a deep wood; in front, the abrupt precipices of the Pathar; to the left, the river expanded into a lake of ample dimensions, fringed with trees, and a little onward to the right, the majestic and mighty Chirmitti, one of the sixteen sacred rivers of India, shrunk into such a narrow compass, that even man might bestride it. From the tent, nothing seemed to disturb the unruffled surface of the lake, until we approached the point of outlet, and beheld the deep bed the river has excavated in the rock. This is the commencement of the falls. Proceeding along the margin, one rapid succeeds another, the gulf increasing in width, and the noise becoming more terrific, until you arrive at a spot where the stream is split into four distinct channels; and a little farther, an isolated rock appears, high over which the whitened spray ascends, the sun-beams playing on it. Here the separated channels, each terminating in a cascade, fall into an ample basin, and again unite their waters, boiling around the masses of black rock, which ever and anon peeps out and contrasts with the foaming surge rising from the whirlpools (*choolis*) beneath. From this huge cauldron, the waters again divide into two branches, encircling and isolating the rock, on whose northern face they re-unite, and form another fine fall.

A tree is laid across the chasm, by the aid of which the adventurous may attain the summit of the rock, which is quite flat, and is called "the table of the Thakoor of Bhynsror," who often, in the summer, holds his *gote* or feast there, and a fitter spot for such an entertainment can scarcely be imagined. Here, soothed by the murmur of foaming waters, the eye dwelling on a variety of picturesque objects, seen through the prismatic hues of the spray-clouds, the baron of Bhynsror and his little court may sip their *amrit*, fancying it, all the while, taken from the churning of the little ocean beneath them.

On issuing from the *choolis*, the river continues its course through its rocky bed, which gradually diminishes to about fifteen feet, and with greatly increased velocity, until, meeting a softer soil, under Bhynsror, it would float a man-of-war. The distance from the lake first described to this rock is about a mile, and the difference of elevation, under two hundred feet; the main cascade being about sixty feet fall. It is a curious fact that, after a course of three hundred miles, the bed of a mighty river like this should be no more than about three yards broad. The whirlpools are huge perpendicular caverns, thirty and forty feet in depth, between some of which there is a communication under-ground; the orbicular stones termed *rorts*, are often forced up in the agitation of these

natural cauldrons ; one of them represents the object of worship at Bal-rori. For many miles down the stream, towards Kotah, the rock is everywhere pierced by incipient *choolis*, or whirlpools, which, according to their size and force, are always filled with these rounded stones.

From hence the Chumbul pursues its course through the plateau (sometimes six hundred feet high) to Kotah. Here nature is in her grandest attire. The scene, though wild and rugged, is sublime ; and were I offered an estate in Mewar, I would choose Bhynsror, and should be delighted to hold my *gote* enveloped in the mists which rise from the whirlpools of the Chumbul.

December 4th.—The carpenters have been at work for some days hewing a road for us to pass to Ganga-bheva, another famed retreat in this wild and now utterly deserted abode. We commenced our march through a forest, the dog-star nearly south ; the river dimly seen on our right. on our left were the remains of a ruined circumvallation, which is termed Rana-Kote ; probably a *rumna*, or preserve. At daybreak we arrived at the hamlet of Kheyrli ; and here, our course changing abruptly to the south-east, we left the river, and continued our journey through rocks and thickets, until a deep grove of lofty trees, enclosed by a dilapidated wall, shewed that we had reached the object of our search, Ganga-bheva.

What a scene burst upon us, as we cleared the ruined wall and forced our way over the mouldering fragments of ancient grandeur ! Ganga-bheva, or 'the circle of Ganga,' appears to have been selected as a retreat for the votaries of Mahadeva, from its being a little *oasis* in this rock-bound valley ; for its site was a fine turf, kept in perpetual verdure by springs.

The chief object is the temple, dedicated to the creative power ; it stands in the centre of a quadrangle of smaller shrines, which have more the appearance of being the cenotaphs of some ancient dynasty than domiciles for the inferior divinities. The contrast between the architecture of the principal temple, and that of the shrines which surround it, is remarkable. The body of the chief temple has been destroyed, and with its wrecks a simple, inelegant *mindra* has been raised ; nor is there aught of the primitive structure, except the portico remaining. Its columns are fluted, and the entablature (part of which lies prostrate and reversed)* exhibits a profusion of rich sculpture. In front of the temple is a circular basin, always over-

* It will be requisite to view this fragment in a reversed position to see the intended effort of the artist.

flowing, and whence the term *bhevo* or *bheo*, 'a circle,' added to the name of the spring, which is feigned to be an emanation of *Ganga*. The surface of its waters is covered with the flower sacred to the goddess, that particular lotus termed *camodhun*, which may be rendered, 'the riches of love.'

The chief temple evinces the same skill and taste as the structures of Barolli, and the embellishments are similar. We here recognize the groups of Mahadeva and Parbutty, with the griffins (*gras*), the Nagunis, half-serpent half-female, &c., though not in so finished a style as at Barolli. Whatever be the age of this temple (and we found on the pavement the name of a votary with the date S. 1011, or A. D. 955), it is many centuries more recent than those which surround it, in whose massive simplicity we have a fine specimen of the primitive architecture of the Hindus. Even of these, we can trace varieties. That of which we present a drawing, shews, in its fluted columns, a more ambitious, though not a better taste, than the plainer supporters of the pyramidal roofs, which cover all the ancient temples of Bal-siva. Five of these small shrines filled up each face of the quadrangle, but with the exception of those on the east side, all are in ruins. The doors of those which possess an enclosed *sanctum*, face inwards towards the larger shrine: and each has a simple low altar, on which are ranged the attendant divinities of Mahadeva. The sculpture of all these is of a much later date than the specimens at Barolli, and of inferior execution, though far superior to anything that the Hindu sculptor of modern days can fabricate. They may possibly be of the date found inscribed (the tenth century), posterior to which no good Hindu sculpture is to be found. As this spot is now utterly deserted, and the tiger and wild boar are the only inhabitants that visit the groves of Ganga-bheva, I shall be guilty of no sacrilege in removing a few of these specimens of early art.*

Nature has co-operated with the ruthless Toork in destroying the oldest specimens of the art. Wherever there is a chink or crevice, vegetation fixes itself. Of this we had a fine specimen in a gigantic but now mouldering *koroo*, which had implanted itself in the *munduf* of the principal temple, and rent it to its foundation. On examining its immense roots, large slabs were actually encased with the wood, the bark of which nearly covers a whole regiment of petty gods. This

* Of the style of these specimens the critics are enabled to judge, as several are deposited in the museum of the Royal Asiatic Society. These mark the decline of the arts; as do those of Barolli it is perhaps the highest point of excellence.

fact alone attests the longevity of this species of tree, which is said to live a thousand years. The fountain-temple has, in a similar way, been levelled by another of these koroo-trees, the branches of which had gradually pressed in and overwhelmed it. The *Sengar-chaori*, or nuptial-hall, is also nearly un roofed; and although the portico may yet survive for ages, time is rapidly consuming the rest.

I should have said that there are two distinct enclosures, an interior and exterior, and it is the first which is crowded with the noblest trees, everywhere clustered by the *amervela*, 'the garland of eternity', sacred to Mahadeva, which shades the shrine, overhanging it in festoons. This is the giant of the parasitic tribe, its main stem being as thick near the root as my body. I counted sixty joints, each apparently denoting a year's growth, yet not half-way up the tree on which it climbed. That highly-scented shrub, the *ketki*, grew in great profusion near the *coond*, and a bevy of monkeys were gambolling about them, the sole inhabitants of the grove. The more remote enclosure contained many altars, sacred to the *manes* of the faithful wives who became *satis* for the salvation of their lords. On some of these altars were three and four *pootlis*, or images, denoting the number of devotees. It would require a month's halt and a company of pioneers to turn over these ruins, and then we might not be rewarded for our pains. We have therefore set to work to clear a path, that we may emerge from these wilds.

Naoli, December 5th, twelve miles.—The road runs through one continued forest, which would have been utterly impassable but for the hatchet. Half-way, is the boundary between Bhynsror and Bhanpoora, also an ancient appanage of Mewar, but now belonging to Holcar. Naoli is a comfortable village, having the remains of a fort to the westward.

In the evening I went to visit *Takaji-ca-coond*, or 'fountain of the snake-king.' It is about two miles east of Naoli; the road, through a jungle, over the flat highland or Pathar, presents no indication of the object of research, until you suddenly find yourself on the brink of a precipice nearly two hundred feet in depth, crowded with noble trees, on which the knotted *koroo* was again conspicuous. The descent to this glen was over masses of rock; and about half-way down, on a small platform, are two shrines; one containing the statue of *Takshac*, the snake-king; the other of *Dhunantra*, the physician, who was produced at the 'churning of the ocean.' The *coond*, or fountain, at the southern extremity of the abyss, is about two hundred yards in circumference, and termed *athag*, or unfathomable', according to my guide,

and if we may judge from its dark sea-green lustre, it must be of considerable depth. It is filled by a cascade of full one hundred feet perpendicular height, under which is a stone-seat, sacred to the genius of the spot. At the west side issues a rivulet, called the *Takhaili*, or serpentine, which, after pursuing a winding course for many miles, some hundred feet below the surface of the Pathar, washes the eastern face of Hinglazgurh, and ultimately joins the Amjar. Ghassi, my native artist, is busy with the effigy of the snake-king, and Dhunantra, the *Vedya*. From the summit of the plateau we had a view of the castle of Hinglaz, celebrated in Lord Lake's war with the Mahrattas, and which was taken by Captain Hutchinson with a few men of the Bengal artillery.

Bhanpoora, December 6th, eight miles.—This was a delightful march, presenting pictures at every step. Two miles, through jungle, brought us to the abrupt crest of the Pathar. For some distance the route was over a neck or *chine*, with deep perpendicular dells on each side, which, at its extremity, the point of descent, termed the *ghat* or pass, became a valley, gradually expanding until we reached Bhanpoora. At the *ghat* are the remains of a very ancient fortress, named Indorgurh, which must have been one of the strongholds of this region long anterior to the Chanderawut feudatories of Mewar. Some fragments of sculpture indicate the presence of the artist of Barolli; but all search for inscriptions was fruitless. From hence we saw the well-defined skirts of plateau stretching westward by Rampoora to the Lassaughat, Tarrapoor, and Jawud, the point of our ascent last year.

It was pleasing, after a week's incarceration amidst these ruins and scenes of natural grandeur, where European foot had never trod, to see verdant fields and inhabitants of the plains; such alternations make each delightful in its turn. We had been satiated with the interminable flats and unvarying corn-fields of Harouti, and it was relief to quit that tame tranquillity for the whirlpools of the Chumbul, the *coonds* of Ganga, and the snake-king in the regions of the inaccessible Doorga.

As we approached Bhanpoora, we crossed a small rivulet, called the Rewa, coming from the glen of the pass; near which is the mausoleum of Jeswunt Rao Holcar, adjoining the scene of his greatest glory, when he drove an English army from his territory. The architecture is worthy of the barbarian Mahrātta; it is a vaulted building, erected upon a terrace, all of hewn stone: its only merit is its solidity. There is a statue of this intrepid chieftain, of the natural size, in the usual ungraceful sitting posture, with his little turban; but it gives but a mean idea of the man who made terms with Lake at the altars

of Alexander. It is enclosed by a miniature and regularly-built fortress, with bastions, the interior of which are hollow and colonnaded, serving as a *dhermsala* or place of halt for pilgrims or travellers; and on the terrace are a few *reklas*, or swivels. On the right of the temple destined to receive the effigy of Jeswunt, is a smaller cenotaph to the memory of his sister, who died shortly after him. The gateway leading into this castellated tomb has apartments at top, and at the entrance is a handsome piece of brass ordnance, called *kali*, or 'death.' There is a temporary building on the right of the gateway, where prayers are recited all day long for the soul of Jeswunt, before an altar on which were placed twenty-four *dewas*, or lamps, always burning. A figure dressed in white was on the altar; immediately behind which, painted on the wall, was Jeswunt himself, and as in the days of his glory, mounted on his favourite war-horse, Mowah. The *chaour* was waving over his head, and silver mace-bearers were attending, while the officiating priests, seated on carpets, pronounced their incantations.

I left the master to visit Mowah, whose stall is close to the mausoleum of Holcar, whom he bore in many a desperate strife. The noble animal seemed to possess all his master's aversion to a *Frengi*, and when, having requested his body-clothes to be removed, I went up to examine him, he at first backed his ears and shewed fight; but at last permitted me to rub his fine forehead. Mowah is a chesnut of the famed *Beemrathali* breed; like his master, a genuine native of Maharashtra, he exhibits the frame-work of a perfect horse, though under 14 .3.; his fore-legs shew what he has gone through. His head is a model, exhibiting the highest quality of blood: ears small and pointed, eye full and protruding, and a mouth that could drink out of a tea-cup. He is in very good condition; but I put in my *urzee* that they would provide more ample and sweeter bedding, which was readily promised. The favourite elephant is a pensioner as well as Mowah. Even in these simple incidents, we see that the mind is influenced by similar associations all over the world.

Bhanpoora is a town of five thousand houses, surrounded by a wall in good order; the inhabitants apparently well-contented with the mild administration of Tantia Jogh, the present Dewan of Holcar's court; but they are all alive to the conviction that this tranquillity is due to the supervising power alone. I was greatly gratified by a visit from the respectable community of Bhanpoora merchants, bankers, and artizans, headed by the Hakim in person; nor could the inhabitants of my own country, Mewar, evince more kind and courteous feeling. In fact, they

have not forgotten the old tie; that the Rao of Bhanpoora, though now holding but a small portion of his inheritance, was one of the chief nobles of Mewar, and even still receives the *tilac* of accession for Amud from the hands of his ancient lord, though nearly a century has elapsed since Holcar became his sovereign *de facto* : but associations here are all powerful.

Gurrote, December 7th; distance thirteen miles; direction, S.S.E.—It was delightful to range over the expansive plains of Malwa, and not to be reminded at every step by the exclamation '*thokur!*' of the attendant, that there was some stony impediment ready to trip one up, the moment one's vision was raised above the earth. A singular contrast was presented between the moral aspect of these plains and of Harouti. Here, though the seat of perpetual war, still visible in sterile fields, we observe comfort displayed in the huts and in the persons of the peasantry; there, amidst all tne gifts of *Annapurna*, the miserable condition of the ryat provokes one to ask, "whence this difference?" The reason is elsewhere explained.

Gurrote is a thriving town of twelve hundred houses, the chief of a *tuppa* or sub-division of Rampoora, whence a deputy *hakim* is sent as resident manager. It is walled in; but the inhabitants seemed to feel they had now a better security than walls. Here there is nothing antique; but Moli, with its old castle, about midway in this morning's journey, might furnish something for the *porte-feuille*, especially a fine sculptured *torun* yet standing, and fragments strewed in every direction. Tradition is almost mute, and all I could learn was, that it was the abode of a king, called Satul-Patul, whom they carried back to the era of the Pandus.

I was much surprised to find the plain strewed with agates and cornelians, of every variety of tint and shape, both veined and plain, semi-transparent and opaque, many stalactitic, in various degrees of hardness, still containing the fibre of grass or root, serving as a nucleus for the concretion. There are no hills to account for these products in the black loam of the plains, unless the Chumbul should have burst his bed and inundated them. Nor are there any *nullas* which could have carried them down, or any appearance of calcareous deposit in the soil, which, when penetrated to any depth, was found to rest upon blue slate.

Caves of Dhoomnar, December 8th; direction, south 10° west; distance twelve miles.—The country reminded us of Mewar, having the same agreeable undulations of surface and a rich soil, which was strewed throughout, as yesterday, with agates. As we approached the object of our search, the caves of Dhoomnar, we crossed a rocky ridge covered with

the *dhak* jungle, through which we travelled until we arrived at the mount. We found our camp pitched at the northern base, near a fine tank of water ; but our curiosity was too great to think of breakfast until the mental appetite was satiated.

The hill is between two and three miles in circumference ; to the north it is bluff, of gradual ascent, and about one hundred and forty feet in height, the summit presenting a bold perpendicular scarp, about thirty feet high. The top is flat, and covered with *burr* trees. On the south side it has the form of a horse-shoe, or irregular crescent, the horns of which are turned to the south, having the same bold natural rampart running round its crest, pierced throughout with caves, of which I counted one hundred and seventy ; I should rather say that these were merely the entrances to the temples and extensive habitations of these ancient Troglodytes. The rock is a cellular iron-clay, so indurated and compact as to take a polish. There are traces of a city, external as well as internal, but whether they were cotemporaneous we cannot conjecture. If we judge from the remains of a wall about nine feet thick, of Cyclopean formation, being composed of large oblong masses without cement, we might incline to that opinion, and suppose that the caves were for the monastic inhabitants, did they not afford proof to the contrary in their extent and appropriation.

On reaching the scarp, we wound round its base until we arrived at an opening cut through it from top to bottom, which proved to be the entrance to a gallery of about one hundred yards in length and nearly four in breadth, terminating in a quadrangular court, measuring about one hundred feet by seventy, and about thirty-five feet in height ; in short, an immense square cavity, hollowed out of the rock, in the centre of which, cut in like manner out of one single mass of stone, is the temple of the four-armed divinity, Chatoorbhooja. Exclusive of this gallery, there is a staircase cut in the north-west angle of the excavation, by which there is an ascent to the summit of the rock, on a level with which is the pinnacle of the temple. Apparently without any soil, some of the finest trees I ever saw, chiefly the sacred peepul, burr, and tamarind, are to be found here.

The ground-plan of the temple is of the usual form, having a *mindra*, *munduf*, and portico, to which the well-known term *pagoda* is given, and there is simplicity as well as solidity both in the design and execution. The columns, entablatures, with a good show of ornament, are distinct in their details ; and there are many statues, besides flowers, not in bad taste, es-

pecially the carved ceilings. It would be regarded as a curiosity if found on a plain, and put together in the ordinary manner; but when it is considered that all is from one block and that the material is so little calculated to display the artist's skill, the work is stupendous.

Vishnu, who is here adored as the "four-armed", was placed upon an altar, clad in robes of his favourite colour (*pandu*, or yellow ochre), whence one of his titles, *Pandurang*. The principal shrine is surrounded by the inferior divinities in the following order: first, on entering are the *Poleas* or 'Porters.' Ganesa is upon the right, close to whom is Sarasvati, "whose throne is on the tongue;" and on the left are the twin-sons of Kali, the Bhiroos, distinguished as *Kala* (black), and *Gora* (fair); a little in advance of these is a shrine containing five of the ten *Mahabedias*, or ministering agents of Kali, each known by his symbol, or *vahan*, as the bull, man, elephant, buffalo, and peacock. The Mahabedias are all evil genii, invoked in *Jup*, or incantations against an enemy, and phylacteries, containing formulas addressed to them, are bound round the arms of warriors in battle.

At the back of the chief temple are three shrines; the central one contains a statue of Narayana, upon his hydra-couch, with Lacshmi at his feet. Two Dytes, or evil spirits, appear in conflict close to her; and a second figure represents her in a running posture, looking back, in great alarm, at the combatants. Smaller figures about Narayana represent the heavenly choristers administering to his repose, playing on various instruments, the *moorali*, or flute, the *vina*, or lyre, the *muyoora*, or tabor, and the *mudhung* and *thal*, or cymbals, at the sound of which a serpent appears, rearing his crest with delight. The minor temples, like the larger one, are also hewn out of the rock; but the statues they contain are from the quartz rock of the Pathar, and they, therefore, appear incongruous with the other parts. In fact, from an emblem of Mahadeva, which rises out of the threshold, and upon which the "four-armed" Vishnu looks down, I infer that these temples were originally dedicated to the creative power.

We proceeded by the steps, cut laterally in the rock, to the south side, where we enjoyed, through the opening, an unlimited range of vision over the plains beyond the Chumbul, even to Mundisore and Sondwarra. Descending some rude steps, and turning to the left, we entered a cavern, the roof of which was supported by one of those singularly-shaped columns, named after the sacred mounts of the Jains; and here it is necessary to mention a curious fact, that while everything on one side is Budhist or Jain, on the other all is Sivite

or Vishnuvi. At the entrance to the cave adjoining this are various colossal figures, standing or sitting, too characteristic of the Budhists or Jains to be mistaken ; But on this, the south side, everything is ascribed to the Pandus, and a recumbent figure, ten feet in length, with his hand under his head, as if asleep, is termed "the son of Bheem," and as the local tradition goes, "only one hour old :" a circumstance which called forth from my conductor, who gravely swallowed the tale, the exclamation—"What would he have been if *noh mahina ca balac*, 'a nine months' child' !" The chief group is called the Five Pandus, who, according to tradition, took up their abode here during their exile from the Jumna ; and the other figures are performing menial offices to the heroes.

Fortunately, I had my Jain Guru with me, who gave me more correct notions of these groups than the local *cicerone*. All these figures are representations of the deified pontiffs of the Jains, and the group of five are the most celebrated of the twenty-four, and distinctively called the *Panch-Teruti*, *viz.* Rishubdeva, the first ; Suntnath, the sixteenth ; Nemnath, the twenty-second ; Parswanath, the twenty-third ; and Mahavira, the twenty-fourth. Each has his sacred mount, or place of pligrimage (*teerut*), and each is recognized by his symbol, *viz.* the bull, black antelope, conch-shell, hooded serpent, and tiger ; and it is quite sufficient to find one of these symbols upon the plinth to ascertain the particular pontiff to which it belongs. There was also, in a sitting posture, Chandra Prebhoo, known by his sign, the crescent. All the figures are from ten to eleven feet high. That in a recumbent position, my friend said, was one of the pontiffs, about to "shuffle off this mortal coil," preparatory to apotheosis. "When such an event took place, the throne of Indra shook, and he sent a deputation to convey the deceased through the *Kheer Samudra* (sea of curds), to the great temple of deification, whither the whole heavenly host advanced to conduct him."

Next to, and communicating by a passage with, this hall of the Jain pontiffs, is the most extensive excavation of Dhoomnar, locally designated as "Bheem's Bazaar." The extreme length of this excavation is about a hundred feet, and the breadth eighty. Although the name of this leader of the Pandus designates every sub-division of this cave, yet everything is Budhist. The main apartment is that called Bheem's armoury or treasury, the entrance to which is through a vestibule, about twenty feet square, supported by two columns, and having four lateral semicircular niches, now empty, but probably intended for statues ; this opens to the armoury, which is a vaulted apartment, about thirty feet by fifteen, having at the further end a

dhagope, supporting the roof. These singularly-formed columns, if we may so term them, are named after their sacred mounts; and this is called *Soomeru*, which being sacred to Adnath, the first pontiff, we may conclude he was here adored. An extensive piazza, full twenty feet wide, evidently a *dhermsala* for the pilgrims, runs round this apartment, supported by rows of massive square columns, all cut out of the rock; and again, on the exterior, are numerous square cells, called the apartments of the *Srawuks*, or Jain laity; in one of which there is a supporting *dhagope*, and in another two statues of the twenty-third pontiff, Parswa. A part of the vaulted roof of Bheem's treasury, as it is called, has fallen in, so that the vault of heaven is seen through the aperture of the mountain. This is also attributed to Korea *Choor* (thief), whose statue appears on the pinnacle of the temple of Barolli, indicating the old enemy of the Pandus, who robbed them of their kingdom. Close to the armoury is an apartment called the *Rajloca*, or for the ladies; but here tradition is at fault, since, with the exception of Koonti, the mother, Droopdevi alone shared the exile of the Pandus.

Still further to the right, or south-west, is another vaulted and roof-ribbed apartment, thirty feet by fourteen, and about sixteen in central height, supported by another image of Soomeru. The sacred *burr*, or fig-tree (*ficus religiosa*), had taken root in the very heart of this cavern, and having expanded until checked by the roof, it found the line of least resistance to be the cave's mouth, whence it issued horizontally, and is now a goodly tree overshadowing the cave. Around this there are many *pausidsalas*, or halls for the Yatis, or initiated disciples, who stand in the same upright meditative posture as the pontiffs.

But it is impossible, and the attempt would be tedious, to give, by any written description, an adequate idea of the subterranean town of Dhoomnar. It is an object, however, which will assist in illustrating the subject of cave-worship in India; and though in grandeur these caves cannot compare with those of Ellora, Carli, or Salsette, yet in point of antiquity they evidently surpass them. The temple dedicated to the *Tirthancars*, or deified *Jin-eswars* (lord of the Jains), are rude specimens of a rude age, when the art of sculpture was in its very infancy; yet is there a boldness of delineation, as well as great originality of design, which distinguishes them from everything else in India. In vain we hunted for inscriptions; but a few isolated letters of that ancient and yet undeciphered kind, which occurs on every monument attributed to the Pandus, were here and there observed. There were fragments of sculpture about the base of

the hill, differing both in design and material from those of the mountain. Altogether, Dhoomnar is highly worthy of a visit, being one of the most curious spots in this part, which abounds with curiosities.

CHAPTER XIII.

Route over the ground of Monson's retreat.—Battle of Peeply.—Heroism of Umr Sing Hara, chief of Koelah.—Conduct of general Monson.—Puchpahar.—Kunwarra.—Thriving aspect of the country.—Jhalra-Patun. Temples.—Commercial immunities of the city.—Judicious measures of the Regent in establishing this mart.—Public visit of the community of Patun.—The ancient city.—Legends of its foundation.—Profusion of ancient ruins.—Fine sculpture and architecture of the temples.—Inscriptions.—Cross the natural boundary of Harouti and Malwa.—The chaoni *of the Kotah Regent.—* Chaoni *of the Pindarris.—Gagrown.—Naraynpoor.--Mokundurra Pass.—Inscriptions.—Anecdotes of the "Lords of the Pass."—The* chaoni *of Bheem.—Ruins.—Ordinances of the Hara princes.—Return to Kotah.—Field sports.—Author attacked by a bear.—Ruins of Ekailgurh.*

Puchpahar, 10th December.—We returned to Gurrote yesterday, whence we marched ten miles north-north-east this morning over memorable ground. It was from Gurrote that the retreat of Monson commenced, an event as remarkable in the history of British India as the retreat of Xenophon in that of Greece. The former has not been commemorated by the commander, though even the pen of Xenophon himself could not have mitigated the reproach which that disastrous event has left upon our military reputation. Holcar was at Pertâbgurh, when, hearing of the advance of the English army, he made direct on Mundisore, where he halted merely to refresh his horses, and crossing the Chumbul at the Aora ford, he pushed direct on Gurrote, a distance of nearly fifty miles. Local report states that Monson, in utter ignorance of the rapid advance of Holcar, had that morning recommenced his march for Chandwasso, with what object is unknown; but as soon as he learned the vicinity of the foe, without awaiting him, he ordered a retrograde movement to gain the Mokundurra pass, leaving Lucan with the irregular horse and the

Kotah auxiliaries, chiefly Hara Rajpoots, to secure his retreat. Holcar's army amounted to ten thousand horse, in four *goles*, or masses, each acting separately. That under—Khan Bungush came on Lucan from the south, while that under Hurnat Dada, from the direction of Bhanpoor attacked the Kotah contingent. Lucan defended himself like a hero and having repelled all their charges, had become the assailant, when he received his death-blow from a hand in his own *páega*. My informant, who was that day opposed to this gallant soldier, described the scene, pointing out the mowah tree close to which he fell.

The auxiliary band of Kotah was led by the Hara chief of Koelah, his name Umr Sing. On receiving the orders of the English commander, he prepared, in the old Hara style, to obey them. The position he selected was about a quarter of a mile west of Lucan, on the north bank of the Amjar, his left protected by the village of Peeply, which stands on a gentle eminence gradually shelving to the stream, the low abrupt bank of which would secure him from any charge in front. Here, dismounting from his horse, Umr Sing, surrounded by one thousand men, "spread his carpet," resolved to defend the passage of the Amjar. His force was chiefly infantry, who met the enemy with volleys of matchlocks, and filled the stream with their bodies; but just as he was about to close with them, a ball hit him in the forehead and another in the right breast. He fell, but immediately rose again, and reclining against a sugar-mill-stone, encouraged his men to the charge. The calmness of his manner indicated no danger, but it was the dying effort of a Hara: pointing with his sword to the foe, he fell back and expired. Four hundred and fifty of his men were either killed or wounded around their chief, and among the latter, the Polaita chief, the next in rank to Koelah, and the bukshee, or paymaster-general of Kotah was made prisoner, and forced to sign a bond for ten lakhs of rupees as a ransom, a penalty for siding with the English.

A humble altar of clay marks the spot where the brave Hara fell, having a tablet, or *joojarh*, representing as usual a cavalier and his steed, armed at all points. I felt indignation at the indifference of the Regent, who had not marked the spot with a more durable monument; but he is no Hara; though could he entomb the whole tribe, he would erect a structure rivalling even that of Mausoleus. But this receives a homage which might be denied to a more splendid one; for the villagers of Peeply fail not in their duty to the *manes* of Umr Sing, whose lowly altar is maintained in repair. The

devoted Lucan has not even so frail a monument as this; nor could I learn if the case which enclosed his gallant spirit had any rites of sepulture. But his memory will be cherished by the inhabitants of Peeply, who will point to the mowah tree as that of "*Lucan Saheb ca Joojarh.*"

By the sacrifice of these brave men, the British commander gained the Mokundurra pass, without seeing even an enemy; had he there left only five companies, with sufficient supplies and ammunition, under such men as Sinclair or Nichol, Mokundurra might have rivalled Thermopylæ in renown; for such is the peculiarity of the position, that it would have taken a week to turn it, and that could be done by infantry alone. But the commander "had no confidence in his men:" why then did he accept the command? Throughout the retreat, the sepahis were eager for the fight, and expressed their opinion openly of their leader; and when this 'doubting' commander left five companies to defend the passage of the Bunas, how did they perform it by repelling every assault, while a particle of ammunition lasted? I have often passed this ford, once with Sindia's army, and only three years after the retreat. The gallant stand was admirably described to me by Zemaun Khan Rohilla, a brave soldier and no boaster, (and that day among our foes,) who coolly pointed to the precise spot where he shot one of our officers, in the last charge, with his pistol. He said that the Mahratta infantry would no longer return to the charge, and that Jeswunt Rao was like a madman, threw his turban on the ground and called for volunteers amongst the cavalry, by whom at length Sinclair and his men were cut off. It is a lesson by which we ought to profit, never to place in command of sepahis those who do not understand, confide in, and respect them.

Puchpahar is a thriving town, the head of one of the four districts, of which, by the right of war, we became possessed, and have transferred from Holcar to the Regent: so far we have discharged the debt of gratitude. Eighty villages are attached to Puchpahar, which, though never yielding less than half a lakh of rupees, is capable of raising more than twice that sum. There are two thousand houses in the town, which has an extensive bazaar filled with rich traders and bankers, all of whom came to visit me. The cornelian continues to strew the ground even to this place.

Kunwarra, 11th December; thirteen miles; direction, N. E. by E.--Passed over a fine rich soil, with promising young crops of wheat and gram, and plenty of the last crop (*jwar*) in stacks; a sight not often seen in these war-trodden plains, and which makes the name, Kunwarra, or "the land of corn,"

very appropriate. At the village of Aonla, four miles south, we crossed the high road leading from Oojein through the *durra* to Hindusthan, the large town of Soneil lying three miles to our right.

Jhalra-Patun, 12th December; ten miles; direction, N. N. E.—The road over the same fertile soil.—Passed the Chunderbhaga rivulet, the source of which is only two coss distant, and was shown, within the range, the isolated hill of Relaitoh, formerly the retreat of a Bhil community which sent forth four thousand bowmen to ravage the plains of Malwa: these were extirpated by Zalim Sing.

Jhalra-Patun is the creation of the Regent; and, as we approached it, his kindness procured me the distinction of being met, a full mile beyond the town, by the cheif magistrate, the council, and the most wealthy inhabitants: an honour duly appreciated, this being the only town in India possessing the germs of civil liberty, in the power of framing their own municipal regulations. This is the more remarkable, as the immunities of their commercial charter were granted by the most despotic ruler of India; though the boon was not a concession to liberty, but an act of policy; it was given for value received, or at least expected, and which has been amply realized. Having exchanged salutations, and promised a more extended courtesy at my tents in the evening, we took advantage of the town being thinned, and passed in under a general discharge of ordnance from the ramparts. The city is nearly a square, surrounded by a substantial wall and bastions, well furnished with cannon. The ground plan is simple, being that of the Indian *chowpun* or cross, with two main streets intersecting each other at right angles, and many smaller ones running parallel to them. The main street is from south to north. We proceeded through this *Burra bazaar*, until we reached the point of intersection, where, upon a broad terrace, stands a temple to *Chatoorbhooja*, the 'four-armed' god, at least ninety feet in height. The marble dome and colonnaded *munduf*, and the general proportions of the structure, attracted my attention; but having been recently repaired and coated with white, I passed it by, conceiving it to be modern, and not likely to furnish historical data. From thence to the northern gate is a range, on either side, of houses of a uniform structure, having a great appearance of comfort; and the street, which is nearly a mile long, terminates with a temple erected by the Regent to his favourite divinity, Dwarcanath. The image here enshrined was ploughed up from the ruins of the ancient city, and carried to the Regent at Kotah, who, leaving to the choice of the god the title under which, and the

site where, he would be worshipped, his various names were inscribed and placed under the pedestal ; the priest drew forth that of *Gopal-ji*, and a magnificent shrine was erected to him upon the bank of one of the finest lakes in India, the waters of which, raised by an artificial dam, could be made to environ it at pleasure.

In a street to the north and parallel to the first but as yet incomplete, is a handsome temple dedicated to the sixteenth Jain prophet. This also, I afterwards discovered, was an antique structure, recently repaired and one of the hundred and eight temples, the bells of which sounded in the ancient city ; whence its name *Jhalra-Patun* or 'the city of bells,' and not as erroneously stated hitherto from the tribe of the Regent *Jhalra-Patun*, or 'city of the Jhala ;' ignorance of which fact made me pass over the temples under the supposition that they were coeval with its modern foundation. I stopped for a few moments at the mansion of the chief magistrate, Sah Munniram, and having expressed my admiration of all I had seen and my hope that the prosperity of the city would redouble under his paternal care in these days of peace, I made my salaam and took leave. Opposite his house, engraved on a pillar of stone, is the charter of rights of the city. Its simplicity will excite a smile ; but the philosopher may trace in it the first rudiments of that commercial greatness which made the free cities of Europe the instruments of general liberty. Few of these had their privileges so thoroughly defined or so scrupulously observed ; and the motive which brought the community together was the surest guarantee against their infringement. A state of general war made them congregate, and was the origin of these immunities, which the existing peace and tranquillity will perpetuate. Any want of good faith would be the destruction of Patun.

When the Regent took advantage of the times to invite the wealthy of all the surrounding regions to become settlers in this new mart, he wisely appealed to the evidence of their senses as the best pledge for the fulfilment of his promises. Simultaneously with the charter, the fortifications were commenced, and an adequate garrison was placed here under a commandant well-known and respected. He excavated wells, repaired the dam of the old lake and either built afresh or repaired the religious edifices of all sects at the expense of the state ; and to secure uniformity and solidity in the new habitations, he advanced to every man who required it half the money necessary for their construction. But the greatest boon of all was his leaving the administration of justice, as well as of internal police, entirely in the hands of the municipal authori-

ties, who, to their credit, resolved that the fines and forfeitures arising therefrom, instead of becoming a bait for avarice and vexatious interference, should be offerings to the shrine of Dwaricanath.

It is proper to say that the chief magistrate, Sah-Munniram, who is of the Vishnue sect, has a coadjutor in Gomani Ram of the Oswal tribe and Jain faith, and each has his separate tribunal for the classes he represents, while the whole form a joint council for the general weal. They pull well together, and each has founded a *poora*, or suburb named after their children. The *Chohteas* or members of this council are selected according to the general sense entertained of their fitness ; and were the chief magistrates also the free choice of the inhabitants at large 'the city of bells' would require no addition to her freedom. Thus, in the short space of twenty years, has been raised a city of six thousand comfortable dwellings, with a population of at least twenty-five thousand souls. But the hereditary principle, so powerful throughout these countries, and which, though it perpetuates many evils, has likewise been productive of much good, and has preserved these states from annihilation, will inevitably make the 'turban' of magistracy descend from the head of Munniram or Gomani to their children, under whom, if they be not imbued with the same discretion as their parents, the stone tablet as well as the subsequent privileges of Jhalra-Patun, may become a dead letter. The only officers of government residing in the town are the commandant and the collector of the imposts ; and so jealous are they of the least interference on his part, that a fine would be inflicted on any individual who, by delaying the payment of the authorized duties, furnished an excuse for his interference.

Such is an outline of an internal administration, on which I have just had a commentary of the most agreeable description : a public visit from all the wealth and worth of Patun. First, came the merchants, the brokers, the insurers of the Vishnue persuasion, each being introduced with the name of the firm ; then followed the Oswal merchants, in similar form, and both of them I seated in the order of their introduction and respectability. After them followed the trades, the *Chohtea* or deacons, each making his *nuzzur* in the name of the whole body. Then came the artizans, goldsmiths, braziers, dyers, confectioners, down to the barbers, and town-crier. The agricultural interest was evidently at a discount in Patun, and subordinate to the commercial ; the old Mundlooe Patels were, "though last, not least" in this interesting assemblage. Even the frail sisterhood paid their *devoirs*, and, in their

modesty of demeanour, recalled the passage of Burke applied in contrast to a neighbouring state, "vice lost half its deformity, by losing all its grossness." Sah-Munniram himself. preserved order outside, while to his colleague he left the formalities of introduction. The goldsmiths' company presented, as their *nuzzur*, a small silver powder-flask, shaped as an alligator, and covered with delicate chain-work, which I shall retain not only as a specimen of the craft, but in remembrance of a day full of unusual interest. They retired in the same order as they came, preceded by the town-band, flags, trumpets, and drums.

Such is Jhalra-Patun. May the demon of anarchy keep from its walls, and the orthodox and heterodox *Duumvirs* live in amity for the sake of the general good, nor by their animosities, increase the resemblance which this mart bears to the free cities of Europe.

From all I could learn, justice is distributed with as even a hand as in most societies, but wherever existed the community that submitted to restraint, or did not murmur at the fiat of the law ? Jhalra-Patun is now the grand commercial mart of Upper Malwa, and has swallowed up all the commerce of the central towns between its own latitude and Indore. Though not even on the high road, when established, this difficulty was overcome by the road coming to it. The transit-duties on salt alone must be considerable, as that of the lakes of western Rajwarra passes through it in its way to the south-east. It is not famed, however, for any staple article of trade, but merely as an entrepot.

We have said enough of the modern city, and must now revert to the ancient, which, besides its metaphorical appellation of "the city of bells," had the name of *Chandravati*, and the rivulet which flowed through it, the *Chandrabhaga*. There is an abundance of legends, to which we may be enabled to apply the test of inscriptions. In some, Raja Hoon is again brought forward as the founder of the city; though others, with more probability, assign its foundation to the daughter of Chandrasen, the Pramar king of Malwa, who was delivered of a son on this spot while on a pilgrimage. Another ascribes it to a more humble origin than either, *i. e.* to Jussoo, a poor wood-cutter of the ancient tribe of Or, who, returning homewards from his daily occupation, dropped his axe upon the *paris-putter*, with the aid of which he transmuted iron to gold, and raised "the city of the moon" (*Chandravati*); and the lake is still called after him *Jusso Or ca-tallab*. The Pandu Bheem likewise comes in for his share of the founder's fame; who, with his brethren during their covenant with the

Kaorea, found concealment in the forest; but his foe, fearing the effect of his devotions, sent his familiar to disturb them. The spirit took the form of a boar, but as he sped past him through the thicket, Bheem discharged an arrow, and on the spot where this fell, the Chandrabhaga sprung up. Whoever was the founder, I have little doubt that tradition has converted Jussoo-verma, the grandson of Udyadit, the monarch of all Malwa, into the wood-cutter; for not only does this prince's name occur in one of the inscriptions found here, but I have discovered it in almost every ancient city of Central India, over which his ancestors had held supreme power from the first to the thirteenth century of Vicrama.*

The sites of temples mark the course of the stream for a considerable distance, the banks being strewed with ruins. Flights of steps, forming *ghats*, reach to the water's edge, where multitudes of gods, goddesses, and demons, are piled, and some of the more perfect placed upon altars of clay, around which some lazy, well-fed Gosens loiter, basking in the sun. Understanding that no umbrage could be taken if I exported some of them to Oodipoor, I carried off Narayan on his hydra-couch, a Parbutty, a *tri-murti*, and a cart-load of the *dii minores*, which I found huddled together under a burr-tree. There was a fine statue of Ganesa, but our efforts to move *Wisdom* were ineffectual, and occasioned not a few jokes among my Brahmins; nor must I pass over a colossal *baraha* (boar), of which no artist in Europe need be ashamed.

The powers of Destruction and Reproduction were those propitiated among the one hundred and eight shrines of Chandravati; of which only two or three imperfect specimens remain to attest the grandeur of past days. Everywhere, the symbolic lingam was scattered about, and the *munduf* of one of those still standing I found filled with representations of the Hindu Hecate and a host of lesser infernals, the sculpture of which, though far inferior to that at Barolli, is of a high order compared with aught of modern times. The attitudes are especially well-managed, though there is a want of just proportion. Even the anatomical display of the muscles is attended to; but the dust, oil, and *sindoor* (vermilion) of twelve centuries were upon them, and the place was dark and damp, which deterred us from disturbing them.

* On a stone tablet, which I discovered at Boondi, of the Takshac race, are the names both of Chandrasen and Jusoo-verma, and though no date is visible, yet that of the latter is fixed by another set of inscriptions, inserted in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, at S. 1161 or A. D. 1135: the period when the old Hindu monarchies were breaking up, and consequently the arts beginning to decay.

Ghassi is now at work upon the outline of two of the remaining shrines, and has promised to give up ten days to the details of the ceilings, the columns, and the rich varied ornaments, which the pencil alone can represent. One of these shrines, having a part of the *sengar chaori* still standing, is amongst the finest things in Asia, not for magnitude, being to all appearance merely receptacles for the inferior divinities surrounding some grand temple, but for the sculptured ornaments, which no artist in Europe could surpass. Each consists of a simple *mindra*, or *cella*, about twenty feet square, having a portico and a long open colonnaded vestibule in front for the priests and votaries. Every one of these numerous columns differs in its details from the others. But the entrance chiefly excites admiration, being a mass of elaborate workmanship of a peculiar kind and the foliage and flowers may be considered perfect.* It is deeply to be lamented that no artists from Europe have made casts from these masterpieces of sculpture and architecture, which would furnish many new ideas, and rescue the land sacred to Bhavani (Minerva) from the charge of having taught nothing but deformity: a charge from which it is my pride to have vindicated her.

While I remained with Ghassi, amidst the ruins, I despatched my *guru* and Brahmins to make diligent search for inscriptions; but many of these, as well as thousands of divinities, the wrecks of ancient Patun, have been built up in the new town or its immense circumvallation; but our efforts were not altogether unrewarded.

The oldest inscription, dated S. 748 (A. D. 962), bore the name of Raja Doorgangul, or 'the bar of the castle'. It is very long, and in that ornamented character peculiar to the Budhists and Jains throughout these regions. It contains allusions to the local traditions of the Pandu Arjoon, and his encounter with the demon Virodhi under the form of Baraha, or the boar; and states that from the spot where the baraha was wounded, and on which his blood fell, a figure sprung, originating from the wound (*khet*), whose offspring in consequence was called Khetrie: "of his line was Crishna Bhut Khetri, whose son was *Takyac*. What did he resemble, who obtained the fruits of the whole earth, conquering numerous foes? He had a son named *Kyuk*, who was equal to the

* The original drawings by Ghassi are deposited at my book-sellers, Budd and Calkin, Pall-Mall, together with those by Captain Waugh to shew that any deviation from the originals by the engravers is to the decided deterioration of the former. They are on a considerably larger scale than the engravings, and I am anxious that the public should thus form a correct estimate of the arts as they once existed in India.

divinity which supports the globe: in wisdom he was renowned as Mahadeo: his name sent to sleep the children of his foe: he appeared as an avatar of Boodh, and like the ocean, which expands when the rays of the full moon fall upon it, even so does the sea of our knowledge increase when he looks upon it: and his verses are filled with ambrosia (*amrita*). From Cheyt to Cheyt, sacrifice never ceased burning: Indra went without offspring.* The contributions from the land were raised with justice, whilst his virtues overshadowed the three worlds. The light which shines from the tusks of his foe's elephant had departed; and the hand which struck him on the head, to urge him on, emitted no sound. Where was the land that felt not his influence? Such was Sri Kyuk! when he visited foreign lands, joy departed from the wives of his foe: may all his resolves be accomplished!

"S, 748 (A. D. 692), on the full moon of Jeyt, this inscription was placed in the mindra, by Goopta, the grandson of Bhat Ganeswar, *Lord of the Lords of verse* of Moondal, and son of Hur-goopta: this writing was composed, in the presence of Sri Doorgangul Raja, to whom, salutation! that forehead alone is fair which bows to the gods, to a tutor, and to woman! Engraved by Oluk, the stone-cutter."

On this curious inscription we may bestow a few remarks. It appears to me that the wild legion of the creation of this *Khetri*, from the blood of Baraha, represented as a *danoo*, or demon in disguise, is another fiction to veil the admission of some northern race into the great Hindu family. The name of Baraha, as an ancient Indo-Scythic tribe, is fortunately abundantly preserved in the annals of Jessulmeer, which state, at the early periods of the Yadu-Bhatti history, opposed their entrance into India: while both Takshac (or Tak) and Kyuk are names of Tatar origin, the former signifying 'the snake,' the latter 'the heavens.' The whole of this region bears evidence of a race whose religion was ophite, who bore the epithet of Takshac as the name of the tribe, and whose inscriptions in this same nail-headed character are found all over central and western India. If we combine this with all that we have already said regarding Raja Hoon of Bhadraoti, and Ungutsi the Hun, who served the Rana of Cheetore *at this precise period*, when an irruption is recorded from Central Asia, we are forced to the conclusion, that this inscription (besides many others), is a memorial of

* The allusion of this affords another instance of the presumption of the priests, who compelled the gods to attend the sacrificial rites, and hence Indra could not visit his consort Indrani.

a Scythic or Tatar prince," who, as well as the Gete prince of Salpoor,* was grafted upon Hindu stock.

The inscription next in point of antiquity was from the Jain temple in the modern town. It was dated the 3rd of Jeyt, S. 1103 (A. D. 1047), but recorded only the name of a visitor to the shrine.

Near the dam of the *Or-sagur*, there was a vast number of funeral memorials, termed *nisea*, of the Jain priesthood.' One is dated "the 3rd of Magh, S. 1066 (A. D. 1010), on which day Srimunt Deo, *Chela* or disciple, of Acharya Srimana 'Dewa, left this world." The bust of the acharya, or doctor, is in a studious posture, the book laying open upon the *thooni* or cross, which forms a reading-desk often the only sign on the *nisea* to mark a Jain place of sepulture.

The adjoining one contained the name of Devindra Acharya; the date S. 1180.

Another was of "Komar-deo, the pundea or priest of the race of Koomad Chandra Acharya, who finished his career on Thursday (*goorbard*) the Mool nekshitra of S. 1289."

There were many others, but as, like these, they contained no historical *data*, they were not transcribed.

Narayanpoor, 13th December eleven miles.—Marched at daybreak, and about a coss north of the city ascended the natural boundary of Harouti and Malwa; at the point of ascent was Gondore, formerly in the appanage of the Ghatti-Rao (*lord of the pass*), one of the legendary heroes of past days; and half a coss further was the point of descent into the *Antri*, or 'valley,' through which our course lay due north. In front, to the north-west, Gagrown, on the opposite range, was just visible through the gloom; while the yet more ancient Mhow, the first capital of the Kheechies, was pointed out five coss to the eastward. I felt most anxious to visit this city, celebrated in the traditions of Central India, and containing in itself and all around much that was worthy of notice. But time pressed; so we continued our route over the path trodden by the army of Alla-o-din when he besieged Achildas in Gagrown. The valley was full three miles wide, the soil fertile, and the scenery highly picturesque. The forest on each side echoed with the screams of the peacock, the calls of the partridge, and the note of the jungle-cock, who was crowing his matins as the sun gladdened his retreat. It was this *antri*, or valley, that the Regent selected for his *chaoni*, or 'fixed camp', where he has resided for the last thirty years. It had at length attained the importance of a town, having spacious

* See inscription, Vol. I, p. 813.

streets and well-built houses,and the materials for a circumvallation were rapidly accumulating: but there is little chance of his living to see it finished. The site is admirably chosen, upon the banks of the Amjar, and midway between the castle of Gagrown and Jhalra-Patun. A short distance to the west of the Regent's camp, is the *Pindarri-ca-chaoni*, where the sons of Kureem Khan, the chief leader of those hordes, resided; for in those days of strife, the old Regent would have allied himself with Satan, if he had led a horde of plunderers. I was greatly amused to see in this camp, also assuming a permanent shape, the commencement of an *eedga*, or 'place of prayer;' for the villains, while they robbed and murdered even defenceless woman, *prayed five times a day!*

We crossed the confluent streams of the Aou and Amjar, which, flowing through the plains of Malwa, have forced their way through the exterior chain into the *antri* of Gagrown, pass under its western face, dividing it from the town, and then join the Caly Sinde.

Until you approach close to Gagrown, its town and castle appear united, and present a bold and striking object; and it is only on mounting the ridge that one perceives the strength of this position, the rock being scarped by the action of the waters to an immense height. The ascent to the summit of the ridge was so gradual that our surprise was complete, when, casting our eye north, we saw the Caly Sinde sweeping along the northern face of both fort and town, whence it turns due north, ploughing its serpentine passage, at a depth of full two hundred feet below the level of the valley, through three distinct ranges, each chasm or opening appearing in this bold perspective like a huge portal, whence the river gains the yielding plains of Harouti. As we passed under the town, we were saluted by a discharge from all the ordnance on its ramparts, and the governor, who had advanced to meet us at the express desire of his master, invited us in; but though strongly pressed, and equally desirous to see a place of such celebrity, I would not make myself acquainted with the secrets of this chief stronghold of the Regent. On whichever side an enemy might approach it, he would have to take the bull by the horns. It was only by polluting the waters with the blood of the sacred kine, that Alla, 'the sanguinary' (*khooni*), took it about five centuries ago from the valiant Kheechie, Achildas, an account of whose family would be here out of place. Independent of ancient associations, there is a wild grandeur about Gagrown, which makes it well worthy of a visit, and the views from the north must be still finer than from the point whence we beheld it.

We passed over the ridge at the extremity of the town, and descended into another *antri*, up which we journeyed nearly due west until we reached our camp at Narayanpoor. The valley was from four to six hundred yards in breadth, and in the highest state of cultivation ; to preserve which, and at the same time to secure the game, the Regent, at an immense expense, has cut deep trenches at the skirt of the hills on each side, over which neither deer nor hog can pass, while the forests that crown the hills to their summit are almost impervious even to wild beasts. We passed various small cantonments, where the Regent could collect the best part of his army, some even on the summit of the ridge. At all of these are wells, and reservoirs termed *po*.

Mokundurra, December 14th, ten miles.—At daybreak, commenced our march up the valley, and midway between Narayanpoor and the *durra*, reached the ruined castle of Ghatti, so called from its being erected on the summit of the ridge commanding an outlet of the valley. Partly from the gradual ascent of the valley, and from the depression of the ridge, we formed rather a mean opinion of the pass (*ghatti*) ; but this feeling was soon lost when we attained the crest, and found ourselves on a scarped rock of some hundred feet in elevation, commanding a view over all the plains of Malwa, while at our feet was a continuation of the *antri* of the Amjar, which we observed gliding through the deep woods the Regent has allowed to remain at the entrances of these valleys.

Tradition is eloquent on the deeds of the 'Lords of the Pass,' both of the Kheechie and Hara, and they point out the impression of Mehraj Kheechie's charger, as he sprang upon the Islamite invaders. There are many cenotaphs to the memory of the slain, and several small shrines to Siva and his consort, in one of which I found an inscription not only recording the name of Mehraj, but the curious fact that four generations were present at the consecration of one to Siva. It ran thus : "In S. 1657 and Saca 1522, in that particular year called *Somya*, the sun in the south, the season of cold, in the happy month Asoj, the dark half thereof, on Sunday, and the thirty-sixth gurrie ; in such a happy moment, the Kheechie of Chohan race, Maharaj Sri Rawut Nursing-deo, and his son Sri Rawut Mehraj, and *his* son Sri Chundersen, and *his* son Kaliandas, erected this *seo-ali* (house of Siva) : may they be fortunate ! Written by Jey Serman, and engraved by Kumma, in the presence of the priest Kistna, the son of Mohes."

We shall pass over the endless tales of the many heroes who fell in its defence, to the last of any note—Goman Sing, a descendant of Sawunt Hara. The anecdote I am about to

insert relates to the time when Rao Doorjun Sal was prince of Kotah, and the post of Foujdar was held by a Rahtore Rajpoot, Jey Sing of Gagorni. Through the influence of this Foujdar, Goman was deprived of the honour of defending the pass, and his estate sequestrated. He was proceeding homeward with a heavy heart from the presence of his sovereign, when he met the foujdar with his train. It was dark, and a torch-bearer preceded him, whom Goman dashed to the earth, and with his iron lance transfixed the Rahtore to his *palki* Making for the gate, he said it was the Rao's order that none should pass until his return. As soon as he gained his estate, he proceeded with his family and effects to Oodipoor, and found *sirna* with the Rana, who gave him an estate for the support of himself and his followers. There he remained until Kotah was besieged by Raja Esuri Sing of Jeipoor, when he obtained the Rana's leave to fly to its defence. Passing over the Pathar, he made for Kotah, but it was invested on every side. Determined to reach it or perish, he ordered his *nakarra* to beat, and advanced through the heart of the enemy's camp. The Jeipoor prince asked who had the audacity to beat close to his quarters, and being told "the Rawut of the pass, from Oodipoor," he expressed a wish to see the man, of whom he had heard his father say, he had, unarmed, slain a tiger. The Hara obeyed the summons, but would only enter the Presence in the midst of his band. He was courteously received and offered large estates in Jeipoor; the Raja remarking, that Goman Sing was only going to his doom, since "in the space of eating a *pan*, he (Esuri Sing) would be master of Kotah." Losing all patience, Goman said, "take my salaam and my defiance, Maharaj; the heads of twenty thousand Haras are with Kotah." He was permitted to pass the batteries unmolested, and on reaching the river, he called aloud, "the Ghatta Rawut wants a boat," to conduct him to his sovereign, whom he found seated behind the walls encouraging the defence. At that very moment, a report was brought that a breach was nearly effected at a particular point; and scarcely had the prince applauded his *swamdherma*, than, making his bow, Goman marched his followers to the breach, and "there planted his lance." Such were the Haras of past days; but the descendants of the 'Rawut of the Pass' are now in penury, deprived of their lands, and hard pressed to find a livelihood.

We continued our march from this Pass, often moistened with Rajpoot blood, and reached the Durra, outside of which we found the old Regent encamped, and whence we issued on our tour just three weeks ago. It was by mere accident that,

some distance up the valley, (a continuation of that we had just quitted,) we heard of some ruins, termed the "Chaori of Bheem," one of the most striking remains of art I had yet met with. It is the fragment only of a quadrangular pile, of which little now remains, the materials having been used by one of the Kotah princes, in erecting a small palace to a Bhilni concubine. The columns possess great originality, and appear to be the connecting link of Hindu and Egyptian architecture. Not far from the *Chaori*, where, according to local traditions, the Pandu Bheem celebrated his nuptials, are two columns, standing without relation to any other edifice; but in the lapse of ages the fragments appertaining to them have been covered with earth or jungle. At every step we found *joojarhs*, or funeral stones; and as this "Pass of Mokund" must, as the chief outlet between the Dekhan and northern India, have been a celebrated spot, it is not unlikely that in remote ages some city was built within its natural ramparts. Throughout this town, we found many traces of the beneficent but simple legislation of the Hara princes; and when the Regent set up his pillar, prohibiting chiefly his own violence, he had abundant formulas to appeal to. We have already alluded to this circumstance in the sketch of his biography, and we may here insert a free translation of the ordinance we found engraved in the Pass, and which is recorded throughout Harouti.

"Maharaj Maharao-ji Kishore Sing, ordaining! To all the merchants (*mahajins*), traders, cultivators, and every tribe inhabiting Mokundurra. At this time, be full of confidence; trade, traffic, exchange, borrow, lend, cultivate, and be prosperous; for all *dind* (contribution) is abolished by the *Durbar*. Crimes will be punished according to their magnitude. All officers of trust, Patels, Patwarris, Sasurris (night-guards), and mootsuddies (scribes), will be rewarded for good services, and for evil. None of them shall be guilty of exactions from merchants or others: this is a law sworn to by all that is sacred to Hindu or Mooslem. Ordained from the royal mouth, and by command of Nanah-ji (grandsire) Zalim Sing, and uncle Madhu Sing. Asoj the 10th, Monday, S. 1877 (A. D. 1821)."

Having halted a few days, we returned to Kotah by the towns of Puchpahar and Anundpoor; both large and thriving, situated upon the banks of fine pieces of water. Madhu Sing, at the head of a splendid cavalcade, with six field pieces, advanced a couple of miles to conduct me to my old residence, the garden-house, east of the town. During the six weeks that we remained here to watch the result of the measures elsewhere described, we endeavoured to find amusements in various ways, to divert us from brooding upon the cholera

which was raging around us. This season attracts flocks of wild geese to prey upon the young corn, and we had the double pleasure of shooting and eating them. Occasionally, we had a shot at a deer, or hunted them down with the Regent's *cheetas* (hunting-leopards); or with the dogs ran down jackals, foxes, or hares. There was a *rumna* for wild hogs about five miles from our abode, and a delightful summer retreat in the midst of a fine sheet of water. The animals were so tame, from the custom of feeding them, that it was almost unsportsmanlike to shoot at them. On one occasion, the Maharao prepared an excursion upon the water, in which I was not well enough to join. Numerous *shekarris*, or 'hunters,' proceeded up either bank to rouse the bears or tigers that find cover there, when the party from the boats shot at them as they passed. Partly for the purpose of enjoying this sport, and partly to see the fortress of Ekailgurh, six miles south of the city, we afterwards made another excursion, which, though not unattended by danger, afforded a good deal of merriment. The river here is confined by perpendicular rocks, full three hundred feet in height; and amidst the *debris*, these wild animals find shelter. As the side on which we were did not promise much sport, we determined to cross the stream, and finding a quantity of timber suited to the purpose we set to work to construct a raft; but had only pushed a few paces from the shore when we began to sink, and were compelled to make a Jonas of the doctor, though we afterwards sent the vessel back for him, and in due time landed all our party and appendages. Being furnished with huntsmen by the Regent, who knew the lairs of the animals, we despatched them up the stream, taking post ourselves behind some masses of rock in the only path by which they could advance. We had been seated about half an hour, when the shouts of the hunters were heard, and soon a huge bear, his muzzle grey from age, came slowly trotting up the pathway. Being unable to repress the mirth of Captain Waugh and the doctor, who were conning over the events of the morning, just before he came in sight, I had quitted them, and was trying to gain a point of security a little remote from them; but before I could attain it, they had both fired and missed, and Bruin came at a full gallop towards me. When within ten paces, I fired and hit him in the flank: he fell, but almost instantly recovered, and charged me open-mouthed, when one of my domestics boldly attacked him with a hog-spear and saved me from a hug. Between the spear and the shot, he went floundering off, and was lost in the crevices of the rock. On our return, we passed the day amidst the ruins of Ekailgurh, an enormous pile of stones

without cement; in all probability, a fortress of some of the aboriginal Bhils. Both crests of the mountain are covered with jungle, affording abundant sport to the princes of Kotah. There is a spot of some celebrity a few coss to the south of this, called Gypur-Mahadeo, where there is a cascade from a stream that falls into the Chumbul, whose banks are said to be here upwards of six hundred feet in height. There are few more remarkable spots in India than the course of the river from Kotah to Bhynsror, where both the naturalist and the painter might find ample employment.

I sent scouts in all directions to seek for inscriptions; some of which are in an unknown character. One of the most interesting, brought from Kunswah, of a Jit prince, has been given in the first volume of this work.

CHAPTER XIV.

Visit to Mynal.—Definition of the servile condition termed bussie. *Bijolli.—Inscriptions.—Ancient history of Bijolli.—Evidence that the Chohans wrested the throne of Delhi from the Tuars.—Jain temples.—Inscriptions.—Sivite temples.—Prodigious extent of ruins.—The Bijolli chief.—His daughter a* Sati.*—Mynal, or Mahanal.—Its picturesque site.—Records of Pirthiraj, the Chohan.—Inscriptions.—Synchronism in an enigmatical date.—March to Beygoo.—Bumaoda, the castle of Aloo Hara.—Legend of that chief.—Imprecation of the virgin Sati.—Recollections of the Haras still associated with their ancient traditions.—Quit Bumaoda and arrive at Beygoo.*

In February, I recommenced my march for Oodipoor, and having halted a few days at Boondi, and found all there as my heart could wish, I resumed the march across the Pathar, determined to put into execution my wish of visiting Mynal. About ten miles north, on this side of it, I halted at Bijolli, one of the principal fiefs of Mewar, held by a chief of the Pramar tribe, with the title of Rao. This family, originally Raos of Jugnair, near Biana, came into Mewar in the time of the great Umr Sing, with all his *bussie*, upwards of two centuries ago; the Rana having married the daughter of Rao Asoca, to whom he assigned an estate worth five lakhs annually. I have elsewhere explained the meaning of a term which embraces

bondage amongst its synonyms, though it is the highest species of slavery. *Bussie*, or properly *vasi*, means a 'settler,' an 'inhabitant', from *vas*, 'a habitation,' and *vasna*, 'to inhabit,' but it does not distinguish between free settlers and compulsory labourers; but wheresoever the phrase is used in Rajwarra, it may be assumed to imply the latter. Still, strange to say, the condition includes none of the accessories of slavery: there is no task-duty of any kind, nor is the individual accountable for his labour to any one: he pays the usual taxes, and the only tie upon him appears to be that of a compulsory residence in his *vas*, and the epithet, which is in itself a fetter upon the mind of the *vasi* of Bijolli.

Bijolli (*Vijyavalli*) stands amidst the ruins with which this *oopermal*, or highland, is crowded. From the numerous inscriptions we here found, we have to choose, for its ancient name, between Ahaichpoor and Morakuro; the latter is still applied, though the former appears only on the recording stone. This western frontier teems with traditions of the Chohans, and seems to have been a dependency of Ajmeer, as these inscriptions contain many celebrated names of that dynasty, as Beesildeo, Someswar, Pirthiraj; and chiefly record the martial virtues and piety of Irno-Raj of Morakuro, and his offspring, Bahir-Raj and Koontpal, who appear contemporary with their paramount prince and relative, Pirthiraj, king of Delhi and Ajmeer.

One inscription records the actions of the dynasty of Cheetore, and they are so intermingled as to render it almost impossible to separate the Gehlotes from the Chohans. It begins with an invocation to "*Sacambhari Jinunie Mata*, the mother of births, guardian of the races (*Sacum*), and of mighty castles (*doorga*), hills, and ruins, the Protectress." Having mentioned the names of nine Chohans (of Vach-gotra), it flies off to Srimad Bappa-Raj, Vindhya Nirpati, or, 'Bappa, sovereign of Vindhya Hills,' the founder of the Ranas of Mewar; but the names that follow do not belong to his dynasty, which leads me to imagine that the Chohans of Oopermal were vassals of Cheetore at that early period. Since antiquarian disquisitions, however, would be out of place here, we shall only give the concluding portion. It is of Koontpal, the grandson of Irno-Raj, "who destroyed Jawulapoor, and the fame of whose exploit at the capture of Delhi is engraved on the gate of Balabhi. His elder brother's son was Pirthiraj, who assumed a *purb* of gold, which he gave in charity, and built in Morakuro a temple to Parswanath. Having obtained the regal dignity, through Someswar, he was thence called *Someswar*, for the sake of whose soul this *mindra* was erected, and the

village of Rewana on the Rewa, bestowed for its support.—S. 1226 (A. D. 1170)." This appears completely to set at rest the question whether the Chohans wrested by force the throne of Delhi from the Tuars; and it is singular, that from the most remote part of the dominions of this illustrious line, we should have a confirmation of the fact asserted by their great bard Chund. The inscriptions at Asi (Hansi), and on the column of Delhi, were all written about the same period as this. But the appeal made to "the gate of Balabhi," the ancient capital of the Gehlotes in Saurashtra, is the most singular part of it, and will only admit of one construction, namely, that when Pirthiraj revenged the death of his father, Someswar, who was slain in battle by the prince of Saurashtra and Guzzerat, Koontpal must have availed himself of that opportunity to appropriate the share he had in the capture of Delhi. Chund informs us he made a conquest of the whole of Guzzerat from Bhola Bheem.

We have also two other not unimportant pieces of information: first, that Morakuro was an ancient name of Bijolli; and next, that the Chohan prince was a disciple of the Jains, which, according to Chund, was not uncommon, as he tells us that he banished his son Sarungdeo from Ajmeer, for attaching himself to the doctrines of the Budhists.

Morakuro, about half a mile east of Bijolli, is now in ruins; but there are remains of a *kote*, or castle, a palace called the *No-choki*, and no less than five temples to Parswanath, the twenty-third of the Jain pontiffs, all of considerable magnitude and elaborate architectural details, though not to be compared with Barolli. Indeed, it is everywhere apparent, that there is nothing classical in design or execution in the architecture of India posterior to the eleventh century. One of my scribes, who has a talent for design, is delineating with his reed (*culm*) these stupendous piles, while my old Jain *guru* is hard at work copying what is not the least curious part of the antiquities of Bijolli, two inscriptions cut in the rock; one of the Chohan race, the other of the *Sankh Puran*, appertaining to his own creed, the Jain. It is fifteen feet long by five in breadth, and has fifty-two lines.* The other is eleven feet six inches by three feet six, and contains thirty-one lines: so that the old gentleman has ample occupation. A stream runs amidst the ruins, called the Mundagni

* I have never had time to learn the purport of this inscription, but hold it, together with a host of others at the service of those who desire to expound them. For myself, without my old *guru*, I am like a ship without helm or compass (as Chund would say) "in ploughing the ocean of (Sanscrit) rhyme."

(fire-extinguishing); and there is a *coond*, or fountain, close to the temples of Parswa, with the remains of two noble reservoirs. All these relics indicate that the Jains were of the *Digumber* sect. The genealogy is within the *kote*, or precincts of the old castle.

There are likewise three temples dedicated to Siva, of still greater magnitude, nearer to the town, but without inscriptions; though one in an adjoining *coond*, called the Rewati, records the piety of the Gohil chief Rahil, who had bestowed "a patch of land in the *Antri*," defining minutely its limits, and inviting other (not ineffectually, as is proved by other bequests), in the preamble to his gift, to follow his example by the declaration that "whoever bathes in the Rewati fountain will be beloved by her lord, and have a numerous progeny."

The modern castle of Bijolli is constructed entirely out of the ruins of the old shrines of Morakuro, and gods and demons are huddled promiscuously together. This is very common, as we have repeatedly noticed; nor can anything better evince that the Hindu attaches no abstract virtue to the material object or idol, but regard it merely as a type of some power or quality which he wishes to propitiate. On the desecration of the receptacle, the idol becomes again, in his estimation, a mere stone, and is used as such without scruple. All around, for several miles, are seen the wrecks of past days. At Dorowlee, about four miles south, is an inscription dated S. 900 (A. D. 844), but it is unimportant; and again, at Telsooah, two miles farther south, are four *mundirs*, a *coond*, and a *torun*, or triumphal arch, but no inscription. At Jarowla, about six miles distant, there are no less than seven *mundirs* and a *coond*—a mere heap of ruins. At Ambaghati, one of the passes of descent from the table-land into the plain, there are the remains of an ancient castle and a shrine, and I have the names of four or five other places, all within five miles of Bijolli, each having two and three temples in ruins. Tradition does not name the destroyer, but as it evidently was not Time, we may, without hesitation, divide the opprobrium between those great iconoclasts, the Ghori king Alla, and the Mogul Arungzeb, the first of whom is never named without the addition of *khooni*, 'the sanguinary,' whilst the other is known as *Kal-jumun*, the demon-foe of Crishna.

The Bijollia chief is greatly reduced, though his estates, if cultivated, would yield fifty thousand rupees annually; but he cannot create more *vasi*, unless he could animate the prostrate forms which lie scattered around him. It was

his daughter who was married to prince Umra, and who, though only seventeen, withstood all solicitation to save her from the pyre on his demise.* I made use of the strongest arguments, through her uncle, then at Oodipoor, promising to use my influence to increase his estate, and doubtless his poverty reinforced his inclination ; but all was in vain—she determined "to expiate the sins of her lord." Having remained two or three days, we continued our journey in quest of the antique and the picturesque, and found both.

Mynal, February 21st.—It is fortunate that the pencil can here portray what transcends the power of the pen ; to it we shall, therefore, leave the architectural wonders of Mahanal, and succinctly describe its site. It is difficult to conceive what could have induced the princely races of Cheetore or Ajmeer to select such a spot as an appanage for the cadets of their families, which in summer must be a furnace, owing to the reflexion of the sun's rays from the rock . tradition, indeed, asserts that it is to the love of the sublime alone we are indebted for these singular structures. The name is derived from the position *Maha-nal*, 'the great chasm,' or cleft in the western face of the Pathar, presenting an abyss of about four hundred feet in depth, over which, at a sharp re-entering angle, falls a cascade, and though now but a rill, it must be a magnificent object in the rainy season. Within this dell it would be death to enter : gloomy as Erebus, crowded with majestic foliage entangled by the twisted boughs of the *amervela*, and affording cover to all description of the inhabitants, quadruped and feathered, of the forest. On the very brink of the precipice, overhanging the abyss, is the group of mixed temples and dwellings, which bear the name of Pirthiraj; while those on the opposite side are distinguished by that of Samarsi of Cheetore, the brother-in-law of the Chohan emperor of Delhi and Ajmeer, whose wife, Pirtha-Bae, has been immortalized by Chund with her husband and brother. Here, the grand cleft between them, these two last bulwarks of the Rajpoot races, were accustomed to meet with their families, and pass days of affectionate intercourse, in which no doubt the political condition of India was a prominent topic of discussion. If we may believe, and we have no reason to distrust, the testimony of Chund, had Pirthiraj listened to the counsel of the Ulysses of the Hindus, (in which light Samarsi was regarded by friend and foe), the Islamite never would have been lord of Hindustan. But the indomitable courage and

† See Transactions Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 152.

enthusiastic enterprize of Pirthiraj sunk them all ; and when neither wisdom nor valour could save him from destruction, the heroic prince of Cheetore was foremost to court it. Both fell on the banks of the Caggar, amidst heroes of every tribe in Rajpootana. It was indeed to them, as the bard justly terms it, *pralaya*, the day of universal doom ; and the last field maintained for their national independence. To me, who have pored over their poetic legends, and imbibed all those sympathies which none can avoid who study the Rajpoot character, there was a melancholy charm in the solemn ruins of Mynal. It was a season, too, when everything conspired to nourish this feeling ; the very trees which were crowded about these relics of departed glory, appearing by their leafless boughs and lugubrious aspect to join in the universal mourning.

We found many inscriptions at Mahanal, and of one I shall here insert a free translation, as it may be applied hereafter to the correction of the chronology of the Haras, of which race it contains a memorial.

"By *Asapurana** [the fulfiller of our desires] the *cula-devi*† [tutelary goddess] of the race, by whose favour hidden treasures are revealed, and through whose power many Chohan kings have ruled the earth, of which race was *Bhaonrdhun*,‡ who in the field of strife attained the desires of victory. Of his race was the tribe of Hara, of which was *Koolun*,§ of illustrious and pure descent in both races ; whose fame was fair as the rays of the moon. From him was *Jypal*,‖ who obtained the fruits of the good works of his former existence in the present garb of royalty ; and whose subjects prayed they might never know another sovereign. From him was *Deva-raj*,¶ the lord of the land who gave whatever was desired, and whose wish was to render mankind happy. He delighted in the dance and the song. His son was *Hur-raj*,** whose frame was a piece of fire ; who, in

* *Asa* is literally 'Hope.'

† Goddess of the *race*, pronounced *cool*.

‡ 'The wealth of the bee ;' such are the metaphorical appellations amongst the Rajpoots.

§ This is the prince who crawled to Kedarnath (see p 1315) and son of Rainsi, the emigrant prince from Aser, who is perhaps here designated as 'the wealth of the bee.' This was in S. 1353, or A. D. 1297.

‖ Jypal ('fosterer of victory') must be the prince familiarly called "Bango" in the annals (p. 1316), and not the *grandson* but the *son of* Koolun—there said to have taken Mynal or Mahanal.

¶ Dewa is the son of Bango (p. 1316), and founder of Boondi, in S. 1398, or A. D. 1342.

** Hur-raj, elder son of Dewa, became lord of Bumaoda, by the abdication of his father, who thenceforth resided at his conquest at Boondi—See note, p 1319.

the field of battle, conquered renown from the princes of the land [*bhom-eswar*], and dragged the spoils of victory from their pinnacled abodes.

"From him were the lords of Bumaoda,* whose land yielded to them its fruits. From Deva-raj was *Rit-pal*,† who made the rebellious bow the head, or trod them under foot, as did Capila the sons of Sagara. From him was *Kelhan*, the chief of his tribe, whose son *Koontul* resembled Dhermaraj: he had a younger brother, called Deda. Of his wife, *Rajuldevi*, a son was born to Koontul, fair as the offspring of the ocean.‡ He was named Mahadeva. He was [in wisdom] fathomless as the sea, and in battle immovable as Soomeru; in gifts he was the *Calpa-vricsha* of Indra. He laid the dust raised by the hoofs of hostile steeds, by the blood of his foe. The sword grasped in his extended arm dazzled the eye of his enemy, as when uplifted o'er the head of Umi Shah he rescued the Lord of Medpat, and dragged Kaitah from his grasp, as is Chandra from Rahoo.§ He trod the Sooltan's army under foot, as does the ox the corn; even as did the Danoos (demons) churn the ocean, so did Mahadeva the field of strife, seizing the gem (*rutna*) of victory from the son of the king, and bestowing it on Kaitah, the lord of men. From the centre even to the skirts of space did the fame of his actions extend, pure as curdled milk. He had a son, Doorjun, on whom he bestowed the title of

* Hur-raj had twelve sons, the eldest of whom, the celebrated Aloo Hara, succeeded to Bumaoda. See note, p. 1316.

† Here we quit the direct line of descent, going back to Dewa. Rit-pal, in all probability, was the offspring of one of the twelve sons of Hur-raj, having Mynal as a fief of Bumaoda.

‡ In the original, "fair as *Chanderma* (the moon), the offspring of *Samudra* (the ocean)." In Hindu Mythology, the moon is a male divinity, and son of the ocean, which supplies a favourite metaphor to the *Bardai*,—the sea expanding with delight at the sight of his child, denoting the ebb and flow of the waters.

§ This Umi Shah can only be the Pathan emperor Humayoon, who enjoyed a short and infamous celebrity; and Mahadeo, the Hara prince of Mahanal, who takes the credit of rescuing prince Kaitsi, must have been one of the great feudatories, perhaps generalissimo of the armies of Mewar (*Medpat*). It will be pleasing to the lovers of legendary lore to learn, from a singular tale, which we shall relate when we get to Bumaoda, that if on one occasion he owed his rescue to the Hara, the last on another took the life he gave; and as it is said he abdicated in favour of his son, Doorjun, whom he constituted Jiva raj, or king (*raj*), while he was yet in life (*Jiva*), it is not unlikely that, in order to atone for the crime of treason to his sovereign lord, he abandoned the *gadi* of Mynal.

Jiva-raj[*] (Jeojraj), who had two brothers, Soobutsal and *Cumbhucarna.*[†]

"Here, at Mahanal, the lord of the land, Mahadeva, made a *mindra*, in whose variously-sculptured wall this treasure [the inscribed tablet] is concealed. This (the temple) is an epitome of the universe, whose pinnacle (*sikra*) sparkles like a gem. The mind of Mahadeva is bent on devotion in Mahanal, the emblem of Kylas, where the Brahmins perform varied rites. While the science of arms endures, may the renown of Mahadeva never perish ;[‡] and until Ganges ceases to flow, and Soomeru to be immovable, may this memorial of Mahadeva abide fixed at Mahanal. This invocation *to* Mahadeva was made *by* Mahadeva, and by the Brahmin Dhuneswar, the dweller in Chutturkote (Cheetore), was this *prashishta* composed :

Arga, Goon, Chandra, Indu.

"The month of Bysak (*soodi*), the seventh. By Viradhwul, the architect (*silpi*), learned in the works of architecture (*silpa-sastra*), was this temple erected."

The cryptographic date, contained in the above four words, is not the least curious part of this inscription, to which I did not even look when composing the Boondi annals, and which is another of the many powerful proofs of the general fidelity of their poetic chronicles.

Arga is the sun, and denotes the number 12 ; *Goon* is the *three* principal passions of the mind ; and *Chandra* and *Indu* each stand for one : thus,

Arga,	*Goon*,	*Chandra*,	*Indu*.
12.	3.	1.	1.

and this "concealed (*goopta*) treasure," alluded to in the inscription, must be read *backwards*. But either my expounder, or the *silpi*, was out, and had I not found S. 1446 in a corner, we should never have known the value of this treasure. Many inscriptions are useless from their dates being thus enigmatic-

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* Here it is distinctly avowed that Mahadeva, having constituted his son *Jiva-raj*, passed his days in devotion in the temple he had founded.

† Pronounced *Koombkurun*, 'a ray of the *Cumbha*,' the vessel emblematic of Ceres, and elsewhere described.

‡ It appears he did not forget he *had* been a warrior.

ally expressed ; and I subjoin, in a note, a few of the magic runes, which may aid others to decipher them.*

I was more successful in another inscription of Irno or Arnodeva (fam. Arndeo), who appears to have held the entire *Oopermal* as a fief of Ajmeer, and who is conspicuous in the Bijolli inscription. Of this, suffice it to say, that it records his having "made the gateway to Mynal, otherwise termed the city of Someswar ;" and the date is

Anhul, Nund, Ind, Ind.

3. 9. 1. 1.

Anhul (fire) stands for three, denoting the third eye of Mahadeva, which is eventually to cause *pralaya*, or 'destruction.' *Nund* stands for *nine*, or the *no-nund* of their ancient histories. *Indu*, the moon, (twice repeated), is *one*, and the whole, read backwards, is S. 1193, or A. D. 1137.

In the *mundur* of Samarsi, we found the fragment of another inscription, dated S. 12-2, and containing the eulogy of Samarsi and Arnoraj, lord of the region ; also the name of "Pirthiraj, who destroyed the barbarians" ; and concluding with Sawunt Sing.

Beygoo, February.—We commenced our march at break of day, along the very crest of the Pathar ; but the thick woods through which lay our path did not allow us a peep at the plains of Medpat, until we reached the peak, where once stood the castle of Aloo Hara. But silent were the walls of Bumaoda ; desolation was in the courts of Aloo Hara. We could trace, however, the plan of this famed residence of a hero, which consisted of an exterior and an interior castle, the latter being a hundred and seventy cubits by a hundred and twelve. There are the ruins of three Jain temples, to Siva, Hanuman, and Dhermaraja, the Hindu Minos ; also three tanks, one of which was in excellent preservation. There are likewise the

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* *Indu* (the moon).. 1
Pukheo (the two fortnights)........................ 2
Netra (the three eyes of Siva)...................... 3
Veda (the four holy books)........................... 4
Sur (the five arrows of Camdeo, or Cupid)....... 5
Sest (the six seasons, of two months each) ... 6
Juludhee (the seven seas, or Samoodras)....... 7
Sidh... 8
Nidh (the nine planets)............................... 9
Dig (the ten corners of the globe)................ 10
Roodra (a name of Siva)............................. 11
Arga (the sun).. 12

remains of one hall, called the *andheari kotri*, or 'dark chamber,' perhaps that in which Aloo (according to tradition) locked up his nephew, when he carried his feud into the desert. The site commands an extensive view of the plains of Mewar, and of the *arneo-ghati* (pass), down the side of the mountain, to the valley of Beygoo. Beneath, on a ledge of rock, guarding the ascent, was the gigantic statue of 'Jogini Mata,' placed on the very verge of the precipice, and overlooking one of the noblest prospects in nature. The hill here forms a re-entering angle of considerable depth, the sides scarped, lofty and wooded to the base; all the plain below is covered with lofty trees, over whose tops the parasitic *amervela* forms an umbrageous canopy, extending from rock to rock, and if its superfluous supports were removed, it would form a sylvan hall, where twenty thousand men might assemble.

Over this magnificent scenery, "our Queen of the Pass" looks grimly down; but now there is neither foe to oppose, nor scion of Bumaoda to guard. I could not learn exactly who had levelled the castle of Aloo Hara, although it would appear to have been the act of the lord paramount of Cheetore, on whose land it is situated; it is now within the fief of Beygoo. We have already given one legend of Aloo; another from the spot may not be unacceptable.

In one of the twenty-four castles dependent on Bumaoda, resided Lallaji, a kinsman of Aloo. He had one daughter, in whose name he sent the coco-nut to his liege-lord, the Rana of Cheetore; but the honour was declined. The family priest was returning across the *antri*, when he encountered the heir of Cheetore returning from the chase, who, on learning the cause of the holy man's grief, determined to remove it by taking the nuptial symbol himself. He dismissed the priest, telling him he should soon appear to claim his bride. Accordingly, with an escort befitting the heir of Cheetore, and accompanied by a bard then on a visit to the Rana, he set out for Bumaoda. Bheemsen Bardai was a native of Benares, and happened to pass through Mewar on his way to Cutch-Bhooj, at the very period when all "the sons of rhyme" were under sentence of exile, from Mewar: a fate which we frequently find attending the fraternity in this country. The cause of this expatriation was as follows: an image of the deity had been discovered in cleaning out the waters of the lake, of a form so exquisitely beautiful as to enchant every eye. But the position of the arms was singular: one pointed upwards, another downwards, a third horizontally towards the observer. The handwriting on the wall could not have more appalled the despot of Babylon, than this *pootli* of Chutterbhooja, or 'image of the

four-armed god.' The prophetic seers were convened from all parts; but neither the Bhats nor the Charuns, nor even the cunning Brahmin, could interpret the prodigy; until, at length, the bard of the Jharejas arrived and expounded the riddle. He shewed that the finger pointing upwards imported that there was one Indra, lord of heaven; and that downwards was directed to the sovereign of patal (hell); whilst that which pointed to the Rana indicated that *he* was lord of the central region (*med-pat*), which being geographically correct, his interpretation was approved, and met with such reward, that he became the *pat-bardai*, or chief bard to Hamir, who, at his intercession, recalled his banished brethren, exacting in return for such favours that "he would extend the palm to no mortal but himself." This was the bard who accompanied the heir of Cheetore to espouse the daughter of Bumaoda. The castle of the Hara was thronged; the sound of mirth and revelry rang through the castle-halls, and the bards, who from all parts assembled to sing the glories of the Haras, were loaded with gifts. Bheemsen could not withstand the offering made by the lord of the Pathar, a horse richly caparisoned, splendid clothes, and a huge bag of money: as the bard of the Haras (who told me the tale) remarked, "although he had more than enough, who can forget habit? We are beggars (*mangtas*) as well as poets by profession." So, after many excuses, he allowed the gift to be left; but his soul detested the sin of his eye, and resolving to expiate the crime, he burried his dagger in his heart. Cries rent the air; "the sacred bard of Cheetore is slain!" met the ear of its prince at the very moment of *hataili* (junction of hands). He dropped the hand of his bride, and demanded vengeance. It was now the Hara's turn to be offended: to break off the nuptials at such a moment was redoubling the insult already offered by his father, and a course which not even the bard's death could justify. The heir of Cheetore was conducted forthwith outside Bumaoda; but he soon returned with the troops of Cheetore, and hostilities commenced where festivity so lately reigned. Falgoon approached, and the spring-hunt of the *ahaira* could not be deferred, though foes were around. Lallaji, father of the bride, went with a chosen band to slay a boar to Gouri, in the plains of Tookeraye; but Kaitsi heard of it, and attacked them. Alike prepared for the fight or the feast, the Hara accepted the unequal combat; and the father and lover of the bride rushed on each other spear in hand, and fell by mutual wounds.

The pyres were prepared within the walls of Bumaoda, whither the vassals bore the bodies of their lords; on one was

placed the prince of Cheetore, on the other the Hara kinsman; and while the virgin-bride ascended with the dead body of the prince, her mother was consumed on that where her father lay. It was on this event that the imprecation was pronounced that 'Rāna and Rao should never meet at the spring-hunt (*ahaira*) but death should ensue.' We have recorded, in the annals of the Haras, two subsequent occasions; and to complete their quatrain, they have made the defeat of Rana Mokul (said Koombho in the Annals), fill up the gap. Thus :—

> "*Hamoo, Mokul marya*
> *Lalla, Khaita Ran*
> *Soojah, Rutna sengaria*
> *Amal, Ursi Ran.*"

In repeating these stanzas, the descendant of Aloo Hara may find some consolation for the mental sufferings he endures, when he casts a glance upon the ruins of Bumaoda and its twenty-four subordinate castles, not one of which now contains a Hara :—

> "And there they stand, as stands a lofty mind,
> Worn, but unstooping to the baser crowd;
> All tenantless, save to the crannying wind,
> Or holding dark communion with the cloud."

That these ruins make a powerful appeal to the Hara, I can prove, by letters I received in October last year, when in obedience to a mandate of the "Queen of the Pass," a band collected at her shrine to obey her behest, whatever that might be.

Extract from *Akbar* (newspaper), dated Boondi, October 18, 1820.

"Warrants were sent to all the chiefs for their attendance at the capital to celebrate the festival of the *Duserra*. The whole of the chiefs and landholders came, with the exception of the Thakoors of Burr, who returned the following reply:— 'We have received a communication (*pygam*) from *Sri Bhavani of Bumaoda*, who commands us no longer to put the plough in the soil, but to sell our horses and our cattle, and with the amount to purchase sixty-four* buffaloes and thirty-two goats, for a general sacrifice to *Mataji*, by obeying which we shall re-possess Bumaoda.' Accordingly, no sooner was this known, than several others joined them, both from Boondi and Kotah. The Thakoor of Burr had prepared dinner near the statue of Mata for two hundred, instead of which five hundred

* A number sacred (according to Chund) to this goddess, who is chief of the sixty-four Joginis.

assembled ; yet not only were they all abundantly satisfied, but some food remained, which convinced the people there that the story (the communication) was true."

This was from Boondi ; but the following was from my old, steady, and faithful Brahmin, Balgovind, who was actually on the spot, dated "Mynal, 1st Kartik :—"A few days ago, there was a grand sacrifice to Jogini Mata, when thirty-one buffaloes and fifty-three goats were slain. Upon two *bukras* (he-goats), three Haras tried their swords in vain ; they could not touch a single hair, at which all were much surprised. These goats were afterwards turned loose to feed where they pleased, and were called *amur* (immortal)."

Not a comment was made upon this, either by the sensible Balgovind or the Yati Gyanji, who was with him. There was, therefore, no time to be lost in preventing an explosion from five hundred brave Haras, deeming themselves convened at the express command of Bhavani, to whom the sacrifice proved thus acceptable ; and I sent to the Raja to break up the party, which was effected. It, however, shews what an easy matter it is to work upon the credulity through the feelings of these brave men.

I left the spot, hallowed by many feelings towards the silent walls of Bumaoda. We wound our way down the rocky steep, giving a look to the 'mother of the maids of slaughter' as we passed, and after a short passage across the entrance of the valley, encamped in a fine grove of trees close to the town of Beygoo. The Rawut, descendant of 'the black cloud,' came out to meet me ; but he is yet a stranger to the happiness that awaits him—the restoration of more than half of his estate, which has been in the hands of the Mahratta Sindia since A. D. 1791.

CHAPTER XV.

Beygoo.—Serious accident to the author.—Affecting testimony of the gratitude of the Rawut.—Expulsion of the Mahrattas from Beygoo.—The estate of the Rawut sequestrated.—Restored.—Bussie.—Cheetore.—'Akber's Lamp.'—Reflections upon the Ruins of Cheetore.—Description of the city, from the Khoman Rasa, *and from observation.—Tour of the city.—Origin of the Bagrawut class.—Inscriptions.—Aged Fakir.—Return to Oodipoor.—Conclusion.*

Beygoo, February 26th.—The chances were nine hundred and ninety-nine to one that I ever touched a pen again. Two days ago, I started, with all the "pomp and circumstance" befitting the occasion, to restore to the chief the land of his sires, of which force and fraud had conspired to deprive them during more than thirty years. The purport of my visit being made known, the 'sons of Kala-Megh' assembled from all quarters; but *honhar* has again interfered. The old castle of Beygoo has a remarkably wide moat, across which there is a wooden bridge communicating with the town. The avant-couriers of my cavalcade, with an elephant bearing the union, having crossed and passed under the arched gateway, I followed, contrary to the *Mahout's* advice, who said there certainly would not be space to admit the elephant and howda. But I heedlessly told him to drive on, and if he could not pass through, to dismount. The hollow sound of the bridge, and the deep moat on either side, alarmed the animal, and she darted forward with the celerity occasioned by fear, in spite of any effort to stop her. As I approached the gateway, I measured it with my eye, and expecting inevitable and instantaneous destruction, I planted my feet firmly against the howda, and my forearms against the archway, and, by an almost preternatural effort of strength, burst out the back of the howda: the elephant pursued her flight inside, and I dropped senseless on the bridge below. The affectionate sympathies and attention of those around revived me, though they almost extinguished the latent spark of life in raising me into my palki, and carrying me to my tent. I, however, soon recovered my senses, though sadly bruised; but the escape was, in a twofold degree, miraculous; for, in avoiding decollation, had I fallen half an inch more to the side, I should have been caught on the projecting spikes of the

gateway. My tent was soon filled by the Rawut-ji and his brethren, who deplored the accident, and it was with difficulty I could get them to leave the side of my pallet ; but what was my astonishment when, two days after, going to fulfil my mission, I saw the noble gateway, the work of Kala-Megh, reduced to a heap of ruins, through which I was conducted to the palace on an ample terrace, in front of which I found the little court of Beygoo ! The Rawut advanced and presented me the keys which having returned in his sovereign's name, I deplored his rash destruction of the gateway, blaming *honhar* and my own want of *boodh* (wisdom), for the accident. But it was in vain : he declared he never could have looked upon it with complacency, since it had nearly deprived of life one who had given life to them. The restored estates had been mortgaged to old Sindia for the payment of a war-exaction, and the Rawut held regularly-executed deeds empowering him to recover them when the contribution should be liquidated. When the 'reign of justice' commenced in these regions, he produced his bond ; he shewed that the exactions had been paid twice over, and demanded, through the intervention of the British agent, that Sindia should be brought to a settlement. The replies and rejoinders were endless ; and at length the Rawut-ji, wearied out, one morning took the law into his own hands ; assaulted, carried, and, with the loss of some lives, drove out the Mahrattas, who had built a castellated residence even under his eye. It was necessary for form-sake to punish this act, which we would not prevent and accordingly Beygoo was put under sequestration, and the Rana's flag was planted upon its walls. The chief submitted to all with a good grace, and with a cause so just, I made an excellent case against Sindia, who talked of papers which he never produced. Allowing, therefore, some months more to elapse, we executed the bond, and restored Beygoo to its rightful owner. I was the more rejoiced at effecting this, as the Rawut had set the example of signing the deed of renunciation of May, 1818, which was the commencement of the prosperity of Mewar.

Bussie, February 27th.—Compelled to travel in my palki, full of aches and ails. I think this will complete the disorganization of my frame ; but I must reserve the little strength I have for Cheetore, and, *coute qui coute*, climb up and take a farewell look.

Cheetore.—My heart beat high as I approached the ancient capital of the Seesodias, teeming with reminiscences of glory, which every stone in her giant-like *kangras*, (battlements) attested. It was from this side that the imperial hosts under Alla and Akber advanced to force the descendant

of Rama to do homage to their power. How the summons was answered, the deeds of Ranas Ursi and Pertap have already told. But there was one relic of "the last day" of Cheetore, which I visited in this morning's march, that will immortalize the field where the greatest monarch that India (perhaps Asia) ever had, erected the green banner of the faith, and pitched his tent, around which his legions were marshalled for the reduction of the city. This still perfect monument is a fine pyramidal column, called by some the *Cherág-dan*, and by others *Akber-ca-dewa*, both having the same meaning, 'Akber's lamp.' It is formed of large blocks of compact lime-stone, admirably put together, about thirty-five feet high, each face being twelve feet at the base, and gradually tapering to the summit, where it is between three and four, and on which was placed a huge lamp (*cherag*), that served as a beacon to the foragers, or denoted the imperial head-quarters. An interior staircase leads to the top; but, although I had the strongest desire to climb the steps, trodden no doubt by Akber's feet, the power was not obedient to the will, and I was obliged to continue my journey, passing through the *Tulaiti*, as they term the lower town of Cheetore. Here I got out of my palki, and ventured the ascent, not through one, but five gates, upon the same faithless elephant; but with this difference, that I had no howda to encase me and prevent my sliding off, if I found any impedi-ment; nevertheless in passing under each successive portal I felt an involuntary tendency to stoop, though there was a superfluity of room over head. I hastened to my *bechoba*,* pitched upon the margin of the *Suryacoond*, or 'fountain of the Sun,' and with the wrecks of ages around me, I abandoned myself to contemplation. I gazed until the sun's last beam fell upon "the ringlet of Cheetore," illuminating its gray and grief-worn aspect, like a lambent gleam lighting up the face of sorrow. Who could look on this lonely, this majestic column, which tells, in language more easy of interpretation than the tablets within, of

"deeds which should not pass away,
And names that must not wither,"

and withhold a sigh for its departed glories? But in vain I dipped my pen to embody my thoughts in language; for, wherever the eye fell, it filled the mind with images of the past, and ideas rushed too tumultuously to be recorded. In this mood I continued for some time, gazing listlessly, until the shades of evening gradually enshrouded the temples,

* A small tent without (*be*) a pole (*choba*).

columns, and palaces; and as I folded up my paper till the morrow, the words of the prophetic bard of Israel came forcibly to my recollection: "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! how is she become a widow! she, that was great among nations, and princess among provinces, how is she become tributary!"

But not to fatigue the reader with reflections, I will endeavour to give him some idea of these ruins. I begin with the description of Cheetore from the *Khoman Rasa*, now beside me: "Chutterkote is the chief amongst eighty-four castles, renowned for strength; the hill on which it stands, rising out of the level plain beneath, the *tilac* on the forehead of *Awini* (the earth). It is within the grasp of no foe, nor can the vassals of its chief know the sentiment of fear. Ganga flows from its summit; and so intricate are its paths of ascent, that though you might find entrance, there would be no hope of return. Its towers of defence are planted on the rock, nor can their inmates even in sleep know alarm. Its *kotars* (granaries) are well-filled, and its reservoirs, fountains, and wells, are overflowing. Ramachandra himself here dwelt twelve years. There are eighty-four bazaars, many schools for children, and colleges for every kind of learning; many scribes (*kyot*) of the Beedur tribe, and the eighteen varieties of artizans. (Here follows an enumeration of all the trees, shrubs, and flowers, within and surrounding the fortress). Of all, the Ghelote is sovereign (*dhanni*), served by numerous troops, both horse and foot, and by all the "thirty-six tribes of Rajpoots," of which he is the ornament (*chatees culan sengar*)."

The *Khoman Rasa*, or story of Rawut Khoman, was composed in the ninth century; and the poet has not exaggerated: for of all the royal abodes of India, none could compete with Cheetore before she became a "widow." But we must abandon the *Rasa* for a simple prose description. Cheetore is situated on an isolated rock of the same formation as the Pathar, whence it is distant about three miles, leaving a fertile valley between, in which are the estates of Beejipoor, Gwalior, and part of Beygoo, studded with groves, but all waste through long-continued oppression. The general direction of the rock is from S. S. W. to N. N. E.; the internal length on the summit being three miles, and two furlongs, and the greatest central breadth twelve hundred yards. The circumference of the hill at its base, which is fringed with deep woods, extending to the summit, and in which lurk tigers, deer, hogs, and even lions, is somewhere above eight miles, and the angle of ascent to its scarped summit about 45°. The *Tulaiti*, or

lower town, is on the west side, which in some places presents a double scarp, and this side is crowded with splendid objects: the triumphal column, the palaces of Chitrung Mori, of Rana Raemul, the huge temple of Rana Mokul, the hundred pinnacles of the acropolis of the Ghelotes, and last, not least, the mansions of Jeimul and Putto, built on a projecting point are amongst the most remarkable monuments overlooking the plain. The great length of Cheetore, and the uniformity of the level crest, detract from its height, which in no part exceeds four hundred feet, and that only towards the north. In the centre of the eastern face, at "the gate of the sun" (*Soorajpol*), it is less than three hundred, and at the southern extremity, the rock is so narrow as to be embraced by an immense *demi-lune*, commanding the hill called Cheetorie, not more than one hundred and fifty yards distant; it is connected with Cheetore, but lower, and judiciously left out of its circumvallation. Still it is a weak point, of which the invader has availed himself. On this, Madaji Sindia raised his batteries, when called on by the Rana to expel his rebellious vassal of Saloombra. The Mahratta's batteries, as well as the zigzag lines of his ascent, indicate that even in S. 1848 (A. D. 1792), he had the aid of no unskilful engineer. From this point, the Tatar Alla stormed, and to him they attribute Cheetorie altogether, alleging that he raised it by artificial means, "commencing with a copper for every basket of earth, and at length ending with a piece of gold." It would, indeed, have taken the twelve years, assigned by tradition to Alla's siege, to have effected this, though there cannot be a doubt that he greatly augmented it, and planted there his *munjaneekas*, or balistas, in the same manner as he did to reduce the fortress of Rayn, near Rinthumbor.

Having wandered for two or three days amongst the ruins, I commenced a regular plan of the whole, going to work trigonometrically, and laying down every temple or object that still retained a name, or had any tradition attached to it. I then descended with the perambulator and made the circuit.

The first lateral cut of ascent is in a line due north, and before another angle, you pass through three separate gates; between the last of which, distinctively called the *foota dwara*, or 'broken door,' and the fourth, the *Hanuman pol* (porte), is a spot for ever sacred in the history of Cheetore, where its immortal defenders, Jeimul and Putto, met their death. There is a small cenotaph to the memory of the former, while a sacrificial *Joojarh*, on which is sculptured the effigy of a warrior on horseback, lance in hand, reminds the Seesodia where fell the stripling chief of Amait. Near these is another cenotaph,

a simple dome supported by light elegant columns, and covering an altar to the *manes* of the martyr, Ragoode, the deified *putra* of Mewar. After passing three more barriers, we reached the Rampol, which crowns the whole, and leads into a noble *Durri-khaneh*, or 'hall of assembly,' where the princes of Cheetore met on grand occasions; and it was in this hall that the genius of Cheetore is said to have revealed to Rana Ursi that his glory was departing. On a compartment of the Rampol, we found an interdict inscribed by the rebel Bheem of Saloombra, who appears to have been determined to place upon his own head the *mor* of Cheetore, so nobly renounced by his ancestor Chonda many centuries before. This was, however, set up when he was yet loyal, and in his sovereign's name as well as his own, "abolishing forced labour from the towns-people, and likewise *dind*, or contribution;" concluding with a grant of land to a patriotic carpenter of Gosoonda, who had, at his own expense, furnished the Rampol with a new gate: the cow and hog are attesting witnesses to the deed. The next building I came to, as I skirted the western face in a southerly direction, was a small antique temple to Toolsi Bhavani, the divinity of the scribes, adjoining the *Tope-khaneh Chaori*, a square for the park, where a few old cannon, the relics of the plunder of Cheetore, still remain. The habitation of the Purohits, or chief priests of the Ranas, a plain, commodious, and substantial edifice, was the next; and close by was that of the *Musani*, or master of the horse, with several others of the chief household officers. But the first imposing edifice is that termed *Nolakha Bindar*. This is a small citadel in itself, with massive, lofty walls, and towers built entirely of ancient ruins. Its name would import that it was a receptacle (*bindar*) for treasure, though it is said to have been the residence of the usurper Bunbeer. At the north-eastern corner, it has a little temple, richly sculptured, called the Sengar Chaori. From this we pass on to the palace of the Ranas, which, though attributed to Rana Raemul, is of the same character as those of a much higher antiquity. It is plain, capacious, and in excellent taste, the only ornament being its crenated battlements, and gives a good idea of the domestic architecture of the Rajpoots, long anterior to the intrusion of the Islamite amongst them. The vaulted chamber, projecting *gokra* or balcony, and the gentle exterior slope or *talus* of the walls, lend a character of originality to all the ancient structures of Cheetore. The industrious Ghassi made sketches for me of all their domestic dwellings, from the ancient abode of Chitrung Mori, down to the mahls of Jeimul and Putto. A court-yard surrounds the palace, in which there is a small temple to Deoji; through

whose interposition Rana Sanga effected all his conquests. This unknown divinity I find is styled one of the *eleven kullas*, or Mahabedians, incarnate in the person of a celebrated warrior, named Bhoj, whose father was a Chohan, and his mother of the Goojur tribe which originated a new class called the Bagrawut. The story of this *Deo* will add another to the many tales of superstition which are listened to with reverence, and I imagine generally with belief. The incarnate Bagrawut, while on his way to revenge an ancient feud with the Purihars of Ran-Binai, approached Cheetore, and Rana Sanga, aware of his sanctity, paid him all the dues of hospitality; in return for this, the Deoji bestowed a charm upon Sanga, by means of which, so long as he followed the prescribed injunctions, victory was always to attend his steps. It was placed in a small bag, and to be worn round the neck; but he was warned against allowing it to turn towards the back. The Deo had the power of raising the dead, and in order to shew the Rana the value of the gift, he put into his hand a peacock's feather, with which having touched all who were then lying dead in Cheetore, they were restored to life! With this new proof of Deoji's power, Rana Sanga went forth to pursue his conquests, which had extended to the fortress of Biana, when one day, while bathing in the *peela-khal*, the charm slipped round, and straight a voice was heard, saying, his "mortal foe was at hand!" So impressed are the Seesodias with the truth of this tale, that Deoji has obtained a distinguished niche in their Pantheon; nor in all their poverty has oil been wanting for the lamp which is constantly burning before the Bagrawut chieftain, whose effigy, on a horse painted blue, and lance in hand, still attracts their homage. To buy golden opinions, I placed three pieces of silver on the altar of the saint, in the name of the brave Sanga, the worthy antagonist of Baber, the "immortal foe," who at the *peela-khal* at Biana destroyed the charm of the Deoji.

On leaving the court of Rana Raemul, we reached two immense temples dedicated to the black god of Vrij; one being erected by Rana Khoombo, the other by his celebrated wife, the chief poetess of that age, Meera Bae, to the god of her idolatry, Shamnath. We have elsewhere mentioned the ecstasies of this fair votary of the Apollo of the Yamuna, who even danced before his shrine, in which her last moments were passed: and, to complete the picture, so entirely were the effusions both of her heart and pen approved, that "the god descended from his pedestal and gave her an embrace' which extricated the spark of life. 'Welcome, Meera,' said the lover of Radha! and her soul was absorbed into his!'

This rhapsody is worthy of the fair authoress of the *Tika*, or sequel to the *Gita Govinda*, which is said not to be unworthy even of Jydeva.

Both these temples are entirely constructed from the wrecks of more ancient shrines, said to have been brought from the ruins of a city of remote antiquity called *Nagara*, three coss northward of Cheetore.* Near these temples of Koomb-Sham are two reservoirs, built of large blocks, each one hundred and twenty-five feet long by fifty wide, and fifty deep, said to have been excavated on the marriage of the Ruby of Mewar, to Achil Kheechie of Gagrown, and filled with oil and *ghee*, which were served out to the numerous attendants, on that occasion.

We are now in the vicinity of the *Kheerut-Khumb*, the pillar erected by Rana Khoombo on his defeat of the combined armies of Malwa and Guzzerat. The only thing in India to compare with this is the *Kootub Minar* at Delhi; but, though much higher, it is of a very inferior character. This column is one hundred and twenty-two feet in height, the breadth of each face at the base is thirty-five feet, and at the summit, immediately under the cupola, seventeen feet and a half. It stands on an ample terrace, forty-two feet square. It has nine distinct stories, with openings at every face of each story, and all these doors have colonnaded porticos; but it is impossible to describe it; and therefore a rough outline, which will shew Ghassi's notions of perspective, must suffice. It is built chiefly of compact lime-stone and the quartz rock on which it stands, which takes the highest polish: indeed there are portions possessing the hardness, and exhibiting the fracture, of jasper. It is one mass of sculpture; of which a better idea cannot be conveyed than in the remark of those who dwell about it, that it contains every object known to their mythology. The ninth *khund*, or 'story,' which, as I have stated, is seventeen feet and a half square, has numerous columns supporting a vault, in which is sculptured Kanya in the *rasmandala* (celestial sphere), surrounded by the *gopis*, or muses, each holding a musical instrument, and in a dancing attitude. Beneath this is a richly-carved scroll fringed with the *sarus*, the *phenicopteros* of ornithology. Around this chamber had been arranged, on black marble tablets, the whole genealogy of the Ranas of Cheetore; but the Goths have broken or defaced all, save one slab, containing the two following *slocas*:

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* I trust this may be put to the proof: for I think it will prove to be *Takshac-nagara*, of which I have long been in search; and which gave rise to the suggestion of Herbert that Cheetore was of Taxila, Porus (the *Puar?*).

Sloca 172 : "Shaking the earth, the lords of Goojur-khand and Malwa, both the sultans, with armies overwhelming as the ocean, invaded Medpat. Koombkurn reflected lustre on the land : to what point can we exalt his renown ? In the midst of the armies of his foe, Khoombo was as a tiger, or as a flame in a dry forest."

Sloca 183 : "While the sun continues to warm the earth, so long may the fame of Khoombo Rana endure. While the icy mountains (*hemagir*) of the north rest upon their base, or so long as Himachil is stationary, while ocean continues to form a garland round the neck of *Awini* (the earth), so long may Khoombo's glory be perpetuated ! May the varied history of his sway and the splendour of his dominion last for ever ! Seven years had elapsed beyond fifteen hundred when Rana Khoombo placed this ringlet on the forehead of Cheetore. Sparkling like the rays of the rising sun, is the *torun*, rising like the bridegroom of the land.

"In S. 1515, the temple of Brimha was founded, and this year, *Vrishpatwar* (Thursday), the 10th tith and Pookhia Nikshitra, in the month of Magh, on the immovable Chutterkote, this *Kheerut stambha* was finished. What does it resemble, which makes Cheetore look down on Meru with derision ? Again, what does Chutterkote resemble, from whose summit the fountains are ever flowing, the circular diadem on whose crest is beauteous to the eye ; abounding in temples to the Almighty, planted with odoriferous trees, to which myriads of bees resort, and where soft zephyrs love to play. This immovable fortress (*Achildoorga*) was formed by the Maha-Indra's own hands."

How many more *slocas* there may have been, of which this is the 183rd, we can only conjecture ; though this would seem to be the winding-up.

The view from this elevated spot was superb, extending far into the plains of Malwa. The lightning struck and injured the dome some years ago, but generally, there is no semblance of decay, though some shoots of the peepul have rooted themselves where the bolt of Indra fell. It is said to have cost ninety lakhs of rupees, or near a million sterling ; and this is only one of the many magnificent works of Rana Khoombo within Cheetore ; the temples to Crishna, the lake called *Coorm Sagur*, the temple and fountain to Kookreoo Mahadeo, having been erected by him. He also raised the stupendous fortifications of Komulmer, to which place the seat of government was transferred. It is asserted that the immense wealth in jewels appertaining to the princes of Guzerat, was captured by Mahomed Begra, when

he took Komulmer, whence he carried forty thousand captives.

Near this is the grand temple of Brimha, erected also by Khoombo, in honour of his father Mokul, whose name it bears, and whose bust is the only object of veneration within. It would seem as if Khoombo had been a deist, worshipping the Creator alone; though his inspired wife, Meera Bae, seems to have drawn a portion of his regard to *Mooralidhar*, 'he who holds the flute.' Adjoining the shrine of the great spirit, is the *Charbagh*, where the ashes of the heroes, from Bappa down to the founder of Oodipoor, are entombed. Many possessed great external interest; but I was forced to be content with what I saw, for the chronicler is dead.

Through these abodes of silence, a rugged path leads to a sequestered spot in a deep cleft of the rock, where there is a living fountain, called the *gao-mookh*, or 'cow's mouth,' under the shade of an umbrageous *burr* tree. On one side of the dell is the subterranean channel called *Rani-bindar*, which, it is said, leads to suites of chambers in the rock. This was the scene of the awful *johur*, on the occasion of Alla sacking Cheetore, when the queens perished in the flames; on which the cavern's mouth was closed.

Still ascending, I visited the edifices named after Jeimul and Putto, and the shrine of Kalka Devi, esteemed one of the most ancient of Cheetore, existing since the time of the Mori, the dynasty prior to the Ghelote. But the only inscription I discovered was the following:

"S. 1574 Magh (*sudi*) 5th, and Revati Nikshitra, the stone-cutters Kaloo, Kaimer, and thirty-six others (whose names are added), enlarged the fountain of the sun (*suryacoonda*), adjacent to the temple of Kalka Devi." Thence I passed to the vaulted cenotaph of Chonda, the founder of the Chondawuts, who surrendered his birthright to please his aged sire. A little farther, are the mahls of Rana Bheem and Pudmani. Beyond this, within a stone enclosure, is the place where the victorious Khoombo confined the King of Malwa; and touching it is the mahl of the Raos of Rampoora.

Further south is a spot of deep interest; the tank and palace of Chitrung Mori, the ancient Puar lord of Cheetore, whose inscription I have already given. The interior sides of the tank are divided into sculptured compartments, in very good taste, but not to be compared with the works at Barolli, though doubtless executed under the same family. Being now within two hundred yards of the southern bastion, I returned by the mahls of the once vassals of Cheetore, *viz.* Sirohi, Boondi, Sont, Lunawarra, to the *Chaogan*, or 'field of Mars',

where the military festival of the *Duserra* is yet held by the slender garrison of Cheetore. Close to it is a noble reservoir of a hundred and thirty feet in length, sixty-five in width, and forty-seven in depth. It is lined with immense sculptured masses of masonry, and filled with water.

Higher up, and nearly about the centre, is a remarkable square pillar, called the *khowasin-sthamba* (column). It is seventy-five feet and a half in height, thirty feet in diameter at the base, and fifteen at the top, and covered with Jain figures. It is very ancient, and I found a fragment of an inscription at its base, which shews that it was dedicated to Adnath, the first of the twenty-four Jain pontiffs: "By Sri Adnath, and the twenty-four *Jin-eswara*, Poondarica, Ganesa, Surya, and the nine planets, may you be preserved! S. 952 (A. D. 896) Bysak (*sudi*) the 30th, *Gurwar* (Thursday)."

I found also another old inscription near the very antique temple of Kookr-eswar Mahadeo:—"S. 811, Mah sood 5th, Vrishpatwar (Thursday), A. D. 755, Raja Kookr-eswar erected this temple and excavated the fountain."

There are many Jain inscriptions, but amidst the heaps of ruins I was not fortunate enough to make any important discovery. One in the temple of Suntnath was as follows: "S. 1505 (A. D. 1449), Sri Maharana Mokul, whose son Koombkurn's treasurer, by name Sah Kolah, his son Bindarri Rutna, and wife Beelundevi, erected this shrine to Suntnath. The chief of the Khartra-gutcha, Jinraj Soor and *apparent successor*, Sri Jin Chandra Soor-ji, made this writing."

Close to the *Sooraj-pool*, or gate in the centre of the eastern face, is an altar sacred to the *manes* of Suheedas, the chief of the Chondawuts, who fell at his post, the gate of the sun, when the city was sacked by Bahadoor Shah.

At the north-western face is a castle complete within itself, the walls and towers of which are of a peculiar form, and denote a high antiquity. This is said to be the ancient palace of the Moris and the first Ranas of Cheetore. But it is time to close this description, which I do by observing, that one cannot move a step without treading on some fragment of the olden times:

> "Columns strewn, and statues fallen and cleft,
> Heaped like a host, in battle overthrown."

Before, however, I quit this spot, hallowed by these remains, I may mention having seen a being who, if there is any truth in Chutterkote, must be a hundred and sixty years old. This wonder is a Fakir, who has constantly inhabited the temples, within the memory of the oldest inhabitants; and there is one carpenter, now upwards of ninety, who recollects

"Babaji as an old man and the terror of the children." To me he did not appear above seventy. I found him deeply engaged at *pacheesi* with one of the townsfolk. When I was introduced to this extraordinary personage, he looked up at me for an instant, and exclaiming, "what does he want here?", quietly resumed his game. When it was finished, I presented my *nuzzur* to the inspired (for madness and inspiration are here synonymous), which he threw amongst the bystanders, and bolted over the ruins, dragging through the brambles a fine shawl some one had presented to him, and which, becoming an impediment, he left there. In these moods none durst molest him, and when inclined for food or pastime, his wants were quickly supplied. For one moment I got him to cast his mental eye back upon the past, and he mentioned something of Adina Beg and the Punjab (of which they say he was an inhabitant); but the oracle deigned nothing further.

Oodipoor, March 8th, 1822.—Here I am once more in the capital of *Hindupati* (chief of the Hindu race), from which no occurrence shall move me until I go to "eat the air" of my native land. I require repose, for the last fifteen years of my life have been one continuous tissue of toil and accident, such as are narrated in these records of a few of my many wanderings. The bow must be unbent, or it will snap, and the time for journalizing must cease with everything else under the sun. I halted a few days at Mairta, and found my house nearly finished, the garden looking beautiful, the *aroo* or peach-tree, the *seo* or apple, the *suntra*, *narinji*, and *nimboo*, or various orange and lime-trees, all in full blossom, and shewing the potent influence of *Surya* in these regions; the *sureefa* or *seetaphal* (fruit of Seeta), or custard-apple, the *anar*, the *kela*, pomegranate, plantain, and various indigenous fruits, were all equally forward. These plants are mostly from Agra, Lucknow, or Cawnpoor; but some of the finest peaches are the produce of those I planted at Gwalior,—I may say their grandchildren. When I left Gwalior in 1817, I brought with me the stones of several peach-trees and planted them in the garden of Rungpeari, my residence at Oodipoor; and more delicious or more abundant fruit I never saw. The stones of these I again put in the new garden at Mairta, and these again exhibit fruit, but it will require another year to prove whether they maintain the character they held in the plains of Rarew, or in this city. The vegetables were equally thriving: I never saw finer crops of Prussian-blues, of *kobis*, *phool-kobis*, or cabbages and cauliflowers, celery, and all that belongs to the kitchen-garden, and which my Rajpoot friends declare far superior to their indigenous race of *sâg*, or greens: the *Dewanji* (Rana) has

monopolized the celery, which he pronounces the prince of vegetables. I had also got my cutter for the *Oodisagur*, and we promised ourselves many delightful days, sailing amidst its islets and fishing in its stream. "But in all this was there vanity :"—poor Carey lies under the sod ; Duncan has been struggling on, and is just about to depart for the Cape of Good Hope ; Patrick, who was left at Kotah, writes me dismal accounts of his health and his solitude, and I am left almost alone, the ghost of what I was. "I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour I had laboured to do ; and behold all was vanity and vexation of spirit !" And such I fear will it prove with more important works than these amusements of the hour ; but it were certain death to stay, and the doctor insists on my sending in "a sick certificate," and putting my house in order for departure. The month of May is fixed, a resolution which has filled the Rana with grief ; but he "gives me leave only for three years, and his sister, Chandji Bae, desires me to bring back a wife that she may love."

I would willingly have dispensed with the honours of a public *entree* : but here, even health must bend to forms and the laws of the Rajpoots ; and the Rana, Prince Jowan Sing, and all the Seesodia chivalry, advanced to welcome our return. *Ap gurh aya !* "you have come home !" was the simple and heartfelt expression of the Rana, as he received my reverential salaam ; but he kindly looked around, and missed my companions, for Waugh Sahib and Doctor Sahib were both great favourites : and, last not least, when he saw me bestride Javadia, he asked, "where was *Bajraj* ?" but the "royal steed" (his gift) was no more, and lies entombed at Kotah. "*Hae ! hae !* alas ! alas ! (exclaimed Pirthinath) ; *burra soch pun bulamanick cha*, "great grief, for he was a good man."* The virtues of Bajraj were the subject of conversation until we reached the 'gate of the sun' (*Soorajpol*) ; when the Rana "gave me leave to go home," and he continued his promenade.

Bajraj was worthy of such notice and of his name : he was perfection, and so general a favourite, that his death was deemed a public misfortune, for he was as well known throughout all these regions as his master. The general yell of sorrow that burst from all my sepoys and establishment on that event, was astounding, and the whole camp attended his obsequies ; many were weeping, and when they began to throw. the earth upon the fine beast, wrapped up in his body-clothes, his *saes*

* *Manik* or *munik*, is the diminutive of man.

(groom) threw himself into his grave, and was quite frantic with grief. I cut some locks off his mane in remembrance of the noblest beast I ever crossed, and in a few days I observed many huge stones near the spot, which, before I left Kotah, grew into a noble *chabootra*, or 'altar' of hewn stone about twenty feet square and four feet high, on which was placed the effigy of Bajraj large as life, sculptured out of one block of freestone. I was grateful for the attention, but the old Regent had caught the infection, and evinced his sense of the worth of Bajraj by a tomb such as his master cannot expect; but in this case perhaps I divided the interest, though there was no prince of Rajwarra more proud of his stud than the blind chief of Kotah. From the days of the Pandus to Dewa-Bango of Boondi, many a war has been waged for a horse, nor can we better declare the relative estimation of the noble animal, than in the words of that stalwart Hara to the Lodi king: "there are three things you must not ask of a Rajpoot, his horse, his mistress, or his sword."

In a few days, I shall have the capital for the villa of the Hara Rani, sister of the Kotah prince, and whose bracelet also I have had, the symbol of adoption as her brother. To all their customs, to all their sympathies, and numerous acts of courtesy and kindness, which have made this not a strange land to me, I am about to bid farewell: whether a final one, is written in that book, which for wise purposes is sealed to mortal vision: but wherever I go, whatever days I may number, nor place, nor time can ever weaken, far less obliterate, the remembrance of the valley of Oodipoor.*

* By a singular coincidence, the day on which I closed these wanderings, is the same on which I have put the last stroke to a work that has afforded me some pleasure and much pain. It was on the 8th March 1822, I ended my journey and entered Oodipoor: on the 8th March 1832, I am transcribing this last page of my journal: in March my book appears before the public; I was born in March; embarked for India in March; and had the last glimpse of its land, the coast of Ceylon, in March. But what changes has not the ever-revolving wheel produced since that time! The hand of genius which has illustrated this work, and which will, I trust, perpetuate his own name with the monuments time has spared of Hindu art, is now cold in death. Captain Waugh returned to England about six months after me; his health much shattered. We met, and lived together, in London, in Belgium, and in France; but amidst all the beauties of novelty, Rajpootana was the theme to which we constantly reverted. He returned to India, had just obtained his majority, and was marching in command of his regiment, the 10th Light Cavalry, from Muttra to Mhow, when in passing through the land where we had seen many happy days together, he was invited by the chief of Doonee to renew old recollections by a visit. Though in the highest spirits, my poor cousin went with a presentiment of evil. He was accompanied by

some of his officers. In ascending the hill he fell, and sustained an injury which rendered an operation necessary. This succeeded so well, that in two days he proceeded in a litter ; when, on arriving at the ground, his friends drew the curtain of his *dooli*, and found him dead ! His ashes repose in Mewar, under a monument raised by his brother officers. He did not live to see the completion of these labours, which none but him could fully appreciate. No man was ever more beloved in private life ; and the eulogium passed upon him, but two days ago, by his old friend and commander, the gallant General Sir Thomas Brown,—"he was one of the best cavalry officers who ever served under me,"—is an honourable testimony to his public career. No apology is required for this record of the talent and worth of one who, in addition to the ties of kindred, was linked to me by the bonds of friendship during twenty years.—8th March, 1832.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Written according to custom in the margin with the Raja's own hand.

> Let my *moopra* (respects) be known: when in the *Dewan's* presence he ordered, that Edur was the portico, and Chuppon the vestibule to Mewar, and that it was necessary to obtain it. I have kept this in mind, and by the Sri Dewan-ji's fortune it is accomplished.

Letter from Raja Jey Sing of Amber to Rana Singram Sing of Mewar, regarding Edur.

SRI RAMJI,*

SRI SEETA RAMJI,

WHEN I was in the presence at Oodipoor, you *commanded* † that Mewar was my home, and that Edur was the portico of Mewar, and to watch the occasion for obtaining it. From that time I have been on the look-out. Your agent, Myaram, has again written regarding it, and Dilput Rae read the letter to me *verbatim*, on which I talked over the matter with Maharaja Abhe Sing, who acquiescing in all your views, has made a *nuzzur* of the pergunna to you, and his writing to this effect accompanies this letter.

The Maharaja Abhe Sing *petitions* that you will so manage *that the occupant Anund Sing does not escape alive*; as, *without his death, your possession will be unstable*: ‡ this is in your hands. It is my wish, also, that you would go in person, or if you deem this inexpedient, command the Dhabhae Nuggo, placing a respectable force under his orders, and having blocked up all the passes, you may then slay him. Above all things let him not escape—let this be guarded against.

Asar badi 7th (22nd of the first month of the monsoon), S. 1784 (A. D. 1728.)

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* Ram and Seeta, whom the prince invokes, are the great parents of the Cuchwaha race, of which Raja Jey Sing is the head. I have omitted the usual string of introductory compliments.

† These terms completely illustrate the superior character in which the Ranas of Mewar were held by the two princes next in dignity to him in Rajpootana a century ago.

‡ This deep anxiety is abundantly explained by looking at the genealogical slip of the Rahtores, at page 964, where it will be seen that Anund Sing, whom the parricidal Abhye Sing is so anxious to be rid of, is his own brother, innocent of any participation in that crime, and *although adopted into Edur, were heir-presumptive to Marwar!*

ENVELOPE.

The Pergunna of Edur is in Maharaja Abhe Sing's jagheer, who makes a *nuzzur* of it to the *Huzoor*; should it be granted to any other, take care the *Munsubdar* never gains possession.

8th. S., 1784.

No. II.

TREATY between the Honourable English East-India Company and Maharaja Maun Sing Buhadoor, Raja of Jodpoor, represented by the Koowur Regent Joograj Maharaj Koowur Chutter Sing Buhadoor, concluded by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of powers granted by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K. G., Governor-General, and by Byas Bishen Ram and Byas Ubhee Ram on the part of Maharaja Maun Sing Buhadoor, in virtue of full powers granted by the Maharaja and Joograj Maharaj Koowur aforesaid.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interest between the Honourable English East-India Company and Maharaja Maun Sing and his heirs and successors; and the friends and enemies of one party shall be friends and enemies of both.

Second Article.—The British Government engages to protect the principality and territory of Jodpoor.

Third Article.—Maharaja Maun Sing and his heirs and successors will act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy; and will not have any connection with other chiefs and states.

Fourth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors will not enter into negotiation with any chief or state without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government. But his usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Fifth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors will not commit aggressions on any one. If by accident disputes arise with any one, they shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

Sixth Article.—The tribute heretofore paid to Sindia by the state of Jodpoor, of which a separate schedule is affixed, shall be paid in perpetuity to the British Government; and the engagement of the state of Jodpoor with Sindia respecting tribute shall cease.

Seventh Article.—As the Maharaja declares that besides the tribute paid to Sindia by the state of Jodpoor, tribute has not been paid to any other state, and engages to pay the aforesaid tribute to the British Government; if either Sindia or any one else lay claim to tribute, the British Government engages to reply to such claim.

Eighth Article.—The state of Jodpoor shall furnish fifteen hundred horse for the service of the British Government whenever required; and when necessary, the whole of the Jodpoor forces shall join the British Army, excepting such a portion as may be requisite for the internal administration of the country.

Ninth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their country, and the jurisdiction of the British Government shall not be introduced into that principality.

Tenth Article.—This treaty of ten articles having been concluded at Dihlee, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and Byas Bishen Ram and Byas Ubhee Ram, the ratifications of the same by his Excellency the Governor-General and by Raj Rajesur Maharaja Maun Sing Buhadoor and Joograj Maharaj Koowur Chutter Sing Buhadoor, shall be exchanged within six weeks from this date.

Done at Dihlee this sixth day of January A. D. 1815.

(*Signed*) (L. S.) C. T. METCALFE, Resident.
BYAS BISHEN RAM.
(L. S.) BYAS UBHEE RAM.

No. III.

Treaty with the Raja of Jessulmeer.

TREATY between the Honourable English East-India Company and Maha Rawul Moolraj Buhadoor, Raja of Jessulmeer, concluded on the part of the Honourable Company by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, in virtue of full powers granted by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K. G., Governor-General, &c., and on the part of the Maharaja Dhiraj Maha Rawul Moolraj Buhadoor by Misr Motee Ram and Thakoor Dowlet Sing, according to full powers conferred by Maha Rawul.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the Honourable English Company and Maha Rawul Moolraj Buhadoor, the Raja of Jessulmeer, and his heirs and successors.

Second Article.—The posterity of Maha Rawul Moolraj shall succeed to the principality of Jessulmeer.

Third Article.—In the event of any *serious* invasion directed towards the overthrow of the principality of Jessulmeer, or other danger of *great* magnitude occurring to that principality, the British Government will exert its power for the protection of the principality provided that the cause of the quarrel be not ascribable to the Raja of Jessulmeer.

Fourth Article.—The Maha Rawul and his heirs and successors will always act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and with submission to its supremacy.

Fifth Article.—This treaty of five articles having been settled, signed, and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and Misr Motee Ram, and Thakoor Dowlet Sing, the ratifications of the same by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General and Maharaja Dhiraj Maha Rawul, Moolraj Buhadoor, shall be exchanged in six weeks from the present date.

Done at Dihlee this twelfth day of December, A. D. 1818.

(L. S.) C. T. METCALFE, (*Signed*) MISR MOTEE RAM,
(L. S.) THAKOOR DOWLET SING,
(*Signed*) C. T. M.

No. IV.

TREATY between the Honourable English East-India Company and Maharaja Siwaee Juggut Sing Buhadoor, Raja of Jeipoor, concluded by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of full powers granted by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K. G., Governor-General, &c., and by Thakoor Rawul Byree Saul Nattawut, on the part of Rajindur Sree Maharaj Dhiraj Siwaee Juggut Sing Buhadoor, according to full powers given by the Raja.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the Honourable Company and Maharaja Juggut Sing, and his heirs and successors, and the friends and enemies of one party shall be the friends and enemies of both parties.

Second Article.—The British Government engages to protect the territory of Jeipoor, and to expel the enemies of that principality.

Third Article.—Maharaja Siwaee Juggut Sing, and his heirs and successors, will act in subordinate co-operation with

the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy; and will not have any connection with other chiefs and states.

Fourth Article.—The Maharaja, and his heirs and successors, will not enter into negotiation with any chief or state, without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; but the usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Fifth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors will not commit aggressions on any one. If it happen that any dispute arise with any one, it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

Sixth Article.—Tribute shall be paid in perpetuity by the principality of Jeipoor to the British Government, through the treasury of Dihlee, according to the following detail:

First year, from the date of this treaty in consideration of the devastation which has prevailed for years in the Jeipoor country, tribute excused:

Second year..........Four lakhs of Dihlee rupees.
Third year..............Five lakhs.
Fourth year............Six lakhs.
Fifth year..............Seven lakhs.
Sixth year..............Eight lakhs.

Afterwards eight lakhs of Dihlee rupees annually, until the revenues of the principality exceed forty lakhs.

And when the Raja's revenue exceed forty lakhs, five-sixteenths of the excess shall be paid in addition to the eight lakhs above-mentioned.

Seventh Article.—The principality of Jeipoor shall furnish troops according to its means, at the requisitions of the British Government.

Eighth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their country, and their dependents, according to long-established usage; and the British Civil and Criminal jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality.

Ninth Article.—Provided that the Maharaja evince a faithful attachment to the British Government, his prosperity and advantage shall be favourably considered and attended to.

Tenth Article.—This treaty of ten articles having been concluded, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, and Thakoor Rawul Byree Saul Nattawut, the ratifications of the same, by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, and Raj Rajendur Sree Maharaj Dhiraj

Siwaee Juggut Sing Buhadoor, shall be mutually exchanged within one month from the present date.

Done at Dihlee this second day of April, A. D. 1818.

(*Signed*) (L. S.) C. T. METCALFE,
Resident.

(L. S.) THAKOOR RAWUL BYREE SAUL NATTAWUT.

No. V.

No. V. being a large paper is omitted.

No. VI.

TREATY between the Honourable the English East-India Company on the one part, and Maha Rao Omed Sing Buhadoor, the Raja of Kota, and his heirs and successors, through Raj Rana Zalim Sing Buhadoor, the administrator of the affairs of that principality on the other ; concluded on the part of the Honourable English East-India Company by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, in virtue of full powers granted to him by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K. G., Governor-General, and on the part of Maha Rao Omed Sing Buhadoor, by Maharaja Sheodan Sing, Sah Jeewun Ram, and Lala Hoolchund, in virtue of full powers granted by the Maha Rao aforesaid, and his administrator, the above-mentioned Raj Rana.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the British Government on the one hand, and Maha Rao Omed Sing Buhadoor, and his heirs and successors, on the other.

Second Article.—The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be the same to both.

Third Article.—The British Government engages to take under its protection the principality and territory of Kota.

Fourth Article.—The Maha Rao, and his heirs and successors, will always act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy, and will not henceforth have any connection with the chiefs and states with which the state of Kota has been heretofore connected.

Fifth Article.—The Maha Rao, and his heirs and successors, will not enter into any negotiations with any chief or state without the sanction of the British Government. But

his customary amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Sixth Article.—The Maha Rao, and his heirs and successors, will not commit aggressions on any one; and if any dispute accidentally arise with any one, proceeding either from acts of the Maha Rao, or acts of the other party, the adjustment of such disputes shall be submitted to the arbitration of the British Government.

Seventh Article.—The tribute heretofore paid by the principality of Kota to the Mahratta chiefs, for instance, the Peshwa, Sindia, Holkar, and Powar, shall be paid at Dihlee to the British Government for ever, according to the separate schedule annexed.

Eighth Article.—No other power shall have any claim to tribute from the principality of Kota; and if any one advance such a claim, the British Government engages to reply to it.

Ninth Article.—The troops of the principality of Kota, according to its means, shall be furnished at the requisition of the British Government.

Tenth Article.—The Maha Rao, and his heirs and successors, shall remain absolute rulers of their country, and the Civil and Criminal jurisdiction of the British Government shall not be introduced into that principality.

Eleventh Article.—This treaty of eleven Articles having been concluded at Dihlee, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe on the one part, and Maharaja Sheodan Sing, Sah Jeewun Ram, and Lala Hoolchund on the other, the ratifications of the same by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, and Maha Rao Omed Sing, and his administrator Raj Rana Zalim Sing, shall be exchanged within a month from this date.

Done at Dihlee the 26th day of December, A. D. 1817.

(*Signed*) C. T. METCALFE,
Resident.

No. VII.

TREATIES between the Honourable English East-India Company and the Maha Rao Raja Bishen Sing Buhadoor, Raja of Boondi, concluded by Captain James Tod on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of full powers from his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General, &c., &c., and by Bohora Tolaram on the part of the Raja, in virtue of full powers from the said Raja.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the British Government on the one hand, and the Raja of Boondi and his heirs and successors on the other.

Second Article.—The British Government takes under its protection the dominions of the Raja of Boondi.

Third Article.—The Raja of Boondi acknowledges the supremacy of, and will co-operate with, the British Government for ever. He will not commit aggressions on any one. He will not enter into negotiations with any one without the consent of the British Government. If by chance any dispute arise with any one, it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government. The Raja is absolute ruler of his dominions, and the British jurisdiction shall not be introduced therein.

Fourth Article.—The British Government spontaneously remits to the Raja and his descendants the tribute which the Raja used to pay to Maharaja Holkar, and which has been ceded by the Maharaja Holkar to the British Government; the British Government also relinquishes in favour of the state of Boondi the lands heretofore held by Maharaja Holkar within the limits of that state, according to the annexed schedule (No. 1).

Fifth Article.—The Raja of Boondi hereby engages to pay to the British Government the tribute and revenue heretofore paid to Maharaja Sindia, according to the schedule (No. 2).

Sixth Article.—The Raja of Boondi shall furnish troops at the requisition of the British Government according to his means.

Seventh Article.—The present treaty of seven articles having been settled at Boondi, and signed and sealed by Captain James Tod and Bohora Tolaram, the ratification of the same by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General and the Maha Rao Raja, of Boondi, shall be exchanged within one month from the present date.

Done at Boondi, this tenth day of February, A. D. 1818; corresponding to the fourth of Rubbee-ool-Sanee 1233, and fifth day of Maug Soodee of the Sumbut or Æra of Bikramajeet, 1874.